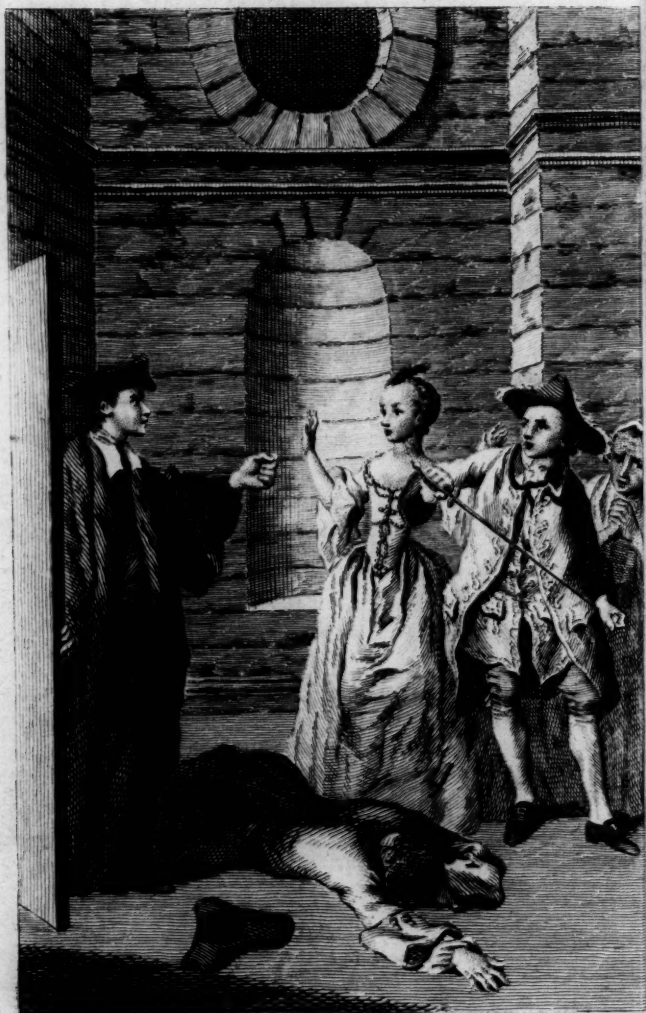
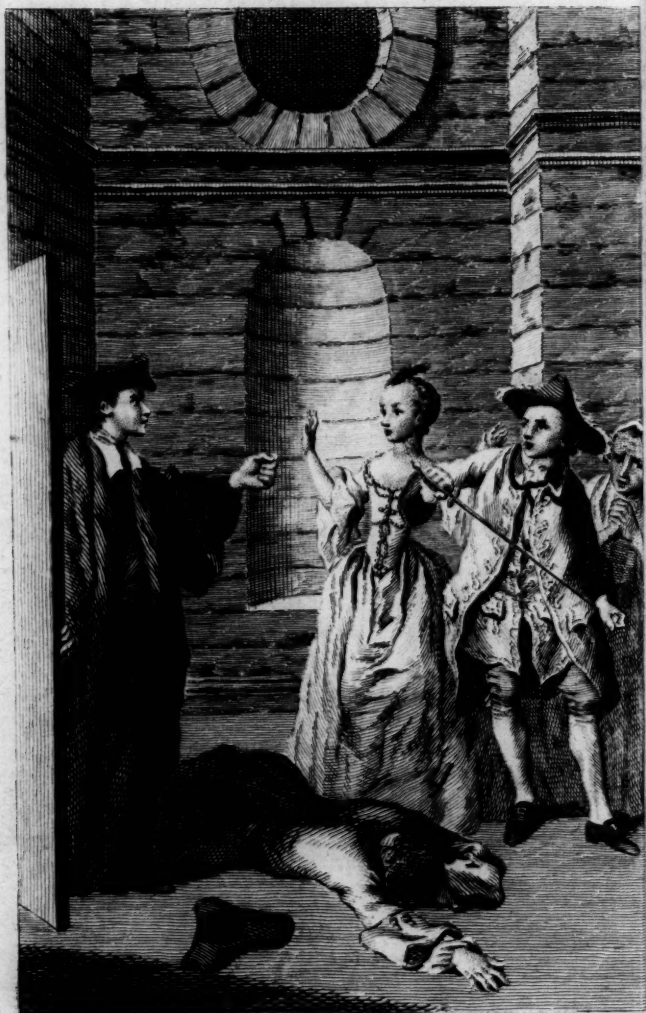




Gwin delin.

J. Hall sculp.



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J. Hall sculp.

THE *14 A. A. i*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH:

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE EIGHTEENTH.

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MDCCLXII.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE FIRST PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE SECOND PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE THIRD PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE FOURTH PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE FIFTH PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN

THE SIXTH PART

OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

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CANDID:

CANDID*:
OR, THE
OPTIMIST.
PART I.

CHAP. I.

How 'Candid was brought up in a magnificent castle ; and how he was driven from thence.

IN the country of Westphalia, in the castle of the most noble baron of Thunder-ten-tronckh, lived a youth, whom Nature had endowed with a most sweet disposition. His face was the true index of his mind. He had a solid judgment joined to the most unaffected simplicity ; and hence I presume he had his name of Candid. The old servants of the

* The principal design of this performance, (if the author had any other design but that of amusing his readers) is to ridicule that maxim in Ethics, that every thing which happens, is the best calculated to answer the wise ends of Providence : but it likewise contains a very severe satire on the morals, manners, and customs of mankind.

house suspected him to have been the son of the baron's sister, by a mighty good sort of a gentleman of the neighbourhood, whom that young lady refused to marry, because he could produce no more than seventy-one quarterings in his arms; the rest of the genealogical tree belonging to the family having been lost through the injuries of time.

The baron was one of the most powerful lords in Westphalia; for his castle had not only a gate, but even windows, and his great hall was hung with tapestry. He used to hunt with his mastiffs and spaniels instead of grey-hounds; his groom served him for huntsman; and the parson of the parish officiated as his grand almoner. He was called my lord by all his people, and he never told a story, but every one laughed at it.

My lady baroness weighed about forty stone and an half, and consequently was a person of no small consideration; and then she did the honours of the house with a dignity that commanded universal respect. Her daughter was about seventeen years of age, fresh coloured, comely, plump, and desirable. The baron's son seemed to be a youth in every respect worthy of the father he sprung from. Pangloss the preceptor was the oracle of the family, and little Candid listened to his instructions with all the simplicity natural to his age and disposition.

Master Pangloss taught the metaphysico-theologo-cosmolo-nigology. He could prove to admiration, that there is no effect without a cause; and, that in this best of all possible worlds,

worlds, the baron's castle was the most magnificent of all castles, and my lady the best of all possible baronesses.

It is demonstrable, said he, that things cannot be otherwise than they are; for as all things have been created for some end, they must necessarily be created for the best end. Observe, for instance, the nose is formed for spectacles, therefore we wear spectacles. The legs are visibly designed for stockings, accordingly we wear stockings. Stones were made to be hewn, and to construct castles, therefore my lord has a magnificent castle; for the greatest baron in the province ought to be the best lodged. Swine were intended to be eaten; therefore we eat pork all the year round: and they, who assert that every thing is *right*, do not express themselves correctly; they should say that every thing is *best* *.

Candid listened attentively, and believed implicitly; for he thought miss Cunegund excessively handsome, though he never had the courage to tell her so. He concluded that next to the happiness of being baron of Thunder-tronckh, the next was that of being miss Cunegund, the next that of seeing her every day, and the last that of hearing the doctrine of master Pangloss, the greatest philosopher of the whole province, and consequently of the whole world.

One day that miss Cunegund went to take a walk in a little neighbouring wood, which

* Thus the tutor makes his doctrine of optimism subservient to his interest in flattering the pride of the petty German princes, which is indeed ridiculous enough.

was called a park, she saw, through the bushes, the sage doctor Pangloss giving a lecture in experimental philosophy to her mother's chambermaid, a little brown wench, very pretty, and very tractable. As miss Cunegund had a great disposition for the sciences, she observed with the utmost attention the experiments, which were repeated before her eyes; she perfectly well understood the force of the doctor's reasoning upon causes and effects. She retired greatly flurried, quite pensive, and filled with the desire of knowledge, imagining that she might be a *sufficient reason* for young Candid, and he for her.

In her way back she happened to meet the young man; she blushed, he blushed also, she wished him a good morning in a flattering tone, he returned the salute, without knowing what he said. The next day, as they were rising from dinner, Cunegund and Candid slipped behind the screen, miss dropped her handkerchief, the young man picked it up. She innocently took hold of his hand, and he as innocently kissed hers with a warmth, a sensibility, a grace.—All very particular, their lips met; their eyes sparkled; their knees trembled; their hands strayed.—The baron chanced to come by; he beholds the cause and effect, and, without hesitation, salutes our young Candid with a kick on the breech, and drove him out of doors. Miss Cunegund, the tender, the lovely miss Cunegund fainted away, and, as soon as she came to herself, the baroness boxed her ears. Thus a general confusion was spread over this most magnificent and most agreeable of all possible castles.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

What befel Candid among the Bulgarians.

CANDID, thus driven out of this terrestrial paradise, rambled a long time, without knowing where he was ; sometimes he raised his eyes all bedewed with tears, towards heaven, and sometimes he cast a melancholy look towards the magnificent castle, where dwelt the fairest of young baronesses. He laid himself down to sleep in a furrow, heart-broken and supperless. The snow fell in great flakes, and, in the morning when he awoke, he was almost frozen to death ; however, he made shift to crawl to the next town, which was called Wald-berghoff-trarbk-dekdorff ; without a penny in his pocket, and half dead with hunger and fatigue. He took up his stand at the door of an inn. He had not been long there, before two men dressed in blue fixed their eyes stedfastly upon him. Faith, comrade, said one of them to the other, yonder is a well-made young fellow, and of the right size : upon which they made up to Candid, and with the greatest civility and politeness invited him to dine with them. Gentlemen, replied Candid, with a most engaging modesty, you do me much honour, but upon my word I have no money. Money, Sir ! said one of the blues to him, young persons of your appearance and merit never pay any thing ; why are not you five feet five inches high ? Yes, gentlemen, that is really my size, replied he, with a low

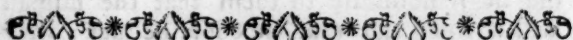
bow. Come then, sir, sit down along with us; we'll not only pay your reckoning, but will never suffer such a clever young fellow as you to want money. Mankind were born to assist one another. You are perfectly right, gentlemen, said Candid, this is precisely the doctrine of master Pangloss; and I am convinced that every thing is for the best. His generous companions next entreat him to accept of a few crowns, which he readily complies with, at the same time offering them his note for the payment, which they refuse, and sit down to table. Have you not a great affection for— O yes! I have a great affection for the lovely miss Cunegund. May be so, replied one of the blues, but that is not the question! we ask you whether you have not a great affection for the king of the Bulgarians? For the king of the Bulgarians? said Candid, oh Lord! not at all, why I never saw him in my life. Is it possible! oh he is a most charming king! come we must drink his health. With all my heart, gentlemen, says Candid, and off he tosses his glass, Bravo! cry the blues; you are now the support, the defender, the hero of the Bulgarians; your fortune is made; you are in the high road to glory. So saying they handcuff him, and carry him away to the regiment. There he is made to wheel about to the right, and to the left, to draw his rammer, to return his rammer, to present, to fire, to march, and they give him thirty blows with a cane; the next day, he performs his exercise a little better, and they give him but twenty; the day following he comes off with ten, and

is looked upon as a young fellow of surprising genius by all his comrades*.

Candid was struck with amazement, and could not for the soul of him conceive how he came to be a hero. One fine spring morning, he took it into his head to take a walk, and he marched straight forward, conceiving it to be a privilege of the human species, as well as of the brute creation, to make use of their legs, how and when they pleased. He had not gone above two leagues, when he was overtaken by four other heroes, six feet high, who bound him neck and heels, and carried him to a dungeon. A court-martial sat upon him, and he was asked which he liked best, either to run the gauntlet six and thirty times through the whole regiment, or to have his brains blown out with a dozen of musket balls. In vain did he remonstrate to them that the human will is free, and that he chose neither; they obliged him to make a choice, and he determined, in virtue of that divine gift called freewill, to run the gauntlet six and thirty times. He had gone through his discipline twice, and the regiment being composed of 2000 men, they composed for him exactly 4000 strokes, which laid bare all his muscles and nerves from the nape of his neck to his rump. As they were preparing to make him set out the third time, our young hero unable to support it any longer, begged as a favour they would be so obliging as to shoot him through the

* Is not this an arrow glanced at the K— of P—, and the methods his officers are supposed to have taken in recruiting his armies?

head: the favour being granted, a bandage was tied over his eyes, and he was made to kneel down. At that very instant, his Bulgarian majesty happening to pass by made a stop, and enquired into the delinquent's crime, and being a prince of great penetration, he found from what he heard of Candid, that he was a young metaphysician, entirely ignorant of the world; and therefore, out of his great clemency, he condescended to pardon him, for which his name will be celebrated in every journal *, and in every age. A skilful surgeon made a cure of the flagellated Candid, in three weeks by means of emollient unguents, prescribed by Dioscorides. His sores were now skinned over, and he was able to march, when the king of the Bulgarians gave battle to the king of the Abares.



CHAP. III.

How Candid escaped from the Bulgarians, and what befel him afterwards.

NEVER was any thing so gallant, so well accounted, so brilliant, and so finely disposed as the two armies. The trumpets, fifes, hautboys, drums, and cannon made such harmony as never was heard in hell itself. The entertainment began by a discharge of cannon, which, in the twinkling of an eye, laid flat about 6000 men on each side. The musquet

* Wormwood to a certain prince, suspected of having hired journalists to trumpet forth his praise.

bullets swept away, out of the best of all possible worlds, nine or ten thousand scoundrels that infected its surface. The bayonet was next the *sufficient reason* of the deaths of several thousands. The whole might amount to 30000 souls. Candid trembled like a philosopher, and concealed himself as well as he could during this heroic butchery.

At length, while the two kings were causing *Te Deum* to be sung in each of their camps, Candid took a resolution to go and reason somewhere else upon causes and effects. After passing over heaps of dead or dying men, the first place he came to was a neighbouring village, in the Abarian territories, which had been burnt to the ground by the Bulgarians, agreeable to the laws of war. Here lay a number of old men covered with wounds, who beheld their wives dying with their throats cut, and hugging their children to their breasts all stained with blood. There several young virgins, whose bellies had been ripped open, after they had satisfied the natural necessities of Bulgarian heroes, breathed their last; while others, half burnt in the flames, begged to be dispatched out of the world. The ground about them was covered with the brains, arms, and legs of dead men.

Candid made all the haste he could to another village, which belonged to the Bulgarians, and there he found that the heroic Abares had acted the same tragedy *. From thence, continuing to walk over palpitating limbs, or

* A picture which we would recommend to the perusal and consideration of those who are such sanguine advocates for the continuation of war.

through ruined buildings, at length, he arrived beyond the theatre of war, with a little provision in his budget, and miss Cunegund's image in his heart. When he arrived in Holland his provision failed him; but having heard that the inhabitants of that country were all rich and christians, he made himself sure of being treated by them in the same manner, as at the baron's castle, before he had been driven from thence through the power of miss Cunegund's bright eyes.

He asked charity of several grave looking people, who one and all answered him, that if he continued to follow this trade, they would have him sent to the house of correction, where he should be taught to get his bread.

He next addressed himself to a person, who was just come from haranguing a numerous assembly for a whole hour on the subject of charity. The orator, squinting at him under his broad brimmed hat, asked him sternly, what brought him thither? and whether he was for the good old cause? Sir, said Candid in a submissive manner, I conceive there can be no effect without a cause; every thing is necessarily concatenated and arranged for the best. It was necessary that I should be banished the presence of miss Cunegund; that I should afterwards run the gauntlet; and it is necessary I should beg my bread, till I am able to get it: all this could not have been otherwise. Heark ye, friend, says the orator, do you hold the pope to be antichrist? Truly I never heard any thing about it, said Candid, but whether he is or not, I am in want of something to eat. Thou deservest not to eat or to drink, replied the

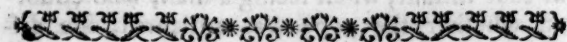
the orator, wretch, monster that thou art ! hence ! avoid my sight, nor ever come near me again while thou livest. The orator's wife happened to put her head out of the window at that instant, when seeing a man, who doubted whether the pope was antichrist, she discharged upon his head a chamber-pot full of——*. Good heavens, to what excess does religious zeal transport the fair !

A man who had never been christened, an honest anabaptist, named James, was witness to the cruel and ignominious treatment shewed to one of his brethren, to a rational two footed unfledged being †. Moved with pity he carried him to his own house, caused him to be cleaned, gave him meat and drink, and made him a present of two florins, at the same time proposing to instruct him in his own trade of weaving Persian silks, which are fabricated in Holland. Candid, penetrated with so much goodness, threw himself at his feet, crying, Now I am convinced that my master Pangloss told me truth, when he said that every thing was for the best in this world ; for I am infinitely more affected with your extraordinary generosity, than with the inhumanity of that gentleman in the black cloak and his wife. The next day, as Candid was walking out, he met a beggar, all covered with scabs, his eyes were sunk in his head, the end of his nose eaten

* A keen sarcasm on want of charity in speculative points of religion, even among the most phlegmatic protestants.

† Aristotle's definition of a man ; to shew the absurdity of which, another philosopher caused a cock to be stripped of its feathers, and placing it before him, asked if that was a man also ?

off, his mouth drawn on one side, his teeth as black as a cloak, snuffing and coughing most violently, and, every time he attempted to spit, out dropt a tooth.



CHAP. IV.

How Candid found his old Master Pangloss again, and what happened to them.

CANDID, divided between compassion and horror, but giving way to the former, bestowed on this shocking figure the two florins which the honest anabaptist James had just before given to him. The spectre looked at him very earnestly, shed tears, and threw his arms about his neck. Candid started back aghast; Alas! said said the one wretch to the other, don't you know your dear Pangloss?—What do I hear? Is it you, my dear master! you I behold in this piteous plight? What dreadful misfortune has befallen you? What has made you leave the most magnificent and delightful of all castles? What is become of miss Cunegund, the mirror of young ladies, and nature's master-piece? Oh Lord! cried Pangloss, I am so weak I cannot stand, upon which Candid instantly led him to the anabaptist's stable, and procured him something to eat. As soon as Pangloss had a little refreshed himself, Candid began to repeat his enquiries concerning miss Cunegund. She is dead, replied the other. Dead! cried Candid, and immediately fainted away: his friend recovered him by the help of a little bad vinegar, which he found by chance in

in the stable. Candid opened his eyes, and again repeated dead ! is miss Cunegund dead ? Ah where is the best of worlds now ? But of what illness did she die ? Was it for grief upon seeing her father kick me out of his magnificent castle ? No, replied Pangloss, her belly was ripped open by the Bulgarian soldiers, after they had ravished her as much as it was possible for damsel to be ravished ; they knocked the baron her father on the head for attempting to defend her ; my lady her mother was cut in pieces ; my poor pupil was served just in the same manner as his sister, and as for the castle, they have not left one stone upon another ; they have destroyed all the ducks, and the sheep, the barns, and the trees : but we have had our revenge, for the Abares have done the very same thing in a neighbouring barony, which belonged to a Bulgarian lord.

At hearing this, Candid fainted away a second time, but, having come to himself again, he said all that it became him to say ; he enquired into the cause and effect, as well as into the *sufficing reason* that had reduced Pangloss to so miserable a condition. Alas, replied the preceptor, it was love ; love, the comfort of the human species ; love, the preserver of the universe ; the soul of all sensible beings ; love ! tender love ! Alas, replied Candid, I have had some knowledge of love myself, this sovereign of hearts, this souls of souls ; yet it never cost me more than a kiss and a kick on the backside. But how could this beautiful cause produce in you so hideous an effect ?

Pangloss made answer in these terms : O my dear Candid, you must remember Pacquette,

that

that pretty wench, who waited on our noble baroness; in her arms I tasted the pleasures of paradise, which produced these hell-torments with which you see me devoured. She was infected with the disease, and perhaps is since dead of it; she received this present of a learned cordelier, who derived it from the fountain head; he was indebted for it to an old countess, who had it of a captain of horse, who had it of a marchioness, who had it of a page, the page had it of a jesuit, who, during his noviciate, had it in a direct line from one of the fellow-adventurers of Christopher Columbus; for my part I shall give it to no body, I am a dying man*.

O sage Pangloss, cried Candid, what a strange genealogy is this! Is not the devil the root of it. Not at all, replied the great man, it was a thing unavoidable, a necessary ingredient in the best of worlds; for if Columbus had not caught in an island in America this disease, which contaminates the source of generation, and frequently impedes propagation itself, and is evidently opposite to the great end of nature, we should have had neither chocolate nor cochineal. It is also to be observed, that, even to the present time, in this

* Alluding to the first importation of the venereal disease, which was brought from Hispaniola, in the West-Indies, by some of the followers of Columbus, who were afterwards employed in the siege of Naples, among the troops of Ferdinand, king of Arragon. Hence the distemper acquired the name of the Neapolitan Disease, as the mercurial ointment, used for raising a salivation, obtained the name of unguentum Neapolitanum, which it still retains.

continent of ours, this malady, like our religious controversies, is peculiar to ourselves. The Turks, the Indians, the Persians, the Chinese, the Siamese, and the Japonese are entirely unacquainted with it ; but there is a *sufficing reason* for them to know it in a few centuries. In the mean time, it is making prodigious havock among us, especially in those armies composed of well disciplined hirelings, who determine the fate of nations ; for we may safely affirm, that, when an army of 30000 men fights another equal in number, there are about 20000 of them poxed on each side.

Very surprizing, indeed, said Candid, but you must get cured. Lord help me, how can I ? said Pangloss : my dear friend, I have not a penny in the world ; and you know one cannot be bled or have a glister without a fee.

This last speech had its effect on Candid ; he flew to the charitable anabaptist James, he flung himself a his feet, and gave him so striking a picture of the miserable situation of his friend, that the good man, without any farther hesitation, agreed to take Dr. Pangloss into his house, and to pay for his cure. The cure was effected with only the loss of one eye and an ear *. As he wrote a good hand, and under-

* The author seems to be but indifferently acquainted with the effects of this distemper, otherwise he would have mentioned his nose and his palate, among the particulars of his loss, rather than the ear, which is seldom, if ever affected in this disorder.—Pangloss was in much greater danger of losing his ear in the pillory, as an impostor and corruptor of youth,

stood accounts tolerably well, the anabaptist made him his book-keeper. At the expiration of two months, being obliged to go to Lisbon, about some mercantile affairs, he took the two philosophers with him in the same ship; Pangloss, during the course of the voyage, explained to him how every thing was so constituted that it could not be better. James did not quite agree with him in this point: Mankind, said he, must, in some things, have deviated from their original innocence; for they were not born wolves, and yet they worry one another like those beasts of prey. God never gave them twenty-four pounders nor bayonets, and yet they have made cannon and bayonets to destroy one another. To this account, I might add not only bankruptcies, but the law which seizes on the effects of bankrupts, only to cheat the creditors. All this was indispensibly necessary, replied the one-eyed doctor; for private misfortunes are public benefits; so that the more private misfortunes there are, the greater is the general good. While he was arguing in this manner, the sky was overcast, the winds blew from the four quarters of the compass, and the ship was assailed by a most terrible tempest, within sight of the port of Lisbon.

CHAP. V.

A tempest, a shipwreck, an earthquake; and what else befel Dr. Pangloss, Candid, and James the Anabaptist.

ONE half of the passengers, weakened and half-dead with the inconceivable anxiety and sickness, which the rolling of a vessel at sea occasions through the whole human frame, were lost to all sense of the danger that surrounded them. The other made loud outcries, or betook themselves to their prayers; the sails were blown into shivers, and the masts were brought by the board. The vessel was a perfect wreck. Every one was busily employed, but no-body could be either heard or obeyed. The anabaptist, being upon deck, lent a helping hand as well as the rest, when a brutish sailor gave him a blow, and laid him speechless; but, with the violence of the blow, the tar himself tumbled head-foremost over-board, and fell upon a piece of the broken mast, which he immediately grasped. Honest James, forgetting the injury he had so lately received from him, flew to his assistance, and, with great difficulty, hauled him in again, but, in the attempt, was, by a sudden jerk of the ship, thrown overboard himself, in sight of the very fellow, whom he had risked his life to save, and who took not the least notice of him in this distress. Candid, who beheld all that past, and saw his benefactor one moment rising above water, and the next swallowed up by the merciless waves, was preparing to jump after him;

him ; but was prevented by the philosopher Pangloss, who demonstrated to him, that the coast of Lisbon had been made on purpose for the anabaptist to be drowned there. While he was proving his argument *à priori*, the ship foundered, and the whole crew perished, except Pangloss, Candid, and the sailor who had been the means of drowning the good anabaptist *. The villain swam ashore ; but Pangloss and Candid got to land upon a plank.

As soon as they had recovered themselves from their surprize and fatigue, they walked towards Lisbon ; with what little money they had left, they thought to save themselves from starving after having escaped drowning.

Scarce had they done lamenting the loss of their benefactor and set foot in the city, when they perceived the earth to tremble under their feet, and the sea, swelling and foaming in the harbour, dash in pieces the vessels that were riding at an anchor. Large sheets of flames and cinders covered the streets and publick places ; the houses tottered, and were tumbled topsy-turvy even to their foundations, which were themselves destroyed, and thirty thousand inhabitants of both sexes, young and old, were buried beneath the ruins. The sailor, whistling and swearing, cried, Damn it there's something to be got here. What can be the *sufficing reason* of this phenomenon ? said Pangloss. It is certainly the day of judgment, said Can-

* We never heard before, that the anabaptists were more virtuous than their neighbours. Indeed they make great pretensions to sanctity, and oftentimes to illumination ; but these have been generally found to be the effects of hypocrisy and fanaticism.

did. The sailor, defying death in the pursuit of plunder, rushed into the midst of the ruin, where he found some money, with which he got drunk, and, after he had slept himself sober, he purchased the favours of the first good-natured wench that came in his way, amidst the ruins of demolished houses, and the groans of half-buried and expiring persons. Pangloss pulled him by the sleeve; Friend, said he, this is not right, you trespass against the *universal reason*, and have mistaken your time. Death and wounds! answered the other, I am a sailor and born at Batavia, and have trampled * four times upon the crucifix in as many voyages to Japan; you are come to a good hand with your *universal reason*.

In the mean time, Candid, who had been wounded by some pieces of stone that fell from the houses, lay stretched in the street, almost covered with rubbish: for God's sake, said he to Pangloss, get me a little wine and oil, I am dying. This concussion of the earth is no new thing, replied Pangloss, the city of Lima in America experienced the same last year; the same cause the same effects; there is certainly a train of sulphur all the way underground from Lima to Lisbon. Nothing more probable, said Candid; but for the love of God a little oil and wine. Probable! replied the philosopher, I maintain that the thing is demonstrable; Candid fainted away, and Pangloss fetched him some water from a neighbouring spring.

* The Dutch traders to Japan are actually obliged to trample upon a crucifix, in token of their aversion to the Christian religion, which the Japonese abhor.

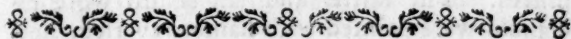
The next day, in searching amongst the ruins, they found some eatables, with which they repaired their exhausted strength. After this, they assisted the inhabitants in relieving the distressed and wounded. Some, whom they had humanely assisted, gave them as good a dinner as could be expected under such terrible circumstances. The repast, indeed, was mournful, and the company moistened their bread with their tears; but Pangloss endeavoured to comfort them under this affliction by affirming that things could not be otherwise than they were: for, said he, all this is for the very best end, for if there is a volcano at Lisbon, it could be in no other spot; for it is impossible but things should be as they are, for every thing is for the best.

By the side of the preceptor sat a little man dressed in black, who was one of the *familiars* of the inquisition. This person, taking him up with great complaisance, said, Possibly, my good sir, you do not believe in original sin; for, if every thing is best, there could have been no such thing as the fall or punishment of men.

I humbly ask your excellency's pardon, answered Pangloss, still more politely; for the fall of man, and the curse consequent thereupon, necessarily entered into the system of the best of worlds. That is as much as to say, sir, rejoined the familiar, you do not believe in free-will. Your excellency will be so good as to excuse me, said Pangloss, free-will is consistent with absolute necessity; for it was necessary we should be free, for in that the will——

Pangloss

Pangloss was in the midst of his proposition, when the inquisitor beckoned to his attendant to help him to a glass of port wine.



CHAP. VI.

How the Portuguese made a superb Auto-da-fé to prevent any future earthquakes, and how Candid underwent public flagellation.

AFTER the earthquake, which had destroyed three fourths of the city of Lisbon, the sages of that country could think of no means more effectual to preserve the kingdom from utter ruin, than to entertain the people with an Auto da fé*, it having been decided by the university of Coimbra, that the burning a few people alive by a slow fire, and with great ceremony, is an infallible secret to prevent earthquakes.

In consequence thereof, they had seized on a Biscayner for marrying his godmother, and on two Portuguese for taking out the bacon of a larded pullet they were eating; after dinner, they came and secured doctor Pangloss, and his pupil Candid, the one for speaking his mind, and the other for seeming to approve what he had said. They were conducted to separate

* An Auto-da-fé was actually to have been celebrated the very day on which the earthquake destroyed Lisbon. Every body knows that an Auto-da-fé is a general gaoi delivery from the prisons of the inquisition, when the wretches condemned by that tribunal, are brought to the stake, or otherwise stigmatized in public.

apart-

apartments, extremely cool, where they were never incommoded with the sun. Eight days afterwards they were each dressed in a *san-benito**, and their heads were adorned with paper mitres. The mitre and *san-benito* wore by Candid were painted with flames reversed, and with devils that had neither tails nor claws; but doctor Pangloss's devils had both tails and claws, and his flames were upright. In these habits they marched in procession, and heard a very pathetic sermon, which was followed by an anthem, accompanied by bagpipes. Candid was jerked in cadence; while the anthem was singing, the Biscayner and the two men, who would not eat bacon, were burnt, and Pangloss was hanged, which is not a common custom at these solemnities. The same day there was another earthquake, which made most dreadful havock.

Candid, amazed, terrified, confounded, astonished, all bloody, and trembling from head to foot, said to himself, if this is the best of all possible worlds, what are the others? If I had only been whipped, I could have put up with it, as I did among the Bulgarians; but, oh my dear Pangloss! my beloved master! thou greatest of philosophers! that ever I should live to see you hanged, without knowing for what! O my dear anabaptist, thou best of men, that it should be thy fate to be drowned in the very harbour! O miss Cunegund, thou mirror of young ladies! that it should be your fate to have your belly ript open!

* A kind of garment worn by the criminals of the inquisition; we have explained it in another volume.

He was making the best of his way from the place where he had been preached to, whipt, absolved, and received benediction, when he was accosted by an old woman, who said to him, Take courage, child, and follow me.



C H A P. VII.

How the old woman took care of Candid, and how he found the object of his love.

CANDID followed the old woman, though without taking courage, to a decayed house, where she gave him a pot of pomatum to anoint his sores, shewed him a very neat bed, with a suit of cloaths hanging up by it; and set victuals and drink before him. There, said she, eat, drink, and sleep, and may our blessed lady of Apacha, and the great St. Anthony of Padua, and the illustrious St. James of Compostella, take you under their protection. I shall be back to-morrow. Candid struck with amazement at what he had seen, at what he had suffered, and still more with the charity of the old woman, would have shewn his acknowledgment by kissing her hand. It is not my hand you ought to kiss, said the old woman, I shall be back to-morrow. Anoint your back, eat, and take your rest.

Candid, notwithstanding so many disasters, eat and slept. The next morning, the old woman brought him his breakfast; examined his back, and rubbed it herself with another ointment. She returned at the proper time,

and brought him his dinner ; and at night, she visited him again with his supper. The next day she observed the same ceremonies. Who are you ? said Candid to her, What God has inspired you with so much goodness ? What return can I make you for this charitable assistance ? The good old beldame kept a profound silence. In the evening she returned, but without his supper ; Come along with me, said she, but do not speak a word. She took him under her arm, and walked with him about a quarter of a mile into the country, till they came to a lonely house surrounded with moats and gardens. The old conductress knocked at a little door, which was immediately opened, and she shewed him up a pair of back-stairs, into a small, but richly furnished, apartment. There she made him sit down on a brocaded sofa, shut the door upon him, and left him. Candid thought himself in a trance ; he looked upon his whole life, hitherto, as a frightful dream, and the present moment as a very agreeable one.

The old woman soon returned, supporting, with great difficulty, a young lady, who appeared scarce able to stand. She was of a majestic mien and stature, her dress was rich, and glittering with diamonds, and her face was covered with a veil. Take off that veil, said the old woman to Candid. The young man approaches, and, with a trembling hand, takes off her veil. What a happy moment ! What surprize ! He thought he beheld miss Cunegund, he did behold her, it was she herself. His strength fails him, he cannot utter a word, he falls at her feet. Cunegund faints upon the sofa.

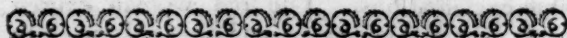
fofa. The old woman bedews them with spirits; they recover; they begin to speak. At first they could express themselves only in broken accents; their questions and answers were alternately interrupted with sighs, tears, and exclamations. The old woman desired them to make less noise, and after this prudent admonition left them together. Good heavens! cried Candid, is it you? Is it miss Cunegund I behold, and alive? Do I find you again in Portugal? then you have not been ravished? they did not rip open your belly, as the philosopher Pangloss informed me? Indeed but they did, replied miss Cunegund; but these two accidents do not always prove mortal. But were your father and mother killed? Alas! answered she, it is but too true! and she wept. And your brother? And my brother also. And how came you into Portugal? And how did you know of my being here? And by what strange adventure did you contrive to have me brought into this house? And how—I will tell you all, replied the lady, but first you must acquaint me with all that has befallen you, since the innocent kiss you gave me, and the rude kicking you received in consequence of it.

Candid, with the greatest submission, prepared to obey the commands of his fair mistress, and though he was still wrapt in amazement, though his voice was low and tremulous, though his back pained him; yet he gave her a most ingenuous account of every thing that had befallen him, since the moment of their separation. Cunegund, with her eyes uplifted to heaven, shed tears when he related the death of the good anabaptist James, and of Pangloss;

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after which she thus related her adventures to Candid, who lost not one syllable she uttered, and seemed to devour her with his eyes, all the time she was speaking.



C H A P. VIII.

The history of Cunegund.

I Was in bed, and fast asleep, when it pleased heaven to send the Bulgarians to our delightful castle of Thunder-ten-tronckh, where they murdered my father and brother, and cut my mother in pieces. A tall Bulgarian soldier, six feet high, perceiving that I had fainted away at this sight, attempted to ravish me; the operation brought me to my senses. I cried, I struggled, I bit, I scratched, I would have torn the tall Bulgarian's eyes out, not knowing that what had happened at my father's castle was a customary thing. The brutal soldier, enraged at my resistance, gave me a cut in the left groin with his hanger, the mark of which I still carry. Methinks I long to see it, said Candid, with all imaginable simplicity. You shall, said Cunegund, but let me proceed. Pray do, replied Candid.

She continued. A Bulgarian captain came in, and saw me weltering in my blood, and the soldier still as busy as if no one had been present. The officer, enraged at the fellow's want of respect to him, killed him with one stroke of his sabre as he lay upon me. This captain took care of me, had me cured, and

carried me prisoner of war to his quarters. I washed what little linen he was master of, and dressed his victuals; he was very fond of me, that was certain; neither can I deny that he was well made, and had a white soft skin, but he was very stupid, and knew nothing of philosophy: it might plainly be perceived that he had not been educated under doctor Pangloss. In three months time, having gamed away all his money, and being grown tired of me, he sold me to a Jew, named Don Issachar, who traded to Holland and Portugal, and was passionately fond of women. This Jew shewed me great kindness, in hopes to gain my favours; but he never could prevail on me. A modest woman may be once ravished; but her virtue is greatly strengthened thereby. In order to make sure of me, he brought me to this country-house you now see. I had hitherto believed that nothing could equal the beauty of the castle of Thunder-ten-tronckh; but I found I was mistaken.

The grand inquisitor saw me one day at mass, ogled me all the time of service, and, when it was over, sent to let me know he wanted to speak with me about some private business. I was conducted to his palace, where I told him all my story: he represented to me how much it was beneath a person of my birth, to belong to a circumcised Israelite. He caused a proposal to be made to Don Issachar, that he should resign me to his lordship. Don Issachar, being the court banker, and a man of credit, was not easy to be prevailed upon. His lordship threatened him with an Auto-da-fé; in short, my Jew was frightened into a composition, and it

was agreed between them, that the house and myself should belong to both in common; that the Jew should have Monday, Wednesday, and the Sabbath to himself; and the inquisitor the other four-days of the week. This agreement has subsisted almost six months; but not without several contests, whether the space from Saturday night to Sunday morning belonged to the old or the new law. For my part, I have hitherto withstood them both, and truly I believe this is the very reason why they are both so fond of me.

At length, to turn aside the scourge of earthquakes, and to intimidate Don Issachar, my lord inquisitor was pleased to celebrate an Auto-da-fé. He did me the honour to invite me to the ceremony. I had a very good seat; and refreshments of all kinds were offered the ladies between mass and the execution. I was dreadfully shocked at the burning the two Jews, and the honest Bicayner, who married his god-mother; but how great was my surprise, my consternation, and concern, when I beheld a figure so like Pangloss, dressed in a fan-benito and mitre! I rubbed my eyes, I looked at him attentively. I saw him hanged, and I fainted away: scarce had I recovered my senses, when I beheld you stark-naked; this was the height of horror, grief, and despair. I must confess to you for a truth, that your skin is far whiter and more blooming, than that of the Bulgarian captain. This spectacle worked me up to a pitch of distraction. I screamed out, and would have said, hold barbarians! but my voice failed me; and indeed my cries would have signified nothing. After you had been severely whipped,

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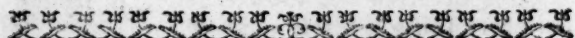
how

how is it possible, said I to myself, that the lovely Candid and the sage Pangloss should be at Lisbon, the one to receive an hundred lashes, and the other to be hanged by order of my lord inquisitor, of whom I am so great a favourite? Pangloss deceived me most cruelly, in saying that every thing is fittest and best.

Thus agitated and perplexed, now distracted and lost, now half dead with grief, I revolved in my mind the murder of my father, mother, and brother, committed before my eyes; the insolence of the rascally Bulgarian soldier; the wound he gave me in the groin; my servitude; my being a cook wench to my Bulgarian captain; my subjection to the dirty Jew, and my cruel inquisitor; the hanging of Doctor Pangloss; the *miserere* sung while you was whipping; and particularly the kiss I gave you behind the screen, the last day I ever beheld you. I returned thanks to God for having brought you to the place where I was, after so many trials. I charged the old woman, who attends me to bring you hither, as soon as was convenient. She has punctually executed my orders, and I now enjoy the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing you, hearing you, and speaking to you. But you must certainly be half-dead with hunger; I myself have a great inclination to eat, and so let us sit down to supper.

Upon this the two lovers immediately placed themselves at table, and, after having supped, they returned to seat themselves again on the magnificent sofa already mentioned, where they were in amorous dalliance, when Signor

Don Issachar, one of the masters of the house, entered unexpectedly ; it was the sabbath day, and he came to enjoy his privilege, and sigh forth his passion at the feet of the fair Cunegund.



C H A P. IX.

What happened to Cunegund, Candid, the grand Inquisitor, and the Jew.

THIS same Issachar was the most choleric little Hebrew, that had ever been in Israel, since the captivity of Babylon. What then, said he, you Galilean B—h ! the inquisitor was not enough for thee, but this rascal must come in for a share with me ? In uttering these words, he drew out a long poinard, which he always carried about him, and never dreaming that his adversary had any arms, he attacked him most furiously ; but our honest Westphalian had received a handsome sword of the old woman with the suit of cloaths. Candid draws his rapier, and though he was the most gentle sweet tempered young man breathing, he whips it into the Israelite, and laid him sprawling on the floor at the fair Cunegund's feet.

Holy Virgin ! cried she, what will become of us ? A man killed in my apartment ! If the peace-officers come, we are undone. Had not Panglo's been hanged, replied Candid, he would have given us most excellent advice, in this emergency ; for he was a profound philosopher.

But,

But, since he is not here, let us consult the old woman. She was very understanding, and was beginning to give her advice, when another door opened on a sudden. It was now one o'clock in the morning, and of course the beginning of Sunday, which, by agreement, fell to the lot of my lord inquisitor. Entering he discovers the flagellated Candid with his drawn sword in his hand, a dead body stretched on the floor, Cunegund frightened out of her wits, and the old woman giving advice.

At that very moment, a sudden thought came into Candid's head. If this holy man, thought he, should call assistance, I shall most undoubtedly be consigned to the flames, and miss Cunegund may perhaps meet with no better treatment: besides, he was the cause of my being so cruelly whipped; he is my rival; and as I have now begun to dip my hands in blood, I will kill away, for there is no time to hesitate. This whole train of reasoning was clear and instantaneous; so that, without giving time to the inquisitor to recover from his surprise, he ran him through the body, and laid him by the side of the Jew. Good God! cries Cunegund, here's another fine piece of work! now there can be no mercy for us, we are excommunicated to all the devils in hell; our last hour is come. But how in the name of wonder could you, who are of so mild a temper, dispatch a Jew and an Inquisitor in two minutes time? Beautiful miss, answered Candid, when a man is in love, is jealous, and has been flogged by the inquisition, he becomes lost to all reflection.

The old woman then put in her word; there

are three Andalusian horses in the stable, said she, with as many bridles and saddles; let the brave Candid get them ready: madam has a parcel of moidores and jewels, let us mount immediately, though I have only one buttock to sit upon; let us set out for Cadiz; it is the finest weather in the world, and there is great pleasure in travelling in the cool of the night.

Candid, without any farther hesitation, saddles the three horses; and miss Cunegund, the old woman, and he, set out, and travelled thirty miles without once bating. While they were making the best of their way, the Holy Brotherhood enter the house. My lord the inquisitor is interred in a magnificent manner, and master Iffachar's body is thrown upon a dung-hill.

Candid, Cunegund, and the old woman, had by this time reached the little town of Avacena, in the midst of the mountains of Sierra Morena, and were engaged in the following conversation in an inn, where they had taken up their quarters.



CHAP. X.

In what distress Candid, Cunegund, and the old woman arrive at Cadiz; and of their embarkation.

WHO could it be that has robbed me of my moidores and jewels? exclaimed miss Cunegund, all bathed in tears. How shall we live? What shall we do? Where shall I find inquisitors and Jews who can give me more? Alas!

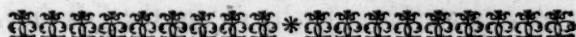
Alas! said the old woman, I have a shrewd suspicion of a reverend father Cordelier, who lay last night in the same inn with us at Badajoz; God forbid I should condemn any one wrongfully, but he came into our room twice, and he set off in the morning long before us. Alas! said Candid, Pangloss has often demonstrated to me that the goods of this world are common to all men, and that every one has an equal right to the enjoyment of them; but, according to these principles, the cordelier ought to have left us enough to carry us to the end of our journey. Have you nothing at all left, my dear miss Cunegund? Not a sou, replied she. What is to be done then, said Candid. Sell one of the horses, replied the old woman, I will get behind miss Cunegund, though I have only one buttock to ride on, and we shall reach Cadiz never fear.

In the same inn there was a Benedictine friar, who bought the horse very cheap. Candid, Cunegund, and the old woman, after passing through Lucina, Chellas, and Letrixa, arrived at length at Cadiz. A fleet was then getting ready, and troops were assembling in order to reduce the reverend father Jesuits of Paraguay, who were accused of having excited one of the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of the town of the Holy Sacrament, to revolt against the kings of Spain and Portugal. Candid, having been in the Bulgarian service, performed the military exercise of that nation before the general of this little army with so intrepid an air, and with such agility and expedition, that he gave him the command of a company of foot. Being now made a captain, he embarks with

miss Cunegund, the old woman, two valets and the two Andalusian horses, which had belonged to the grand inquisitor of Portugal.

During their voyage they amused themselves with many profound reasonings on poor Pangloss's philosophy. We are now going into another world, and surely it must be there that every thing is best; for I must confess that we have had some little reason to complain of what passes in ours, both as to the physical and moral part. Though I have a sincere love for you, said miss Cunegund, yet I still shudder at the reflection of what I have seen and experienced. All will be well, replied Candid, the sea of this new world is already better than our European seas; it is smoother, and the winds blow more regularly. God grant it, said Cunegund; but I have met with such terrible treatment in this, that I have almost lost all hopes of a better. What murmuring and complaining is here indeed! cried the old woman: If you had suffered half what I have done, there might be some reason for it. Miss Cunegund could scarce refrain laughing at the good old woman, and thought it droll enough to pretend to a greater share of misfortunes than herself. Alas! my good dame, said she, unless you had been ravished by two Bulgarians, had received two deep wounds in your belly, had seen two of your own castles demolished, had lost two fathers, and two mothers, and seen both of them barbarously murdered before your eyes, and to sum up all, had two lovers whipped at an Auto-da fe, I cannot see how you could be more unfortunate than me. Add to this, though born a baroness, and bearing seventy-two quarterings,

ings, I have been reduced to be a cook-wench. Miss, replied the old woman, you do not know my family as yet ; but if I was to shew you my backside, you would not talk in this manner, but suspend your judgment. This speech raised a high curiosity in Candid and Cunegund ; and the old woman continued as follows.



CHAP. XI.

The History of the Old Woman.

I Have not always been blear-eyed. My nose did not always touch my chin, nor was I always a servant. You must know that I am the daughter of pope Urban 'X. *, and of the princess of Palestrina. To the age of fourteen I was brought up in a castle, to which all the castles of the German barons would not have been fit for stabling, and one of my robes would have bought half the province of Westphalia. I grew up, and improved in beauty, wit, and every graceful accomplishment ; and in the midst of pleasures, homage, and the highest expectations. I already began to inspire the men with love. My breast began to take its right form, and such a breast ! white, firm, and formed like that of Venus of Medicis ; my eyebrows were as black as jet, and as for my eyes, they darted flames and eclipsed the lustre of the stars, as I was told by the poets of our part of

* There never was a tenth pope of that name ; so that this number is mentioned to avoid scandal.

the world. My maids, when they dressed and undressed me, used to fall into an ecstasy in viewing me before and behind: and all the men longed to be in their places.

I was contracted to a sovereign prince of Massa Carara. Such a prince! as handsome as myself, sweet-tempered, agreeable, witty, and in love with me over head and ears. I loved him too, as our sex generally do for the first time, with rapture, transport, and idolatry. The nuptials were prepared with surprising pomp and magnificence; the ceremony was attended with feasts, carousals and burlettas: all Italy composed sonnets in my praise, tho' not one of them was tolerable. I was on the point of reaching the summit of bliss, when an old marchioness, who had been mistress to the prince my husband, invited him to drink chocolate. In less than two hours after he returned from the visit, he died of most terrible convulsions. But this is a mere trifle. My mother distracted to the highest degree, and yet less afflicted than me, determined to absent herself for some time from so fatal a place. As she had a very fine estate in the neighbourhood of Gaieta we embarked on board a galley, which was gilded like the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome. In our passage we were boarded by a Sallee rover. Our men defended themselves like true pope's soldiers; they flung themselves upon their knees, laid down their arms, and begged the corsair to give them absolution *in articulo mortis*.

The Moors presently stripped us as bare as ever we were born. My mother, my maids of honour, and myself, were served all in the same manner. It is amazing how quick these gen-
try

try are at undressing people. But what surprised me most was, that they thrust their fingers into that part of our bodies where we women seldom admit any thing but—pipes to enter. I thought it a very strange kind of ceremony ; for thus we are generally apt to judge of things when we have not seen the world. I afterwards learnt that it was to discover if we had no diamonds concealed. This practice has been established time immemorial among those civilized nations that scour the seas. I was informed that the religious knights of Malta never fail to make this search whenever any Moors of either sex fall into their hands. It is a part of the law of nations, from which they never deviate.

I need not tell you how great a hardship it was for a young princess and her mother to be made slaves and carried to Morocco. You may easily imagine what we must have suffered on board a corsair. My mother was still extremely handsome, our maids of honour, and even our common waiting women, had more charms than were to be found in all Africa. As to myself, I was enchanting ; I was beauty itself, and then I had my virginity. But, alas ! I did not retain it long ; this precious flower, which was reserved for the lovely prince of Massa Carrara, was cropt by the captain of the Moorish vessel, who was a hideous negro, and thought he did me infinite honour. Indeed both the princess of Palestrina and myself must have had very strong constitutions to undergo all the hardships and violences we suffered till our arrival at Morocco. But I will not detain you any longer with such common things ; they are hardly worth mentioning. Upon

Upon our arrival at Morocco we found that kingdom bathed in blood. Fifty sons of the emperor Muley Ishmael were each at the head of a party. This produced fifty civil wars * of blacks against blacks, of tawnies against tawnies, and of mulattoes against mulattoes. In short the whole empire was one continued scene of carcases.

No sooner were we landed than a party of blacks, of a contrary faction to that of my captain, came to rob him of his booty. Next to the money and jewels we were the most valuable things he had. I was witness on this occasion to such a battle as you never beheld in your cold European climates. The northern nations have not that fermentation in their blood, nor that raging lust for women that is so common in Africa. The natives of Europe seem to have their veins filled with milk only; but fire and vitriol circulate in those of the inhabitants of Mount Atlas and the neighbouring provinces. They fought with the fury of the lions, tigers, and serpents of their country, to know who should have us. A Moor seized my mother by the right arm, while my captain's lieutenant held her by the left; another Moor laid hold of her by the right leg, and one of our corsairs held her by the other. In this manner were almost every one of our women dragged between four foldiers. My captain kept me concealed behind him, and with his drawn scymetar cut down every one who opposed him; at length I saw all our Italian wo-

* If there were only fifty competitors, one would have expected no more than five and twenty civil wars.

men and my mother mangled and torn in pieces by the monsters who contended for them. The captives, my companions, the Moors who took us, the soldiers, the sailors, the blacks, the whites, the mulattoes, and lastly, my captain himself, were all slain, and I remained alone expiring upon a heap of dead bodies. The like barbarous scenes were transacted every day over the whole country, which is an extent of three hundred leagues; and yet they never missed the five stated times of prayer enjoined by their prophet Mahomet.

I disengaged myself with great difficulty from such a heap of slaughtered bodies, and made a shift to crawl to a large orange tree that stood on the bank of a neighbouring rivulet, where I fell down exhausted with fatigue, and overwhelmed with horror, despair, and hunger. My senses being overpowered, I fell asleep, or rather seemed to be in a trance. Thus I lay in a state of weakness and insensibility between life and death, when I felt myself pressed by something that moved up and down upon my body. This brought me to myself, I opened my eyes, and saw a pretty fair-faced man, who sighed and muttered these words between his teeth, *O che sciagura d'essere senza coglioni!*

CHAP. XII.

The Adventures of the old woman continued.

ASTONISHED and delighted to hear my native language, and no less surpris'd at the young man's words, I told him that there were far greater misfortunes in the world than what he complain'd of. And to convince him of it, I gave him a short history of the horrible disasters that had befallen me; and as soon as I had finish'd, fell into a swoon again. He carried me in his arms to a neighbouring cottage, where he had me put to bed, procur'd me something to eat, wait'd on me with the greatest attention, comforted me, caress'd me, told me that he had never seen any thing so perfectly beautiful as myself, and that he had never so much regretted the loss of what no one could restore to him. I was born at Naples, said he, where they *exponize* two or three thousand children every year; several die of the operation; some acquire voices far beyond the most tuneful of your ladies; and others are sent to govern states and empires. I underwent this operation very happily; and was one of the singers in the prince's of Palestrina's chapel. How, cried I, in my mother's chapel! The prince's of Palestrina, your mother, cried he, bursting into a flood of tears! is it possible you should be the beautiful young prince's whom I had the care of bringing up till she was six years old, and who at that tender age promised to be as fair as I now behold you? I am the same, replied I. My mother lies about a hundred.

dred yards from hence cut in pieces, and buried under a heap of dead bodies.

I then related to him all that had befallen me, and he in return acquainted me with all his adventures, and how he had been sent to the court of the king of Morocco by a Christian prince to conclude a treaty with that monarch; in consequence of which he was to be furnished with military stores, and ships to enable him to destroy the commerce of other Christian governments *. I have executed my commission, said the eunuch; I am going to take shipping at Ceuta, and I'll take you along with me to Italy. *Ma che sciagura d'essere senza coglioni!*

I thanked him with tears of joy, and, instead of taking me with him into Italy, he carried me to Algiers, and sold me to the dey of that province. I had not been long a slave when the plague, which had made the tour of Africa, Asia, and Europe, broke out at Algiers with redoubled fury. You have seen an earthquake; but tell me, Miss, had you ever the plague? Never, answered the young baroness.

If you ever had, continued the old woman, you would own an earthquake was a trifle to it. It is very common in Africa; I was seized with it. Figure to yourself the distressed situation of the daughter of a pope, only fifteen years old, and who in less than three months had felt the miseries of poverty and slavery; had

* This is too just a reproach upon those Christian powers, who, for the thirst of lucre, shamefully patronize, and supply the barbarians of Africa with the means of gratifying their rapacity, and of exercising cruelties which are a disgrace to human nature,

been

been ravished almost every day; had beheld her mother cut into four quarters; had experienced the scourges of famine and war; and was now dying of the plague at Algiers. I did not, however, die of it; but my eunuch, and the dey, and almost the whole seraglio of Algiers, were swept off.

As soon as the first fury of this dreadful pestilence was over, a sale was made of the dey's slaves. I was purchased by a merchant who carried me to Tunis. This man sold me to another merchant, who sold me again to another at Tripoli; from Tripoli I was sold to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Smyrna, and from Smyrna to Constantinople. After many changes, I at length became the property of an aga of the janissaries, who, soon after I came into his possession, was ordered away to the defence of Asoph, then besieged by the Russians.

The aga, being very fond of women, took his whole seraglio with him, and lodged us in a small fort with two black eunuchs and twenty soldiers for our guard. Our army made a great slaughter among the Russians; but they soon returned us the compliment. Asoph was taken by storm, and the enemy spared neither age, sex, nor condition, but put all to the sword, and laid the city in ashes. Our little fort alone held out; they resolved to reduce us by famine. The twenty janissaries, who were left to defend it, had bound themselves by an oath never to surrender the place. Being reduced to the extremity of famine, they found themselves obliged to kill our two eunuchs, and eat them rather than violate their oath. But this horrible repast soon failing them, they next determined to support

support the remains of life by devouring the women.

We had a very pious and humane iman, who made them a most excellent sermon on this occasion, exhorting them not to kill us all at once; "Only cut off one of the buttocks of each of those ladies, said he, and you'll fare extremely well; if you are still under the necessity of having recourse to the same expedient again, you will find the like supply a few days hence. Heaven will approve of so charitable an action, and work your deliverance."

By the force of this eloquence he easily persuaded them, and all underwent the operation. The iman applied the same balsam as they do to children after circumcision. We were all ready to give up the ghost.

The janissaries had scarcely time to finish the repast with which we had supplied them, when the Russians attacked the place by means of flat-bottomed boats, and not a single janissary escaped. The Russians paid no regard to the condition we were in; but as there are French surgeons in all parts of the world, a skilful operator took us under his care, and made a cure of us; and I shall never forget, while I live, that as soon as my wounds were perfectly healed he made me certain proposals. In general, he desired us all to have a good heart, assuring us that the like had happened in many sieges; and that it was perfectly agreeable to the laws of war.

As soon as my companions were in a condition to walk, they were sent to Moscow. As for me, I fell to the lot of a boyard, who put me to work in his garden, and gave me twenty
lashes

lashes a day. But this nobleman having in about two years afterwards been broke alive upon the wheel with about thirty others, for some court intrigues, I took advantage of the event and made my escape. I travelled over great part of Russia. I was a long time an inn-keeper's servant at Riga, then at Rostock, Wismar, Leipzick, Cassel, Utrecht, Leyden, the Hague and Rotterdam: I have grown old in misery and disgrace, living with only one buttock, and in the perpetual remembrance that I was a pope's daughter. I have been an hundred times upon the point of killing myself, but still was fond of life. This ridiculous weakness is, perhaps, one of the dangerous principles implanted in our nature. For what can be more absurd than to persist in carrying a burthen of which we wish to be eased? to detest, and yet to strive to preserve our existence? In a word, to caress the serpent that devours us, and hug him close to our bosoms till he has gnawed into our hearts?

In the different countries which it has been my fate to traverse, and the many inns where I have been a servant, I have observed a prodigious number of people who held their existence in abhorrence, and yet I never knew more than twelve who voluntarily put an end to their misery; namely, three Negroes, four Englishmen*, as many Genoese, and a German

* The company with which our author joins the English suicides is a keen stroke of satire upon this nation—Perhaps by the greater number of the English, he meant to shew that suicide was oftner the effect of whim and caprice, than owing to a sense of insupportable misery.

professor,

professor, named Robek. My last place was with the Jew, Don Issachar, who placed me near your person, my fair lady; to whose fortunes I have attached myself, and have been more affected with your misfortunes than my own. I should never have even mentioned the latter to you, had you not a little piqued me on the head of sufferings; and if it was not customary to tell stories on board a ship, in order to pass away the time. In short, my dear Miss, I have a great deal of knowledge and experience in the world, therefore take my advice; divert yourself, and prevail upon each passenger to tell his story, and if there is one of them all that has not cursed his existence many times, and said to himself over and over again; that he was the most wretched of mortals, I give you leave to throw me head-foremost into the sea.



C H A P. XIII.

How Candid was obliged to leave the fair Cunegund and the old woman.

THE fair Cunegund, being thus made acquainted with the history of the old woman's life and adventures, paid her all the respect and civility due to a person of her rank and merit. She very readily came into her proposal of engaging every one of the passengers to relate their adventures in their turns, and was at length, as well as Candid, compelled to acknowledge that the old woman was in the right.

right. It is a thousand pities, said Candid, that the sage Pangloss should have been hanged contrary to the custom of an *Auto-da-fé*, for he would have read us a most admirable lecture on the moral and physical evil which overspread the earth and sea; and I think I should have courage enough to presume to offer (with all due respect) some few objections.

While every one was reciting his adventures, the ship continued her way, and at length arrived at Buenos Ayres, where Cunegund, Captain Candid, and the old woman, landed and went to wait upon the governor Don Fernando d'Ibaraa, y Figueora, y Mascarenes, y Lampourdos, y Souza. This nobleman carried himself with a haughtiness suitable to a person who bore so many names. He spoke with the most noble disdain to every one, carried his nose so high, strained his voice to such a pitch, assumed so imperious an air, and stalked with so much loftiness and pride, that every one who had the honour of conversing with him were violently tempted to bastinado his excellency. He was immoderately fond of women, and Miss Cunegund appeared in his eyes a paragon of beauty. The first thing he did was to ask her if she was not the Captain's wife. The air with which he made this demand alarmed Candid, who did not dare to say he was married to her, because indeed he was not; neither durst he say she was his sister, because she was not: and tho' a lye of this nature proved of great service to one of the antients, and might possibly be useful to some of the moderns, yet the purity of his heart would not permit him to violate the truth. Miss Cunegund,

Cunegund, replied he, is to do me the honour to marry me, and we humbly beseech your excellency to condescend to grace the ceremony with your presence.

Don Fernando d'Ibaraa, y Figueora, y Mascarenes, y Lampourdos, y Souza, twirling his mustachio, and putting on a sarcastic smile, ordered captain Candid to go and review his company. The gentle Candid obeyed, and the governor was left with Miss Cunegund. He made her a strong declaration of love, protesting that he was ready to give her his hand in the face of the church, or otherwise, as should appear most agreeable to a young lady of her prodigious beauty. Cunegund desired leave to retire a quarter of an hour to consult the old woman, and determine how she should proceed.

The old woman gave her the following counsel. Miss, you have seventy-two quarterings in your arms, it is true, but you have not a penny to bless yourself with: it is your own fault if you are not wise to one of the greatest noblemen in South-America, with an exceeding fine mustachio. What business have you to pride yourself upon an unshaken constancy? You have been ravished by a Bulgarian soldier; a Jew and an inquisitor have both tasted of your favours. People take advantage of misfortunes. I must confess, were I in your place, I should, without the least scruple, give my hand to the governor, and thereby make the fortune of the brave captain Candid. While the old woman was thus haranguing, with all the prudence that old age and experience furnish, a small bark entered the harbour, in which was an alcaide and his alguazils. Matters had fallen out as follows:

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The old woman rightly guessed that the cordelier with the long sleeves, was the person who had taken Miss Cunegund's money and jewels, while they and Candid were at Badajox, in their flight from Lisbon. This same friar attempted to sell some of the diamonds to a jeweller, who presently knew them to have belonged to the grand inquisitor, and stopped them. The cordelier, before he was hanged, acknowledged that he had stolen them, and described the persons, and the road they had taken. The flight of Cunegund and Candid was already the town-talk. They sent in pursuit of them to Cadiz; and the vessel which had been sent to make the greater dispatch, had now reached the port of Buenos Ayres. A report was spread that an alcaide was going to land, and that he was in pursuit of the murderers of my lord the inquisitor. The sage old woman immediately saw what was to be done. You cannot run away, said she to Cunegund; but you have nothing to fear; it was not you who killed my lord inquisitor: besides, as the governor is in love with you, he will not suffer you to be ill treated; therefore don't stir. Then hurrying away to Candid, Be gone, said she, from hence this instant, or you will be burnt alive. Candid found there was no time to be lost; but how could he part from Cunegund, and whither must he fly for shelter?

C H A P. XIV.

The reception Candid and Cacambo met with among the Jesuits in Paraguay.

CANDID had brought with him from Cadiz such a footman as one often meets with on the coasts of Spain and in the colonies. He was the fourth part of a Spaniard, of a mungrel bred, and born in Tucuman. He had successively gone thro' the profession of a singing boy, sexton, sailor, monk, pedlar, soldier and lacquey. His name was Cacambo; he had a great affection for his master, because his master was a mighty good man. He immediately saddled the two Andalusian horses. Come, my good master, let us follow the old woman's advice, and make all the haste we can from this place without staying to look behind us. Candid burst into a flood of tears: O, my dear Cunegund, must I then be compelled to quit you just as the governor was going to honour us with his presence at our wedding! Cunegund, so long lost and found again, what will now become of you? Lord! said Cacambo, she must do as well as she can; women are never at a loss. God takes care of them, and so let us make the best of our way. But whither would'st thou carry me? where can we go? what can we do without Cunegund, cried the disconsolate Candid. By St. James of Compostella, said Cacambo, you was going to fight against the Jesuits of Paraguay; now let us e'en go and fight for them; I know the road perfectly well; I'll conduct you to their kingdom; they will be delighted with a captain that understands

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the Bulgarian exercise; you will certainly make a prodigious fortune. If we cannot find our account in this world we may in another. It is a great pleasure to see new objects and perform new exploits.

Then you have been in Paraguay? said Candid. Ay, marry, have I, replied Cacambo; I was a scout in the college of the Assumption, and am as well acquainted with the new government of Los Padres as I am with the streets of Cadiz. Oh it is an admirable government that is most certain! The kingdom is at present upwards of three hundred leagues in diameter, and divided into thirty provinces; the fathers are there masters of every thing, and the people have no money at all; this you must allow is the master-piece of justice* and reason. For my part, I see nothing so divine as the good fathers, who wage war in this part of world against the troops of Spain and Portugal, at the same time that they hear the confessions of those very princes in Europe; who kill Spaniards in America and send them to heaven at Madrid. This pleases me exceedingly, but let us push forward; you are going to see the happiest and most fortunate of all mortals. How charmed will those fathers be to hear that a captain who understands the Bulgarian exercise is coming amongst them.

As soon as they reached the first barrier, Cacambo called to the advance-guard, and told them that a captain wanted to speak to

* Our author is more satirical than just to this institution, which, according to the best accounts we have received, is the most perfect commonwealth that ever existed.

my lord the general. Notice was given to the main-guard, and immediately a Paraguayan officer ran to throw himself at the feet of the commandant to impart this news to him. Candid and Cacambo were immediately disarmed, and their two Andalusian horses were seized.

The two strangers are now conducted between two files of musqueteers, the commandant was at the further end with a three-cornered cap on his head, his gown tucked up, a sword by his side, and a half pike in his hand; he made a sign, and instantly four and twenty soldiers drew up round the new comers. A serjeant told them that they must wait, the commandant could not speak to them; and that the reverend father provincial did not suffer any Spaniard to open his mouth but in his presence, or to stay above three hours in the province. And where is the revered father provincial? said Cacambo. He is just come from mass, and is at the parade, replied the serjeant, and in about three hours time you may possibly have the honour to kiss his spurs. But, said Cacambo, the captain, who, as well as myself, is perishing with hunger, is no Spaniard, but a German; therefore, pray, might we not be permitted to break our fast till we can be introduced to his reverence?

The serjeant immediately went and acquainted the commandant with what he heard. God be praised, said the reverend commandant, since he is a German; I will hear what he has to say; let him be brought to my arbour. Immediately they conducted Candid to a beautiful pavilion adorned with a colonade of green marble, spotted with yellow, and with an

intertexture of vines, which served as a kind of cage for parrots, humming birds, fly birds, Guinea hens, and all other curious kinds of birds. An excellent breakfast was provided in vessels of gold; and while the Paraguayans were eating coarse Indian corn out of wooden dishes in the open air, and exposed to the burning heat of the sun, the reverend father commandant retired to his cool arbour.

He was a very handsome young man, round-faced, fair, and fresh-coloured, his eye-brows were finely arched, he had a piercing eye, the tips of his ears were red, his lips vermillion, and he had a bold and commanding air; but such a boldness as neither resembled that of a Spaniard nor of a Jesuit. He ordered Candid and Cacambo to have their arms restored to them, together with their two Andalusian horses. Cacambo gave the poor beasts some oats to eat close by the arbour, keeping a strict eye upon them all the while for fear of surprise.

Candid having kissed the hem of the commandant's robe, they sat down to table. It seems you are a German, says the Jesuit to him in that language? Yes, reverend father, answered Candid. As they pronounced these words, they looked at each other with great amazement, and with an emotion that neither could conceal. From what part of Germany do you come, said the Jesuit? From the dirty province of Westphalia, answered Candid: I was born in the castle of Thunder-ten-tronckh. Oh heavens! is it possible, said the Commandant? What a miracle! cried Candid. Can it be you, said the commandant? On this they both retired a few steps backwards, then running

ning into each other's arms, embraced, and let fall a shower of tears. Is it you then, reverend father? You are the brother of the fair Miss Cunegund? you that was slain by the Bulgarians! you the baron's son! you a Jesuit in Paraguay! I must confess this is a strange world we live in. O Pangloss! Pangloss! Pangloss! what joy would this have given you if you had not been hanged?

The commandant dismissed the negro slaves, and the Paraguayans who presented them with liquor in crystal goblets. He returned thanks to God and St. Ignatius a thousand times; he clasped Candid in his arms, and both their faces were bathed in tears. You will be more surprised, more affected, more transported, said Candid, when I tell you that Miss Cunegund your sister, whose belly was supposed to have been ript open, is in perfect health. Where? In your neighbourhood with the governor of Buenos Ayres; and I myself was going to fight against you. Every word they uttered during this long conversation, was productive of some new matter of astonishment. Their souls fluttered on their tongues, listened in their ears, and sparkled in their eyes. Like true Germans they continued a long while at table, waiting for the reverend father; and the commandant spoke to his dear Candid as follows:

CHAP. XV.

How Candid killed the brother of his dear Cunegund.

NEVER while I live shall I lose the remembrance of that horrible day on which I saw my father and brother barbarously butchered before my eyes, and my sister ravished. When the Bulgarians retired we searched in vain for my dear sister. She was no where to be found; but the bodies of my father, mother, and myself, with two servant maids and three little boys, all of whom had been murdered by the remorseless enemy, were thrown into a cart to be buried in a chapel belonging to the Jesuits, within two leagues of our family-seat. A Jesuit sprinkled us with some holy water, which was confounded salt, and a few drops of it went into my eyes; the father perceived that my eyelids stirred a little: he put his hand upon my breast, and felt my heart beat; upon which he gave me proper assistance, and at the end of three week I was perfectly recovered. You know, my dear Candid, I was very handsome; I became still more so, and the reverend father Croust, superior of that house, took a great fancy to me; he gave me the habit of the order, and some years afterwards I was sent to Rome. Our general stood in need of new levies of young German Jesuits*. The sovereigns of Paraguay admit of as few Spanish Jesuits as possible; they prefer those of other nations, as being more

* This is an oblique shaft levelled at that infamous passion, which is supposed to prevail in this society.

obedient

obedient to command. The reverend father-general looked upon me as a proper person to work in that vineyard. I set out in company with a Polander and a Tyrolese. Upon my arrival, I was honoured with a subdeaconship and a lieutenancy. Now I am colonel and priest. We shall give a warm reception to the king of Spain's troops; I can assure you they will be well-excommunicated and beaten. Providence has sent you hither to assist us. But is it true that my dear sister Cunegund is in the neighbourhood with the governor of Buenos Ayres? Candid swore that nothing could be more true: and the tears began again to trickle down their cheeks.

The baron knew no end of embracing Candid: he called him his brother, his deliverer. Perhaps, said he, my dear Candid, we shall be fortunate enough to enter the town sword in hand, and recover my sister Cunegund. Ah! that would crown my wishes, replied Candid; for I intended to marry her; and I hope I shall still be able to effect it. Insolent fellow! replied the baron. You! you have the impudence to marry my sister, who bears seventy-two quarterings! really I think you have an insufferable degree of assurance to dare so much as to mention such an audacious design to me. Candid, thunder-struck at the oddness of this speech, answered, Reverend father, all the quarterings in the world are of no signification. I have delivered your sister from a Jew and an inquisitor; she is under many obligations to me, and she is resolved to give me her hand. My master Pangloss always told me that mankind are by nature equal. Therefore you may
D 4. depend

depend upon it, that I will marry your sister. We shall see that, villain! said the Jesuit baron of Thunder-ten-tronckh, and struck him across the face with the flat side of his sword. Candid, in an instant, draws his rapier, and plunges it up to the hilt in the Jesuit's body; but, in pulling it out reeking hot, he burst into tears, Good God! cried he, I have killed my old master, my friend, my brother-in-law; I am the best man in the world, and yet I have already killed three men; and of these three two were priests.

Cacambo, who was standing sentry near the door of the harbour, instantly ran up. Nothing remains, said his master, but to sell our lives as dear as possible; they will undoubtedly look into the harbour; we must die sword in hand. Cacambo, who had seen many of these kind of adventures, was not discouraged; he stripped the baron of his Jesuit's habit, and put it upon Candid, then gave him the dead man's three-cornered cap, and made him mount on horse-back. All this was done as quick as thought. Gallop, master; gallop, cried Cacambo; every body will take you for a Jesuit going to give orders; and we shall have passed the frontiers before they will be able to overtake us. He flew as he spoke these words, crying out aloud in Spanish, Make way; make way for the reverend father colonel.

CHAP. XVI.

What happened to our two travellers with two girls, two monkeys, and the savages, called Oreillons.

CANDID and his valet had already passed the frontiers before it was known that the German Jesuit was dead. The wary Cacambo had taken care to fill his wallet with bread, chocolate, some ham, some fruit, and a few bottles of wine. They penetrated with their Andalusian horses into a strange country, where they could discover no beaten path. At length, a beautiful meadow intersected with purling rills opened to their view. Cacambo proposed to his master to take some nourishment, and he set him an example. How can you to ask me to feast upon ham, when I have killed the baron's son, and am doomed never more to see the beautiful Cunegund? what will it avail me to prolong a wretched life that might be spent far from her in remorse and despair? and then, and then what will the journal of Trevoux say*?

While he was making these reflections, he still continued eating. The sun was now on the point of setting when the ears of our two wanderers were assailed with cries which seemed to be uttered by a female voice. They could not tell whether these were cries of grief or

* A periodical Critique on the works of the learned, executed by Jesuits.

joy: however, they instantly started up, full of that inquietude and apprehension which a strange place naturally inspires. The cries proceeded from two young women who were tripping stark naked along the mead, while two monkeys followed close at their heels biting their buttocks. Candid was touched with compassion; he had learned to shoot while he was among the Bulgarians, and he would hit a filbert in a hedge without touching a leaf. Accordingly he takes up his double barrel Spanish fusil, pulls the trigger, and lays the two monkeys lifeless on the ground. God be praised, my dear Cacambo, I have rescued two poor girls from a most perilous situation: if I have committed a sin in killing an inquisitor and a Jesuit, I made ample amends by saving the lives of these two distressed damsels. Who knows but they may be young ladies of a good family, and that this assistance I have been so happy to give them may procure us great advantage in this country.

He was about to continue when he felt himself struck speechless at seeing the two girls embracing the dead bodies of the monkeys in the tenderest manner, bathing their wounds with their tears, and rending the air with the most doleful lamentations. Really, said he to Cacambo, I should not have expected to see such a prodigious share of good nature. Master, master, replied the knowing valer, you have made a precious piece of work of it; do you know that you have killed the lovers of these two ladies! Their lovers! Cacambo? you are jesting! it cannot be! I can never believe it. Dear sir, replied Cacambo, you are surprised.

surprised at every thing ; why should you think it so strange that there should be a country where monkeys insinuate themselves into the good graces of the ladies ; they are the fourth part of a man as I am the fourth part of a Spaniard ? Alas ! replied Candid, I remember to have heard my master Pangloss say, that such accidents as these frequently came to pass in former times, and that these commixtures are productive of centaurs, fauns, and satyrs ; and that many of the ancients had seen such monsters : but I looked upon the whole as fabulous. Now you are convinced, said Cacambo, that it is very true, and you see what use is made of those creatures by persons that have not had a proper education : all I am afraid of is, that these same ladies will play us some ugly trick.

These judicious reflections operated so far on Candid as to make him quit the meadow, and strike into a thicket. There he and Cacambo supped, and, after heartily cursing the grand inquisitor, the governor of Buenos Ayres, and the baron, they fell asleep on the ground. When they awoke, they were surprised to find that they could not move ; the reason was, that the *Oreillons* who inhabit that country, and to whom the ladies had given information of these two strangers, had bound them with cords made of the bark of trees. They saw themselves surrounded by fifty naked *Oreillons* armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and hatchets of flint ; some were making a fire under a large cauldron ; and others were preparing spits, crying out one and all, A Jesuit ! a Jesuit ! we shall be revenged ; we shall have excellent cheer ; let us eat this Jesuit ; let us eat him up.

I told you master, cried Cacambo mournfully, that these two wenches would play us some scurvy trick. Candid seeing the cauldron and the spits cried out, I suppose they are going either to boil or roast us. Ah! what would Pangloss say if he was to see how pure nature is formed? Every thing is right: it may be so: but I must confess it is something hard to be bereft of dear miss Cunegund, and to be spitted like a rabbit by these barbarous Oreillons. Cacambo, who never lost his presence of mind in distress, said to the disconsolate Candid, Do not despair; I understand a little of the jargon of these people; I will speak to them. Ay, pray do, said Candid, and be sure you make them sensible of the horrid barbarity of boiling and roasting human creatures, and how little of Christianity there is in such practices.

Gentlemen, said Cacambo, you think perhaps you are going to feast upon a Jesuit; if so, it is mighty well; nothing can be more agreeable to justice than thus to treat your enemies. Indeed the law of nature teaches us to kill our neighbour, and accordingly we find this practised all over the world; and if we do not indulge ourselves in eating human flesh, it is because we have much better fare; but for your parts, who have not such resources as we, it is certainly much better judged to feast upon your enemies than to throw their bodies to the fowls of the air; and thus lose all the fruits of their victory. But surely, gentlemen, you would not chuse to eat your friends. You imagine you are going to roast a Jesuit, whereas my master is your friend, your defender, and you are going to spit the very man who has been

been destroying your enemies: as to myself, I am your countryman; this gentleman is my master, and so far from being a Jesuit, give me leave to tell you he has very lately killed one of that order, whose spoils he now wears, and which have probably occasioned your mistake. To convince you of the truth of what I say, take the habit he has now on, and carry it to the first barrier of the Jesuit's kingdom and enquire whether my master did not kill one of their officers. There will be little or no time lost by this, and you may still reserve our bodies in your power to feast on, if you should find what we have told you to be false. But, on the contrary, if you find it to be true. I am persuaded you are too well acquainted with the principles of the laws of society, humanity, and justice, not to use us courteously, and suffer us to depart unhurt.

This speech appeared very reasonable to the Oreillons; they deputed two of their people with all expedition to enquire into the truth of this affair, who acquitted themselves of their commission like men of sense, and soon returned with good tidings for our distressed adventurers. Upon this, they were both loosed, and those who were so lately going to roast and boil them, now shewed them all sorts of civilities, offered them girls, gave them refreshments, and reconducted them to the confines of their country, crying before them all the way in token of joy, He is no Jesuit, he is no Jesuit.

Candid could not help admiring the cause of his deliverance. What men! what manners! cried he: if I had not fortunately run my sword up to the hilt in the body of miss Cunegünd's brother, I should have infallibly been eaten alive.

alive. But, after all, pure nature is an excellent thing; since these people, instead of eating me shewed me a thousand civilities, as soon as they knew I was not a Jesuit.



CHAP. XVII.

Candid and his valet arrive in the country of El Dorado. What they saw there.

WHEN they got to the frontiers of the Oreillons, You see, said Cacambo to Candid, this hemisphere is not better than the other: e'en take my advice, and let us return to Europe by the shortest way possible. But how can we get back? said Candid; and whither shall we go? To my own country? the Bulgarians and the Abares are laying that waste with fire and sword; or shall we go to Portugal? there I shall be burnt; and if we abide here, we are every moment in danger of being spitted. But how can I bring myself to quit that part of the world where my dear miss Cunegund has her residence?

Let us turn towards Cayenne, said Cacambo; there we shall meet with some Frenchmen; for you know those gentry ramble all over the world; perhaps they will assist us, and God will look with pity on our distress.

It was not so easy to get to Cayenne. They knew pretty nearly whereabouts it lay; but the mountains, rivers, precipices, robbers, savages, were dreadful obstacles in the way. Their horses died with fatigue, and their provisions were at an end. They subsisted a whole month
upon.

upon wild fruit, till at length they came to a little river bordered with cocoa trees; the sight of which at once revived their drooping spirits, and furnished nourishment for their enfeebled bodies.

Cacambo, who was always giving as good advice as the old woman herself, said to Candid, You see there is no holding out any longer; we have travelled enough on foot. I spy an empty canoe near the river side; let us fill it with cocoa-nuts, get into it, and go down with the stream; a river always leads to some inhabited place. If we do not meet with agreeable things, we shall at least meet with something new. Agreed, replied Candid; let us recommend ourselves to providence.

They rowed a few leagues down the river, the banks of which were in some places covered with flowers; in others barren; in some parts smooth and level, and in others steep and rugged. The stream widened as they went further on, till at length it passed under one of the frightful rocks, whose summits seemed to reach the clouds. Here our two travellers had the courage to commit themselves to the stream, which contracting in this part, hurried them along with a dreadful noise and rapidity. At the end of four and twenty hours they saw daylight again; but their canoe was dashed to pieces against the rocks. They were obliged to creep along, from rock to rock, for the space of a league, till at length a spacious plain presented itself to their sight. This place was bounded by a chain of inaccessible hills. The country appeared cultivated equally for pleasure, and to produce the necessaries of life.

The

The *utile* & *dulce* were here equally blended. The roads were covered, or rather adorned, with carriages formed of glittering materials, in which were men and women of a surprising beauty, drawn with great rapidity by red sheep of a very large size; which far surpassed the finest coursers of Andalusia, Tetuan, or Mecquinez.

Here is a country, however, said Candid, preferable to Westphalia. He and Cacambo landed near the first village they saw, at the entrance of which they perceived some children covered with tattered garments of the richest brocade, playing at quoits. Our two inhabitants of the other hemisphere amused themselves greatly with what they saw. The quoits were large round pieces, yellow, red, and green, which cast a most glorious lustre. Our travellers picked some of them up, and they proved to be gold, emeralds, rubies, and diamonds; the least of which would have been the greatest ornament to the superb throne of the great mogul. Without doubt, said Cacambo, those children must be the king's sons, that are playing at quoits. As he was uttering these words the school-master of the village appeared, who came to call them to school. There, said Candid, is the preceptor of the royal family.

The little raggamuffins immediately quitted their diversion, leaving the quoits on the ground with all their other play-things. Candid gathers them up, runs to the schoolmaster, and, with a most respectful bow, presents them to him, giving him to understand by signs, that their royal highnesses had forgot their gold and precious stones. The school-master, with a smile,

smile, flung them upon the ground, then examining Candid from head to foot, with an air of admiration, he turned his back and went on his way.

Our travellers took care, however, to gather up the gold, the rubies, and the emeralds. Where are we, cried Candid. The king's children in this country must have an excellent education, since they are taught to shew such a contempt for gold and precious stones. Cacambo was as much surpris'd as his master. They then drew near the first house in the village, which was built after the manner of an European Palace. There was a crowd of people about the door, and a still greater number in the house. The sound of the most delightful instruments of music were heard, and the most agreeable smell came from the kitchen. Cacambo went up to the door, and heard those within talking in the Peruvian language, which was his mother tongue; for every one knows that Cacambo was born in a village of Tucuman, where no other language is spoken. I will be your interpreter here, said he to Candid, let us go in; this is an eating-house.

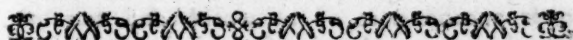
Immediately two waiters, and two servant-girls, dressed in cloth of gold, and their hair braided with ribbands of tiffue, accost the strangers, and invite them to sit down to the ordinary. Their dinner consisted of four dishes of different soups, each garnished with two young paroquets, a large dish of bouillé, that weighed two hundred weight, two roasted monkeys of a delicious flavour, three hundred humming birds in one dish, and six hundred fly birds in another; some excellent ragouts,
delicate

delicate tarts, and the whole served up in dishes of rock-crystal. Several sorts of liquors, extracted from the sugar-cane, were handed about by the servants who attended.

Most of the company were chapmen and waggoners, all extremely polite; they asked Cacambo a few questions, with the utmost discretion and circumspection; and replied to him in a most obliging and satisfactory manner.

As soon as dinner was over, both Candid and Cacambo thought they should pay very handsomely for their entertainment by laying down two of those large gold pieces, which they had picked off the ground; but the landlord and landlady burst into a fit of laughing, and held their sides for some time. When the fit was over: Gentlemen, said the landlord, I plainly perceive you are strangers, and such we are not accustomed to see; pardon us therefore for laughing when you offered us the common pebbles of our highways for payment of your reckoning. To be sure, you have none of the coin of this kingdom; but there is no necessity of having any money at all to dine in this house. All the inns, which are established for the conveniency of those who carry on the trade of this nation, are maintained by the government. You have found but very indifferent entertainment here, because this is only a poor village; but in almost every other of these public houses you will meet with a reception worthy of persons of your merit. Cacambo explained the whole of this speech of the landlord to Candid, who listened to it with the same astonishment with which his friend communicated it. What sort of a country is this, said
tha

the one to the other, that is unknown to all the world; and in which Nature has every where so different an appearance to what she has in ours? Possibly this is that part of the globe where every thing is right, for there must certainly be some such place. And, for all that master Pangloss could say, I often perceived that things went very ill in Westphalia.



C H A P. XVIII.

What they saw in the country of El Dorado.

CACAMBO vented all his curiosity upon his landlord by a thousand different questions: the honest man answered him thus. I am very ignorant, sir, but I am contented with my ignorance; however, we have in this neighbourhood an old man retired from court, who is the most learned and communicative person in the whole kingdom. He then carried Cacambo to the old man; Candid acted now only a second character, and attended his valet. They entered a very plain house, for the door was nothing but silver, and the cieling was only of beaten gold, but wrought in so elegant a taste as to vie with the richest. The antichamber, indeed, was only incrusted with rubies and emeralds; but the order in which every thing was disposed made amends for this great simplicity.

The old man received the strangers on his sofa, which was stuffed with humming bird's feathers; and ordered his servants to present them

them with liquors in golden goblets, after which he satisfied their curiosity in the following terms.

I am now one hundred and seventy-two years old; and I learnt of my late father, who was equerry to the king, the amazing revolutions of Peru, to which he had been an eye-witness. This kingdom is the ancient patrimony of the incas, who very imprudently quitted it to conquer another part of the world, and were at length conquered and destroyed themselves by the Spaniards.

Those princes of their family, who remained in their native country, acted more wisely. They ordained, with the consent of their whole nation, that none of the inhabitants of our little kingdom should ever quit it; and to this wise ordinance, we owe the preservation of our innocence and happiness. The Spaniards had some confused notion of this country, to which they gave the name of *El Dorado*; and Sir Walter Raleigh*, an Englishman, actually came very near it, about three hundred years ago: but the inaccessible rocks and precipices, with which our country is surrounded on all sides, has hitherto secured us from the rapacious fury of the people of Europe, who have an un-

* It is very certain that Sir Walter Rawleigh, for the purposes of imposture in the account of his first voyage to Guiana, describes such an empire of the Inca, with the city called *El Dorado*, or *Manoa*, two days journey in length, shining with gold and silver---He adds many other circumstances of Peruvian prophecies in favour of the English; of the Amazons, or republic of women; and of immense riches, which he pretended to have seen on that continent: but the whole was an ill invented fable calculated to mislead mankind.

accountable fondness for the pebbles and dirt of our land, for the sake of which they would murder us all to the very last man.

The conversation lasted some time, and turned chiefly on the form of government, their manners, their women, their public diversions, and the arts. At length, Candid, who had always had a taste for metaphysics, asked whether the people of that country had any religion?

The old man reddened a little at this question: Can you doubt it? said he; do you take us for wretches lost to all sense of gratitude? Cacambo asked in a respectful manner what was the established religion of El Dorado? The old man blushed again, and said, Can there be two religions then? Our's, I apprehend, is the religion of the whole world; we worship God from morning till night. Do you worship but one God? said Cacambo, who still acted as the interpreter of Candid's doubts. Certainly, said the old man; there are not two nor three nor four Gods. I must confess the people of your world ask very extraordinary questions. However, Candid could not refrain from making many more enquiries of the old man; he wanted to know in what manner they prayed to God in El Dorado. We do not pray to him at all, said the reverend sage; we have nothing to ask of him, he has given us all we want, and we give him thanks incessantly. Candid had a curiosity to see some of their priests, and desired Cacambo to ask the old man where they were? At which, he smiling said, My friends, we are all of us priests; the king and all the heads of families sing solemn hymns

hymns of thanksgiving every morning, accompanied by five or six thousand musicians. What! says Cacambo, have you no monks among you, to dispute, to govern, to intrigue, and to burn people who are not of the same opinion with themselves? Do you take us for fools? said the old man, here we are all of one opinion, and know not what you mean by your monks. During the whole of this discourse, Candid was in raptures, and he said to himself, What a prodigious difference is there between this place and Westphalia; and this house and the baron's castle. Ah, Master Pangloss! had you ever seen El Dorado, you would no longer have maintained that the castle of Thunder-tronckh was the finest of all possible edifices: there is nothing like seeing the world, that's certain*.

This long conversation being ended, the old man ordered six sheep to be harnessed and put to the coach †, and sent twelve of his servants to escort the travellers to court. Excuse me, said he, for not waiting on you in person, my age deprives me of that honour. The king will receive you in such a manner, that you will have no reason to complain; and doubtless you will make a proper allowance for the customs of the country, if they should not happen altogether to please you.

* The reader will plainly perceive that these are satirical hints thrown out against certain articles of faith common to all the professors of Christianity, and against particular rules and institutions peculiar to the church of Rome.

† Meaning Peruvian sheep, a kind of beast of burthen, native of Peru, very different from the sheep of Europe.

Candid and Cacambo got into the coach, the six sheep flew, and, in less than a quarter of an hour, they arrived at the king's palace, which was situated at the further end of the capital. At the entrance was a portal two hundred and twenty feet high, and one hundred wide; but it is impossible for words to express the materials of which it was built. The reader however will readily conceive they must have a prodigious superiority over the pebbles and sand, which we call gold and precious stones.

Twenty beautiful young virgins in waiting received Candid and Cacambo, at their alighting from the coach, conducted them to the bath, and clad them in robes wove of the down of humming birds; after which they were introduced by the great officers of the crown of both sexes to the king's apartment, between two files of musicians, each file consisting of a thousand, agreeable to the custom of the country. When they drew near to the presence-chamber, Cacambo asked one of the officers in what manner they were to pay their obeisance to his majesty; whether it was the custom to fall upon their knees, or to prostrate themselves upon the ground? whether they were to put their hands upon their heads, or behind their backs? whether they were to lick the dust off the floor? in short, what was the ceremony usual on such occasions? The custom, said the great officer, is to embrace the king and kiss him on each cheek. Candid and Cacambo accordingly threw their arms round his majesty's neck, who received them in the most gracious manner imaginable, and very politely asked them to sup with him.

While

While supper was preparing, orders were given to shew them the city, where they saw public structures, that reared their lofty heads to the clouds; the market-places decorated with a thousand columns; fountains of spring water, besides others of rose water, and of liquors drawn from the sugar-cane, incessantly flowing in the great squares; which were paved with a kind of precious stones that emitted an odour like that of cloves and cinnamon. Candid asked to see the high court of justice, the parliament; but was answered, that they have none in that country, being utter strangers to law-suits. He then enquired if they had any prisons; they replied none. But what gave him at once the greatest surprise and pleasure was, the Palace of Sciences, where he saw a gallery two thousand feet long, filled with the various apparatus in mathematics and natural philosophy.

After having spent the whole afternoon in seeing only about the thousandth part of the city, they were brought back to the king's palace. Candid sat down at the table with his master, his valet Cacambo, and several ladies of the court. Never was entertainment more elegant, nor could any one possibly shew more wit than his majesty displayed while they were at supper. Cacambo explained all the king's *bons mots* to Candid, and, although they were translated, they still appeared to be *bons mots*. Of all the things that surprised Candid this was not the least. They spent a whole month in this hospitable place, during which time Candid was continually saying to Cacambo, I own my friend once more that the castle where I was born is a mere nothing, in comparison of the place where

we now are; but still miss Cunegund is not here, and you yourself have doubtless some fair one for whom you sigh in Europe. If we remain here, we shall only be as others are; whereas, if we return to our old world with only a dozen of Eldorado sheep, loaded with the pebbles of this country, we shall be richer than all the kings in Europe; we shall no longer need to stand in awe of the inquisitors; and we may easily recover Miss Cunegund.

This speech was perfectly agreeable to Camambo. A fondness for roving, for making a figure in their own country, and for boasting of what they had seen in their travels, was so prevalent in our two wanderers, that they resolved to be no longer happy; and demanded permission of the king to quit the country.

You are about to do a rash and silly action, said the king; I am sensible my kingdom is an inconsiderable spot; but when people are tolerably at their ease in any place, I should think it would be their interest to remain there. Most assuredly, I have no right to detain you or any strangers against your wills; this is an act of tyranny to which our manners and our laws are equally repugnant: all men are by nature free; you have therefore an undoubted liberty to depart whenever you please; but you will have many and great difficulties to encounter in passing the frontiers. It is impossible to ascend that rapid river which runs under high and vaulted rocks, and by which you were conveyed hither by a kind of miracle. The mountains by which my kingdom is hemmed in on all sides, are ten thousand feet high, and perfectly perpendicular; they are above ten leagues over

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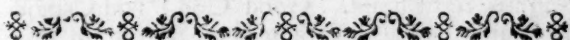
each,

each, and the descent from them is one continued precipice. However, since you are determined to leave us, I will immediately give orders to the superintendant of my carriages to cause one to be made that will convey you very safe. When they have conducted you to the back of the mountains, no body can attend you farther; for my subjects have made a vow never to quit the kingdom, and they are too prudent to break it. Ask me whatever else you please. All we shall ask of your majesty, said Cacambo, is only a few sheep laden with provisions, pebbles, and the clay of your country. The king smiled at the request, and said, I cannot imagine what pleasure you Europeans find in our yellow clay; but take away as much of it as you will, and much good may it do you.

He immediately gave orders to his engineers to make a machine to hoist these two extraordinary men out of the kingdom. Three thousand good mathematicians went to work, and finished it in about fifteen days; and it did not cost more than twenty millions sterling of that country money. Candid and Cacambo were placed on this machine, and they took with them two large red sheep, bridled and saddled, to ride upon when they got on the other side of the mountains: twenty others to serve as sumpters for carrying provisions; thirty laden with presents of whatever was most curious in the country; and fifty with gold, diamonds, and other precious stones. The king, at parting with our two adventurers, embraced them with the greatest cordiality.

It was a curious sight to behold the manner of their setting off, and the ingenious method by

by which they and their sheep were hoisted to the top of the mountains. The mathematicians and engineers took leave of them as soon as they had conveyed them to a place of safety, and Candid was wholly occupied with the thoughts of presenting his sheep to Miss Cunegund. Now, says he, thanks to heaven, we have more than sufficient to pay the governor of Buenos Ayres for Miss Cunegund, if she is redeemable. Let us make the best of our way to Cayenne, where we will take shipping, and then we may at leisure think of what kingdom we shall purchase with our riches.



CHAP. XIX.

*What happened to them at Surinam ; and how
Candid came acquainted with Martin.*

OUR travellers first day's journey was very pleasant ; they were elated with the prospect of possessing more riches than were to be found in Europe, Asia, and Africa together. Candid, in amorous transports, cut the name of Miss Cunegund on almost every tree he came to. The second day, two of their sheep sunk in a morass, and were swallowed up with their lading ; two more died of fatigue ; some few days afterwards, seven or eight perished with hunger, in a desert ; and others, at different times, tumbled down precipices, or were otherwise lost ; so that, after travelling about an hundred days, they had only two sheep left of the hundred and two they brought with them

from Eldorado. Said Candid to Cacambo, You see, my dear friend, how perishable the riches of this world are; there is nothing solid but virtue. Very true, said Cacambo; but we have still two sheep remaining, with more treasure than ever the king of Spain will be possessed of; and I espy a town at a distance, which I take to be Surinam, a town belonging to the Dutch. We are now at the end of our troubles, and at the beginning of happiness.

As they drew near the town, they saw a negro stretched on the ground, with only one half of his habit, which was a kind of linen-frock; for the poor man had lost his left leg and his right hand. Good God! said Candid in Dutch, what dost thou here, friend, in this deplorable condition? I am waiting for my master Mynheer Vanderdendur, the famous trader, answered the negro. Was it Mynheer Vanderdendur that used you in this cruel manner? Yes, Sir, said the negro; it is the custom here. They give a linen-garment twice a year, and that is all our covering. When we labour in the sugar-works, and the mill happens to snatch hold of a finger, they instantly chop off our hand; and when we attempt to run away, they cut off a leg. Both these cases have happened to me, and it is at this expence that you eat sugar in Europe; and yet when my mother sold me for ten patacoons on the coast of Guinea, she said to me, My dear child, bless our fetiches; adore them for ever; they will make thee live happy; thou hast the honour to be a slave to our lords the Whites, by which thou wilt make the fortune of us thy parents. Alas! I know not whether I have made their fortunes; but they

they have not made mine : dogs, monkeys, and parrots, are a thousand times less wretched than me. The Dutch fetiches who converted me tell me every Sunday, that the blacks and whites are all children of one father, whom they call Adam. As for me, I do not understand any thing of genealogies ; but if what these preachers say is true, we are all second cousins ; and you must allow that it is impossible to be worse treated by our relations than we are.

O Pangloss! cried out Candid, such horrid doings never entered thy imagination. Here is an end of the matter ; I find myself, after all, obliged to renounce thy Optimism. Optimism, said Cacambo, what is that ? Alas ! replied Candid, it is the obstinacy of maintaining that every thing is best when it is worst ; and so saying, he turned his eyes towards the poor negro and shed a flood of tears ; and in this weeping mood he entered the town of Surinam.

Immediately upon their arrival, our travellers enquired if there was any vessel in the harbour, which they might send to Buenos Ayres. The person they addressed themselves to happened to be the master of a Spanish bark, who offered to agree with them on moderate terms, and appointed them a meeting at a public house. Thither Candid and his faithful Cacambo went to wait for him, taking with them their two sheep.

Candid, who was all frankness and sincerity, made an ingenuous recital of his adventures to the Spaniard, declaring to him at the same time his resolution of carrying off Miss Cune-

gund from the governor of Buenos Ayres. O ho! said the ship-master, if that is the case, get whom you please to carry you to Buenos Ayres; for my part, I wash my hands of the affair. It would prove a hanging matter to us all. The fair Cunegund is the governor's favourite mistress. These words were like a clap of thunder to Candid; he wept bitterly for a long time, and, taking Cacambo aside, he says to him, I'll tell you, my dear friend, what you must do. We have each of us in our pockets to the value of five or six millions in diamonds; you are cleverer at these matters than I; you must go to Buenos Ayres and bring off Miss Cunegund. If the governor makes any difficulty, give him a million; if he holds out, give him two; as you have not killed an inquisitor, they will have no suspicion of you: I'll fit out another ship and go to Venice, where I will wait for you. Venice is a free country, where we shall have nothing to fear from Bulgarians, Abares, Jews, or Inquisitors. Cacambo greatly applauded this wise resolution. He was inconsolable at the thoughts of parting with so good a master, who treated him more like an intimate friend than a servant; but the pleasure of being able to do him a service soon got the better of his sorrow. They embraced each other with a flood of tears. Candid charged him not to forget the old woman. Cacambo set out the same day. This Cacambo was a very honest fellow.

Candid continued some days longer at Surinam, waiting for any captain to carry him and his two remaining sheep to Italy. He hired domestics,

nessities, and purchased many things necessary for a long voyage; at length, one Mynheer Vanderdendur, skipper of a large Dutch vessel, came and offered his service. What will you have, said Candid, to carry me, my servants, my baggage, and these two sheep you see here, directly to Venice? The skipper asked ten thousand piastres; and Candid agreed to his demand without hesitation.

Ho, ho! said the cunning Vanderdendur to himself, this stranger must be very rich; he agrees to give me ten thousand piastres without hesitation. Returning a little while after, he tells Candid, that upon second consideration he could not undertake the voyage for less than twenty thousand. Very well; you shall have them, said Candid.

Zounds! said the skipper to himself, this man agrees to pay twenty thousand piastres with as much ease as ten. Accordingly he goes back again, and tells him roundly that he will not carry him to Venice for less than thirty thousand piastres. Then you shall have thirty thousand, said Candid.

Odso! said the Dutchman once more to himself, thirty thousand piastres seem a trifle to this man. Those sheep must certainly be laden with an immense treasure. I'll e'en stop here and ask no more; but make him pay down the thirty thousand piastres, and then we may see what is to be done further. Candid sold two small diamonds, the least of which was worth more than all the skipper asked. He paid him before-hand, the two sheep were put on board, and Candid followed in a small boat to join the vessel in the road. The skipper

takes his opportunity, hoists sail, and puts out to sea with a favourable wind. Candid, confounded and amazed, soon lost sight of the ship. Alas! said he, this is a trick like those in our old world! He returns back to the shore overwhelmed with grief; and, indeed, he had lost what would have made the fortune of twenty monarchs.

Immediately upon his landing, he applied to the Dutch magistrate: being transported with passion, he thunders at the door, which being opened, he goes in, tells his case, and talks a little louder than was necessary. The magistrate began with fining him ten thousand pistres for his petulance, and then listened very patiently to what he had to say, promised to examine into the affair at the skipper's return, and ordered him to pay ten thousand pistres more for the fees of the court*.

This treatment put Candid out of all patience: it is true, he had suffered misfortunes a thousand times more grievous; but the cool insolence of the judge, and the villainy of the skipper, raised his choler and threw him into a deep melancholy. The villainy of mankind presented itself to his mind in all its deformity, and his soul was a prey to the most gloomy ideas. After some time, hearing that the cap-

* There is a species of probability or verisimilitude adapted for every sort of narration, the neglect of which renders a performance disagreeable and disgusting to readers who have any justness of taste or apprehension. These accounts of *Eldorado*, of Candid's wealth and simplicity, of the skipper's villainy, and the magistrate's extortion, are, in our opinion, such extravagances as rather shock, than entertain the imagination.

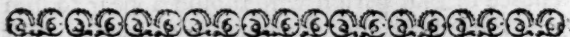
tain of a French ship was ready to set sail for Bourdeaux, as he had no more sheep loaded with diamonds to put on board, he hired the cabin at the usual price; and made it known in the town that he would pay the passage and board of any honest man who would give him his company during the voyage; besides making him a present of ten thousand piastres, on condition that such person was the most dissatisfied with his condition, and the most unfortunate in the whole province.

Upon this, there appeared such a crowd of candidates, that a large fleet could not have contained them. Candid, willing to chuse from amongst those who appeared most likely to answer his intention, selected twenty, who seemed to him the most sociable, and who all pretended to merit the preference. He invited them to his inn, and promised to treat them with a supper, on condition that every man should bind himself by an oath to relate his own history; declaring at the same time, that he would make choice of that person who should appear to him the most deserving of compassion, and the most justly dissatisfied with his condition of life; and that he would make a present to the rest.

This extraordinary assembly continued sitting till four in the morning. Candid, while he was listening to their adventures, called to mind what the old woman had said to him in their voyage to Buenos Ayres, and the wager she had laid, that there was not a person on board the ship but had met with some great misfortunes. Every story he heard put him in mind of Pangloss. My old master, said he, would be confoundedly put to it to demonstrate his fa-

avourite system. Would he were here! Certainly if every thing is for the best, it is in Eldorado, and not in the other parts of the world. At length he determined in favour of a poor scholar, who had laboured ten years for the booksellers at Amsterdam: being of opinion, that no employment could be more detestable*.

This scholar, who was, in fact, a very honest man, had been robbed by his wife, beat by his son, and forsaken by his daughter, who had run away with a Portuguese. He had been likewise deprived of a small employment on which he subsisted, and he was persecuted by the clergy of Surinam, who took him for a Socinian. It must be acknowledged that the other competitors were, at least, as wretched as he; but Candid was in hopes that the company of a man of letters would relieve the tediousness of the voyage. All the other candidates complained that Candid had done them great injustice; but he stopped their mouths by a present of an hundred piastres to each.



CHAP. XX.

What befel Candid and Martin on their passage.

THE old philosopher, whose name was Martin, took shipping with Candid for Bourdeaux. They both had seen and suffered a great deal; and had the ship been to go from Surinam to Japan round the cape of Good Hope, they

* Except that of drudging for the booksellers of London, could.

could have found sufficient entertainment for each other during the whole voyage, in discouraging upon moral and natural evil.

Candid, however, had one advantage over Martin : he lived in the pleasing hopes of seeing Miss Cunegund once more ; whereas the poor philosopher had nothing to hope for : besides, Candid had money and jewels, and, notwithstanding he had lost an hundred red sheep laden with the greatest treasure on the earth, and tho' he still smarted from the reflection of the Dutch skipper's knavery, yet when he considered what he had still left, and repeated the name of Cunegund, especially after meal-time, he inclined to Pangloss's doctrine.

And pray, said he to Martin, what is your opinion of the whole of this system ? what notion have you of moral and natural evil ? Sir, replied Martin, our priest accused me of being a Socinian ; but the real truth is, I am a Manichæan. Nay, now you are jesting, said Candid ; there are no Manichæans existing at present in the world. And yet I am one, said Martin ; but I cannot help it, I cannot for the soul of me think otherwise. Surely the devil must be in you, said Candid. He concerns himself so much, replied Martin, in the affairs of this world, that it is very probable he may be in me as well as every where else ; but I must confess, when I cast my eye on this globe, or rather globule, I cannot help thinking that God has abandoned it to some malignant being. I always except Eldorado. I scarce ever knew a city that did not wish the destruction of its neighbouring city ; nor a family that did not desire to exterminate some other family. The

poor in all parts of the world bear an inveterate hatred to the rich, even while they creep and cringe to them; and the rich treat the poor like sheep, whose wool and flesh they barter for money: a million of regimented assassins traverse Europe from one end to the other, to get their bread by regular depredation and murder, because it is the most gentleman-like profession. Even in those cities which seem to enjoy the blessings of peace, and where the arts flourish, the inhabitants are devoured with envy, care, and inquietudes, which are greater plagues than any experienced in a town besieged. Private chagrins are still more dreadful than public calamities. In a word, concluded the philosopher, I have seen and suffered so much, that I am a Manichæan.

And yet there is some good in the world, replied Candid. May be so, said Martin; but it has escaped my knowledge.

While they were deeply engaged in this dispute, they heard the report of cannon, which redoubled every moment. Each takes out his glass, and they espy two ships warmly engaged at the distance of about three miles. The wind brought them both so near the French ship, that those on board her had the pleasure of seeing the fight with great ease. After several smart broadsides the one gave the other a shot between wind and water, which sunk her outright. Then could Candid and Martin plainly perceive an hundred men on the deck of the vessel which was sinking, who, with hands uplifted to heaven, sent forth piercing cries, and were in a moment swallowed up by the waves.

Well,

Well, said Martin, you now see in what manner mankind treat each other. It is certain, said Candid, that there is something diabolical in this affair. As he was speaking thus, he espied something of a shining red hue, which swam close to the vessel. The boat was hoisted out to see what it might be, when it proved to be one of his sheep. Candid felt more joy at the recovery of this one animal than he did grief, when he lost the other hundred, tho' laden with the large diamonds of Eldorado.

The French captain quickly perceived that the victorious ship belonged to the crown of Spain; that the other was a Dutch pirate, and the very same captain who had robbed Candid. The immense riches which this villain had amassed, were buried with him in the deep, and only this one sheep saved out of the whole. You see, said Candid to Martin, that vice is sometimes punished: this villain the Dutch skipper, has met with the fate he deserved. Very true, said Martin; but why should the passengers be doomed also to destruction? God has punished the knave, and the devil has drowned the rest.

The French and Spanish ships continued their course, and Candid and Martin their conversation. They disputed fourteen days successively, at the end of which they were just as far advanced as the first moment they began. However, they had the satisfaction of disputing, of communicating their ideas, and of mutually comforting each other. Candid embraced his sheep with transport: Since I have found thee again, said he, I may possibly find my Cune-gund once more.

C H A P.

CHAP. XXI.

Candid and Martin, while thus reasoning with each other, draw near to the coast of France.

AT length they descried the coast of France, when Candid said to Martin, Pray, Mr. Martin, was you ever in France? Yes, Sir, said Martin, I have been in several provinces of that kingdom. In some, one half of the people are fools and madmen; in some, they are too artful; in others, again, they are, in general, either very good-natured or very brutal; while in others, they affect to be witty, and in all, their ruling passion is love, the next is slander, and the last is to talk nonsense. But pray, Mr. Martin, was you ever in Paris? Yes, Sir, I have been in that city, and it is a place that contains the several species just described; it is a chaos, a confused multitude, where every one seeks for pleasure without being able to find it: at least, as far as I have observed during my short stay in that city. At my arrival I was robbed of all I had in the world by pick-pockets and sharpers, at the fair of St. Germain. I was taken up myself for a robber, and confined in prison a whole week; after which I hired myself as corrector to a press, in order to get a little money towards defraying my expences back to Holland on foot. I knew the whole tribe of scribblers, malcontents, and fanatics. It is said the people of that city are very polite; I believe they may.

For my part, I have no curiosity to see France, said Candid; you may easily conceive, my friend,

friend, that after spending a month at Eldorado, I can desire to behold nothing upon earth but Miss Cunegund; I am going to wait for her at Venice? I intend to pass thro' France, in my way to Italy; will you not bear me company? With all my heart, said Martin; they say Venice is agreeable to none but noble Venetians; but that, nevertheless, strangers are well received there when they have plenty of money; now I have none, but you have, therefore I will attend you whither you please. Now we are upon this subject, said Candid, do you think that the earth was originally sea, as we read in that great book which belongs to the captain of the ship? I believe nothing of it, replied Martin, any more than I do of the many other chimeras which have been related to us for some time past. But then, to what end, said Candid, was the world formed? To make us mad, said Martin. Are you not surprised, continued Candid, at the love which the two girls in the country of the Oreillons had for those two monkeys?—You know I have told you the story. Surprised! replied Martin, not in the least; I see nothing strange in this passion. I have seen so many extraordinary things, that there is nothing extraordinary to me now. Do you think, said Candid, that mankind always massacred each other as they do now? were they always guilty of lies, fraud, treachery, ingratitude, inconstancy, envy, ambition, and cruelty? were they always thieves, fools, cowards, gluttons, drunkards, misers, calumniators, debauchees, fanatics, and hypocrites? Do you believe, said Martin, that hawks have always been accustomed to eat pigeons.

pigeons when they came in their way? Doubtless, said Candid. Well then, replied Martin, if hawks have always had the same nature, why should you pretend that mankind change theirs? Oh! said Candid, there is a great deal of difference; for free will—and reasoning thus they arrived at Bourdeaux.



CHAP. XXII.

What happened to Candid and Martin in France.

CANDID staid no longer at Bourdeaux, than was necessary to dispose of a few of the pebbles he had brought from Eldorado, and to provide himself with a post-chaise for two persons, for he could no longer stir a step without his philosopher Martin. The only thing that gave him concern, was the being obliged to leave his sheep behind him, which he intrusted to the care of the academy of sciences at Bourdeaux, who proposed, as a prize-subject for the year, to prove why the wool of this sheep was red; and the prize was adjudged to a northern sage, who demonstrated by *A plus B, minus C, divided by Z*, that the sheep must necessarily be red, and die of the mange.

In the mean time, all the travellers whom Candid met with in the inns, or the road, told him to a man, that they were going to Paris. This general eagerness gave him likewise a great desire to see this capital; and it was not much out of his way to Venice.

He

He entered the city by the suburbs of St. Marceau, and thought himself in one of the vilest hamlets in all Westphalia.

Candid had not been long at his inn, before he was seized with a slight disorder, owing to the fatigue he had undergone. As he wore a diamond of an enormous size on his finger, and had among the rest of his equipage a strong box that seemed very weighty, he soon found himself between two physicians, whom he had not sent for, a number of intimate friends whom he had never seen, and who would not quit his bedside, and two female devotees, who were very careful in providing him hot supplings.

I remember, said Martin to him, that the first time I came to Paris I was likewise taken ill; I was very poor, and accordingly I had neither friends, nurses, nor physicians, and yet I did very well.

However, by dint of purging and bleeding, Candid's disorder became very serious. The priest of the parish came with all imaginable politeness, to desire a note of him, payable to the bearer in the other world*. Candid refused to comply with his request; but the two devotees assured him that it was a new fashion. Candid replied, that he was not one that followed the fashion. Martin was for throwing the priest out of the window. The clerk swore Candid should not have Christian burial. Martin swore in his turn, that he would bury the clerk

* This probably alludes to the present disputes in France about subscribing to the bull *Unigenitus*, without which ceremony a man is refused the sacraments in *articulo mortis*.

alive, if he continued to plague them any longer. The dispute grew warm; Martin took him by the shoulders, and turned him out of the room, which gave great scandal, and occasioned a verbal process.

Candid recovered; and till he was in a condition to go abroad, had a great deal of very good company to pass the evenings with him in his chamber. They played deep. Candid was surpris'd to find he could never turn a trick; and Martin was not at all surpris'd at the matter.

Among those who did him the honours of the place, was a little spruce abbé of Perigord, one of those insinuating, busy, sawning, impudent, necessary fellows, that lay wait for strangers at their arrival, tell them all the scandal of the town, and offer to minister to their pleasures at various prices. This man conducted Candid and Martin to the play-house: they were acting a new tragedy. Candid found himself placed near a cluster of wits: this, however, did not prevent him from shedding tears at some parts of the piece which were most affecting, and best acted. One of these talkers said to him between the acts, You are greatly to blame to shed tears; that actress plays horribly, and the man who plays with her still worse, and the piece itself is still more execrable than the representation. The author does not understand a word of Arabic, and yet he has laid his scene in Arabia; and, what is more, he is a fellow who does not believe in innate ideas. To-morrow I'll bring you a score of pamphlets, that have been wrote against him. Pray, sir, said Candid to the abbé, how many theatrical pieces have you in France? Five or six thousand,

land, replied the other. Indeed! that is a great number, said Candid; but how many good ones may there be? About fifteen or sixteen. Oh! that is a great number, said Martin.

Candid was greatly taken with an actress, who performed the part of queen Elizabeth in a dull kind of tragedy that is played sometimes. That actress, said he to Martin, pleases me greatly; she has some sort of resemblance to miss Cunegund. I should be very glad to pay my respects to her. The abbé of Perigord offered his service to introduce him to her at her own house. Candid, who was brought up in Germany, desired to know what might be the ceremonial used on those occasions, and how a queen of England was treated in France. There is a necessary distinction to be observed in these matters, said the abbé. In a country town we take them to a tavern; here in Paris, they are treated with great respect during their life-time, provided they are handsome, and when they die we throw their bodies upon a dunghill. How, said Candid, throw a queen's body upon a dunghill! The gentleman is quite right, said Martin; he tells you nothing but the truth. I happened to be at Paris, when Miss Monimia made her exit, as one may say, out of this world into another. She was refused what they call here the rights of sepulture; that is to say, she was denied the privilege of rotting in a church-yard by the side of all the beggars in the parish. They buried her at the corner of Burgundy-street, which must certainly have shocked her extremely, as she had very exalted notions of things. This is acting very unpolitely,

lately, said Candid. Lord! said Martin, what can be said to it; it is the way of these people. Figure to yourself all the contradictions, all the inconsistencies possible, and you may meet with them in the government, the courts of justice, the churches, and the public spectacles of this odd nation. Is it true, said Candid, that the people of Paris are always laughing? Yes, replied the abbé, but it is with anger in their hearts; they express all their complaints by loud bursts of laughter, and commit the most detestable crimes with a smile on their faces.

Who was that great overgrown beast, said Candid, who spoke so ill to me of the piece with which I was so much affected? and of the players who gave me so much pleasure? A very good for nothing sort of a man I assure you, answered the abbé, one who gets his livelihood by abusing every new book and play that is written or performed; he abominates to see any one meet with success, like eunuchs, who detest every one that possesses those powers they are deprived of; he is one of those vipers in literature who nourish themselves with their own venom; a pamphlet-monger, a—— A pamphlet monger! said Candid, what is that? Why a pamphlet-monger, replied the abbé, is a a writer of pamphlets, a f——.

Candid, Martin, and the abbé of Perigord, argued thus on the stair-case, while they stood to see the people go out of the play-house. Though I am very earnest to see Miss Cune-gund again, said Candid, yet I have a great inclination to sup with Miss Clairon, for I am really much taken with her——.

The

The abbé was not a person to shew his face at this lady's house, which was frequented by none but the best company. She is engaged this evening, said he; but I will do myself the honour to introduce you to a lady of quality of my acquaintance, at whose house you will see as much of the manners of Paris, as if you had lived here for forty years.

Candid, who was naturally curious, suffered himself to be conducted to this lady's house, which was in the suburbs of St. Honoré. The company were engaged at basset; twelve melancholy punters held each in his hand a small pack of cards, the corners of which doubled down, were so many registers of their ill fortune. A profound silence reigned through the assembly, a palid dread had taken possession of the countenances of the punters, and restless inquietude stretched every muscle of the face of him who kept the bank; and the lady of the house, who was seated next to him, observed with lynx's eyes every parole, and *sept-le-va* as they were going, as likewise those who tallied, and made them undouble their cards with a severe exactness, though mixed with a politeness, which she thought necessary not to frighten away her customers. This lady assumed the title of marchioness of Parolignac. Her daughter, a girl of about fifteen years of age, was one of the punters, and took care to give her mama an item, by signs, when any one of them attempted to repair the rigour of their ill fortune by a little innocent deception. The company were thus occupied, when Candid, Martin, and the abbé, made their entrance: not a creature rose to salute them, or indeed

took the least notice of them, being wholly intent upon the business in hand. Ah! said Candid, my lady baroness of Thunder-ten-tronckh, would have behaved more civilly.

However, the abbé whispered the marchioness in the ear, who half raising herself from her seat, honoured Candid with a gracious smile, and gave Martin a nod of her head, with an air of inexpressible dignity. She then ordered a seat for Candid, and desired him to make one at their party of play: he did so, and in a few deals lost near a thousand pieces; after which they supped very elegantly, and every one was surpris'd at seeing Candid lose so much money, without appearing to be the least disturb'd at it. The servants in waiting said to each other, This is certainly some English lord.

The supper was like most others of this kind at Paris. At first every one was silent; then followed a few confused murmurs, and afterwards several insipid jokes pass'd and repass'd, with false reports, false reasonings, a little politics, and a great deal of scandal. The conversation then turned upon the new productions in literature. Pray, said the abbé, good folks, have you seen the romance wrote by the sieur Gauchat, doctor of divinity? Yes, answered one of the company, but I had not patience to go through it. The town is pestered with a swarm of impertinent productions, but this of Dr. Gauchat's outdoes them all. In short, I was so cursedly tired of reading this vile stuff, that I even resolv'd to come here, and make a party at basset.—But what say you to the archdeacon T——'s miscellaneous collection, said the abbé. Oh my God! cry'd
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the marchioness of Parolignac, never mention the tedious creature! Only think what pains he is at to tell one things that all the world knows, and how he labours an argument that is hardly worth the slightest consideration! how absurdly he makes use of other people's wit! how miserably he mangles what he has pilfered from them! The man makes me quite sick! A few pages of the good archdeacon is enough in conscience to satisfy any one.

There was at the table a person of learning and taste, who supported what the marchioness had advanced. They next began to talk of tragedies. The lady desired to know, how it came about that there were several tragedies, which still continued to be played, which there was no reading? The man of taste explained very clearly, how a piece may be in some manner interesting, without having a grain of merit. He shewed, in a few words, that it is not sufficient to throw together a few incidents that are to be met with in every romance, and that dazzle the spectator; the thoughts should be new, without being far-fetched; frequently sublime, but always natural: the author should have a thorough knowledge of the human heart, and make it speak properly; he should be a compleat poet, without shewing an affectation of it in any of the characters of his piece; he should be a perfect master of his language, speak it with all its purity, and with the utmost harmony, and yet so as not to make the sense a slave to the rhyme. Whoever, added he, neglects any one of these rules, though he may write two or three tragedies with tolerable success, will never be reckoned in the number of
good

good authors. There are very few good tragedies; some are idylliums, in well written and harmonious dialogue; and others a chain of political reasonings that set one asleep, or else pompous and high-flown amplifications, that disgust rather than please. Others again are the ravings of a madman, in an uncouth stile, unmeaning flights, or long apostrophes to the deities, for want of knowing how to address mankind: in a word, a collection of false maxims, and dull common-place.

Candid listened to this discourse with great attention, and conceived an high opinion of the person who delivered it; and as the marchioness had taken care to place him near her side, he took the liberty to whisper her softly in the ear, and ask who this person was that spoke so well. It is a man of letters, replied her ladyship, who never plays, and whom the abbé brings with him to my house sometimes to spend an evening. He is a great judge of writing, especially in tragedy: he has composed one himself, which was damned, and has written a book that was never seen out of his bookseller's shop, excepting only one copy, which he sent me with a dedication, to which he had prefixed my name. Oh the great man! cried Candid, he is a second Pangloss.

Then turning towards him, Sir, said he, you are doubtless of opinion that every thing is for the best in the physical and moral world, and that nothing could be otherwise than it is? Me, sir! replied the man of letters, I think no such thing, I assure you; I find that all in this world is set the wrong end uppermost. No one knows what is his rank, his office, nor what
he

he does, nor what he should do; and that except our evenings, which we generally pass tolerably merrily, the rest of our time is spent in idle disputes and quarrels, Jansenists against Molinists, the parliament against the church, and one armed body of men against another; courtier against courtier, husband against wife, and relations against relations. In short, this world is nothing but one continued scene of civil war.

Yes, said Candid, and I have seen worse than all that; and yet a learned man, who had the misfortune to be hanged, taught me that every thing was marvelously well, and that these evils you are speaking of, were only so many shades in a beautiful picture. Your hempen sage, said Martin, laughed at you; these shades, as you call them, are most horrible blemishes. It is men who make these blemishes, rejoined Candid, and they cannot do otherwise. Then it is not their fault, added Martin. The greatest part of the gamesters, who did not understand a syllable of this discourse, amused themselves with drinking, while Martin reasoned with the learned gentleman; and Candid entertained the lady of the house with a part of his adventures.

After supper the marchioness conducted Candid into her dressing-room, and made him set down under a canopy. Well, said she, are you still so violently fond of Miss Cunegund of Thunder-ten-tronckh? Yes, madam, replied Candid. The marchioness says to him with a tender smile, you answer me like a young man born in Westphalia; a Frenchman would have said, It is true, Madam, I had a

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great passion for Miss Cunegund; but since I have seen you, I fear I can no longer love her as I did. Alas! madam, replied Candid, I'll make you what answer you please. You fell in love with her, I find, in stooping to pick up her handkerchief which she had dropped; you shall pick up my garter. With all my heart madam, said Candid, and he picked it up. But you must tie it on again, said the lady. Candid tied it on again. Lookye young man, said the marchioness, you are a stranger, I make some of my lovers here in Paris languish for me a whole fortnight; but I surrender to you the first night, because I am willing to do the honours of my country to a young Westphalian. The fair one having cast her eye on two very large diamonds that were upon the young stranger's finger, praised them in so earnest a manner, that they were in an instant transferred from his finger to hers.

As Candid was going home with the abbé he felt some qualms of conscience, for having been guilty of infidelity to Miss Cunegund. The abbé took part with him in his uneasiness; he had but an inconsiderable share in the thousand pieces Candid had lost at play, and the two diamonds which had been in a manner extorted from him; and therefore very prudently designed to make the most that he could of his new acquaintance, which chance had thrown in his way. He talked much of Miss Cunegund; and Candid assured him, that he would heartily ask pardon of that fair one for his infidelity to her, when he saw her at Venice.

The abbé redoubled his civilities, and seemed to interest himself warmly in every thing that

that Candid said, did, or seemed inclined to do.

And so, Sir, you have an engagement at Venice? Yes, monsieur l'abbé, answered Candid, I must absolutely wait upon Miss Cunegund: and then the pleasure he took in talking about the object he loved, led him insensibly to relate, according to custom, part of his adventures with that illustrious Westphalian beauty.

I fancy, said the abbé, Miss Cunegund has a great deal of wit, and that her letters must be very entertaining. I never received any from her, said Candid; for you are to consider, that being expelled the castle upon her account, I could not write to her, especially as soon after my departure I heard she was dead; but thank God I found afterwards she was living. I left her again after this, and now I have sent a messenger to her near two thousand leagues from hence, and wait here for his return with an answer from her.

The artful abbé let not a word of all this escape him, though he seemed to be musing upon something else. He soon took his leave of the two adventurers, after having embraced them with the greatest cordiality. The next morning almost as soon as his eyes were open, Candid received the following billet:

“ My dearest lover,—I have been ill in this city these eight days. I have heard of your arrival, and should fly to your arms, were I able to move a limb of me. I was informed of your being on the way hither at Bourdeaux, where I left the faithful Cacambo, and the old woman, who will soon follow me. The governor Buenos-Ayres, has taken every thing

from me but your heart, which I still retain. Come to me immediately on the receipt of this. Your presence will either give me new life, or kill me with the pleasure."

At the receipt of this charming, this unexpected letter, Candid felt the utmost transports of joy; though, on the other hand, the indisposition of his beloved Miss Cunegund, overwhelmed him with grief. Distracted between these two passions, he takes his gold and his diamonds, and procured a person to conduct him and Martin to the house where Miss Cunegund lodged. Upon entering the room, he felt his limbs tremble, his heart flutter, his tongue falter: he attempted to undraw the curtain, and calls for a light to the bedside. Lord, Sir, cried a maid servant, who was waiting in the room, take care what you do, Miss cannot bear the least light; and so saying, she pulls the curtain close again. Cunegund! my dear Cunegund! cried Candid, bathed in tears, how do you do? If you cannot bear the light, speak to me at least. Alas! she cannot speak, said the maid. The sick lady then puts a plump hand out of the bed, and Candid first bathes it with his tears, then fills it with diamonds, leaving a purse of gold upon the easy chair.

In the midst of his transports comes an officer into the room, followed by the abbé, and a file of musqueteers. There, said he, are the two suspected foreigners, at the same time he orders them to be seized, and carried to prison. Travellers are not treated in this manner in the country of Eldorado, said Candid. I am more of a Manichean now than ever, said Martin. But pray, good Sir, where are you going to carry

carry us? said Candid. To a dungeon, my dear Sir, replied the officer.

When Martin had a little recovered himself, so as to form a cool judgment of what had passed, he plainly perceived that the person who had acted the part of Miss Cunegund, was a cheat; that the abbé of Perigord, was a sharper, who had imposed upon the honest simplicity of Candid, and that the officer was a knave, whom they might easily get rid of.

Candid, following the advice of his friend Martin, and burning with impatience to see the real Miss Cunegund, rather than be obliged to appear at a court of justice, proposes to the officer to make him a present of three small diamonds, each of them worth three thousand pistoles. Ah, Sir! said this understrapper of justice, had you committed ever so much villainy, this would render you the honestest man living, in my eyes. Three diamonds, worth three thousand pistoles! why, my dear Sir, so far from carrying you to jail, I would lose my life to serve you. There are orders for stopping all strangers; but leave it to me, I have a brother at Dieppe, in Normandy; I myself will conduct you thither, and if you have a diamond left to give him, he will take as much care of you as I myself should.

But why, said Candid, do they stop all strangers? The abbé of Perigord made answer, that it was because a poor devil of the country of Atrebatra, heard some body tell foolish stories, and this induced him to commit a parricide; not such a one as that in the month of May; 1610, but such as that in the month of December, in the year 1594, and such as many

that have perpetrated in other months and years, by other poor devils, who had heard foolish stories.

The officer then explained to them what the abbé meant. Horrid monsters, exclaimed Candid, is it possible that such scenes should pass amongst a people who are perpetually singing and dancing? Is there no flying this abominable country immediately, this execrable kingdom, where monkeys provoke tygers? I have seen bears in my country, but men I have beheld no where but in Eldorado. In the name of God, Sr, said he to the officer, do me the kindness to conduct me to Venice, where I am to wait for Miss Cunegund. Really, Sir, replied the officer, I cannot possibly wait on you further than Lower Normandy. So saying, he orders Candid's irons to be struck off, acknowledged himself mistaken, and sent his followers about their business; after which he conducts Candid and Martin to Dieppe, and leaves them in the care of his brother. There happened just then to be a small Dutch ship in the road. The Norman, whom the other three diamonds had converted into the most obliging serviceable being that ever breathed, took care to see Candid and his attendants safe on board this vessel, that was just ready to sail for Portsmouth in England. This was not the nearest way to Venice indeed; but Candid thought himself escaped out of hell, and did not, in the least, doubt but he should quickly find an opportunity of resuming his voyage to Venice.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Candid and Martin touch upon the English coast;
what they see there.*

AH Pangloss! Pangloss! ah Martin! Martin! ah my dear Miss Cunegund, what sort of a world is this? Thus exclaimed Candid as soon as he had got on board the Dutch ship. Why something very foolish, and very abominable, said Martin. You are acquainted with England, said Candid; are they as great fools in that country as in France? Yes, but in a different manner, answered Martin. You know that these two nations are at war about a few acres of barren land in the neighbourhood of Canada, and that they have expended much greater sums in the contest, than all Canada is worth. To say exactly whether there are a greater number fit to be inhabitants of a mad-house in the one country than the other, exceeds the limits of my imperfect capacity; I know in general, that the people we are going to visit, are of a very dark and gloomy disposition.

As they were chatting thus together, they arrived at Portsmouth. The shore on each side the harbour, was lined with a multitude of people, whose eyes were steadfastly fixed on a lusty man, who was kneeling down on the deck of one of the men of war, with something tied before his eyes. Opposite to this personage stood four soldiers, each of whom shot three bullets into his skull, with all the composure imaginable; and when it was done, the whole

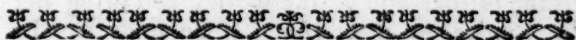
company went away perfectly well satisfied. What the devil is all this for? said Candid; and what dæmon, or foe to mankind, lords it thus tyrannically over the world? He then asked, who was that lusty man who had been sent out of the world with so much ceremony? when he received for answer, that it was an admiral. And pray why do you put your admiral to death? Because he did not put a sufficient number of his fellow creatures to death. You must know, he had an engagement with a French admiral, and it has been proved against him, that he was not near enough to his antagonist. But, replied Candid, the French admiral must have been as far from him. There is no doubt of that; but in this country it is found requisite, now and then, to put one admiral to death, in order to spirit up the others to fight*.

Candid was so shocked at what he saw and heard, that he would not set foot on shore, but made a bargain with the Dutch skipper (were he even to rob him like the captain of Surinam) to carry him directly to Venice.

The skipper was ready in two days. They sailed along the coast of France, and passed within sight of Lisbon, at which Candid trembled. From thence they proceeded to the Straights, entered the Mediterranean, and at length arrived at Venice. God be praised,

* We need not inform the reader, that our author alludes to the fate of admiral Byng.—His remark upon it, is precisely what we have heard repeated in twenty different companies, and implies a severe reflection both upon the G—t, and the officers of G—t B—n.

said Candid, embracing Martin, this is the place where I am to behold my beloved Cunegund once again. I can confide in Cacambo like another self. All is well, all very well; all as well as possible.



C H A P. XXIV.

Of Paquette and friar Giroflée.

UPON their arrival at Venice, he went in search of Cacambo at every inn and coffee-house, and among all the ladies of pleasure; but could hear nothing of him. He sent every day to enquire what ships were come in, still no news of Cacambo. It is strange! said he to Martin, very strange! that I should have had time to sail from Surinam to Bourdeaux; to travel from thence to Paris, to Dieppe, to Portsmouth; to sail along the coast of Portugal and Spain, and up the Mediterranean to spend some months at Venice; and that my lovely Cunegund should not be arrived. Instead of her I only met with a Parisian bite, and a rascally abbé of Perigord. Cunegund is actually dead, and I have nothing to do but to follow her. Alas! how much better would it have been for me to have remained in the paradise of Eldorado than to have returned to this cursed Europe! You are in the right, my dear Martin; you are certainly in the right; all is misery and deceit.

He fell into a deep melancholy, and neither went to the opera in vogue, nor partook of any

of the diversions of the carnival: nay, he even slighted the fair sex. Martin said to him, Upon my word, I think you are very simple to imagine that a rascally valet, with five or six millions in his pocket, would go in search of your mistress to the further end of the world, and bring her to Venice to meet you. If he finds her he will take her for himself; if he does not, he will take another. Let me advise you to forget your valet Cacambo, and your mistress Cunegund. Martin's speech was not the most consolatory to the dejected Candid. His melancholy encreased, and Martin never left proving to him that there is very little virtue or happiness in this world; except, perhaps, in Eldorado, where hardly any body can gain admittance.

While they were disputing on this important subject, and still expecting Miss Cunegund, Candid perceived a young Theatin friar in St. Mark's place, with a girl under his arm. The Theatin looked fresh-coloured, plump, and vigorous; his eyes sparkled; his air and gait were bold and lofty. The girl was very pretty, and was singing a song; and every now and then gave her Theatin an amorous ogle, and wantonly pinched his ruddy cheeks. You will at least allow, said Candid to Martin, that these too are happy hitherto. I have met with none but unfortunate people in the whole habitable globe, except in Eldorado; but, as to this couple, I would venture to lay a wager they are happy. Done! said Martin; they are not for what you will. Well, we have only to ask them to dine with us, said Candid, and you will see whether I am mistaken or not. There-

Thereupon he accosts them, and with great politeness invites them to his inn to eat some macaroni, with Lombard partridges and caviare, and to drink a bottle of Montepulciano, Lacryma-Christi, Cyprus or Samos wine. The girl blushed; the Theatin accepted the invitation, and she followed him, eying Candid every now and then with a mixture of surprize and confusion, while the tears stole down her cheeks. No sooner did she enter his apartment than she cried out, How Mr. Candid, have you quite forgot your Pacquette? do you not know her again? Candid, who had not regarded her with any degree of attention before, being wholly occupied with the thoughts of his dear Cunegund, Ah! is it you, child? was it you that reduced Doctor Pangloss to that fine condition. I saw him in?

Alas! Sir, answered Pacquette, it was I, indeed. I find you are acquainted with every thing; and I have been informed of all the misfortunes that happened to the whole family of my lady baroness and the fair Cunegund. But I can safely swear to you that my lot was no less deplorable; I was innocence itself when you saw me last. A Cordelier, who was my confessor, easily seduced me; the consequences proved terrible. I was obliged to leave the castle some time after the baron kicked you out from thence; and if a famous surgeon had not taken compassion on me, I had been a dead woman. Gratitude obliged me to live with him for some time as a mistress: his wife, who was a very devil for jealousy, beat me unmercifully every day. Oh! she was a perfect fury. The doctor himself was the most ugly

of all mortals, and I the most wretched creature existing, to be continually beat for a man whom I did not love. You are sensible, Sir, how dangerous it was for an ill-natured woman to be married to a physician. Incensed at the behaviour of his wife, he one day gave her so affectionate a remedy for a slight cold she had caught, that she died in less than two hours in most dreadful convulsions. Her relations prosecuted the husband, who was obliged to fly, and I was sent to prison. My innocence would not have saved me if I had not been tolerably handsome. The judge gave me my liberty, on condition he should succeed the doctor. However, I was soon-supplanted by a rival, turned off without a farthing, and obliged to continue the abominable trade which you men think so pleasing; but which to us unhappy creatures, is the most dreadful of all sufferings. At length I came to follow the business at Venice. Ah! Sir, did you but know what it is to be obliged to lie with every fellow; with old tradesmen, with counsellors, with monks, watermen, and abbés; to be exposed to all their insolence and abuse; to be often necessitated to borrow a petticoat only that it may be taken up by some disagreeable wretch; to be robbed by one gallant of what we get from another; to be subject to the extortions of civil magistrates; and to have for ever before one's eyes the prospect of old age, an hospital or a dunghill, you would conclude that I am one of the most unhappy wretches breathing.

Thus did Pacquette unbosom himself to honest Candid in his closet, in the presence of
Martin,

Martin, who took occasion to say to him, You see I have half won the wager already.

Friar Giroflée was all this time in the parlour refreshing himself with a glass or two of wine till dinner was ready. But, said Candid to Pacquette, you looked so gay and content, when I met you, you sung and caressed the Theatin with so much fondness, that I absolutely thought you as happy as you say you are now miserable. Ah! dear Sir, said Pacquette, this is one of the miseries of the trade; yesterday I was stript and beat by an officer; yet to-day I must appear good-humoured and gay to please a friar.

Candid was convinced, and acknowledged that Martin was in the right. They sat down to table with Pacquette and the Theatin; the entertainment was very agreeable, and towards the end they began to converse together with some freedom. Father, said Candid to the friar, you seem to me to enjoy a state of happiness that even kings might envy; joy and health are painted in your countenance. You have a tight pretty wench to divert you; and you seem to be perfectly well contented with your condition, as a Theatin.

Faith Sir, said friar Giroflée, I wish with all my soul the Theatins were every one of them at the bottom of the sea. I have been tempted a thousand times to set fire to the convent, and go and turn Turk. My parents obliged me, at the age of fifteen, to put on this detestable habit only to encrease the fortune of an elder brother of mine, whom, God confound! Jealousy, discord, and fury, reside in our convent. It is true I have preached of-

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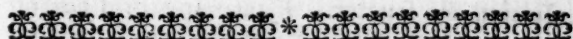
ten paltry sermons, by which I have got a little money, part of which the prior robs me of, and the remainder helps to pay my girls; but, at night, when I go hence to my convent, I am ready to dash my brains against the walls of the dormitory; and this is the case with all the rest of our fraternity.

Martin, turning towards Candid with his usual indifference, said, Well, what think you now; have I won the wager entirely? Candid gave two thousand piaſtres to Pacquette, and a thousand to friar Giroſſée, ſaying, I'll answer that this will make them happy. I am not of your opinion, said Martin; perhaps this money will only make them wretched. Be that as it may, said Candid, one thing comforts me; I see that one often meets with those whom we expected never to see again; so that, perhaps, as I have found my red sheep and Pacquette, I may be lucky enough to find Miſs Cunegund also. I wish, said Martin, she one day may make you happy; but I doubt it much. You are very hard of belief, said Candid. It is because, said Martin, I have seen the world.

Observe those gondoliers, said Candid, are they not perpetually singing? You do not see them, answered Martin, at home with their wives and brats. The doge has his chagrin, gondoliers theirs. Nevertheless, in the main, I look upon the gondolier's life as preferable to that of the doge; but the difference is so trifling; that it is not worth the trouble of examining into.

I have heard great talk, said Candid, of the senator Pococurante, who lives in that fine house at the Brenta, where they say he entertains.

certains foreigners in the most polite manner. They pretend this man is a perfect stranger to uneasiness. I should be glad to see so extraordinary a being, said Martin. Candid thereupon sent a messenger to seignor Pococurante, desiring permission to wait on him the next day.



CHAP. XXV.

Candid and Martin pay a visit to seignor Pococurante, a noble Venetian.

CANDID and his friend Martin went in a gondola on the Brenta, and arrived at the Palace of the noble Pococurante; the gardens were laid out in an elegant taste, and adorned with fine marble statues; his palace was built after the most approved rules in architecture. The master of the house, who was a man of sixty, and very rich, received our two travellers with great politeness, but without much ceremony; which somewhat disconcerted Candid, but was not at all displeasing to Martin.

As soon as they were seated two very pretty girls, neatly dressed, brought in chocolate, which was extremely well frothed. Candid could not help making encomiums upon their beauty and graceful carriage. The creatures are well enough, said the senator; I make them lie with me sometimes, for I am heartily tired of the women of the town, their coquetry, their jealousy, their quarrels, their humours, their meanesses, their pride, and their folly; I am weary

of making sonnets, or of paying for sonnets to be made on them; but, after all, these two girls begin to grow very indifferent to me.

After having refreshed himself, Candid walked into a large gallery, where he was struck with the sight of a fine collection of paintings. Pray, said Candid; by what master are the two first of these? They are Raphael's, answered the senator. I gave an horrid deal of money for them seven years ago, purely out of curiosity, as they were said to be the finest pieces in Italy; but I cannot say they please me: the colouring is dark and heavy: the figures do not swell nor come out enough; and the drapery is very bad. In short, notwithstanding the encomiums lavished upon them, they are not, in my opinion, a true representation of nature. I approve of no picture but where I think I behold nature herself; and there are very few, if any, of that kind to be met with. I have what is called a fine collection, but I take no manner of delight in them.

While dinner was getting ready, Pococurante ordered a concert. Candid praised the music to the skies. This noise, said the noble Venetian, may amuse one for a little time; but if it was to last above half an hour, it would grow tiresome to every body, tho' perhaps no one would care to own it. Music is become the art of executing what is difficult; now whatever is difficult cannot be long pleasing.

I believe I might take more pleasure in an opera, if they had not made such a monster of that species of dramatic entertainment as perfectly shocks me; and I am amazed how people can bear to see wretched tragedies set to music;
where

where the scenes are contrived for no other purpose than to lug in, as it were by the ears, three or four ridiculous songs to give a favourite actress an opportunity of shewing her pipe. Let who will or can die away in raptures at the trills of an eunuch quavering the majestic part of Cæsar or Cato, and skipingly struts along the stage. For my part, I have long ago renounced these paltry entertainments, which constitute the glory of modern Italy, and are so dearly purchased by crowned heads. Candid opposed these sentiments; but he did it in a discreet manner: as for Martin, he was entirely of the old senator's opinion.

Dinner being served up they sat down to table, and, after a very hearty repast, returned to the library. Candid observing a Homer richly bound commended the noble Venetian's taste. This, said he, is a book that was once the delight of the great Pangloss, the best philosopher in Germany. Homer is no favourite of mine, answered Pococurante, very coolly; I was made to believe once that I took a pleasure in reading him; but his continual repetitions of battles must have all such a resemblance with each other; his gods that are for ever in a hurry and bustle, without ever doing any thing; his Helen, that is the cause of the war; and yet hardly acts in the whole performance; his Troy, that holds out so long, without being taken: in short, all these things together, make the poem very insipid to me. I have asked some learned men, whether they are not in reality as much tired as myself with reading this poet: those who spoke ingenuously, assured me that he had made them
fall

fall asleep; and yet, that they could not dispense with giving him a place in their libraries; but that it was merely as they would do an antique, or those rusty medals which are kept only for curiosity, and are of no manner of use in commerce.

But your excellency does not surely form the same opinion of Virgil? said Candid. Why, I grant, replied Pococurante, that the second, third, fourth and sixth book of his *Æneid* are excellent; but, as for his pious Eneas, his strong Cloanthus, his friendly Achates, his boy Ascanius, his silly king Latinus, his ill-bred Amata, his insipid Lavinia; and some other characters much in the same strain; I think there cannot in nature be any thing more flat and disagreeable. I must confess I prefer Tasso far beyond him; nay, even that sleepy tale-teller Ariosto.

May I take the liberty to ask if you do not receive great pleasure from reading Horace? said Candid. There are maxims in this writer, said Pococurante, from whence a man of the world may reap some benefit; and the short measure of the verse makes them more easily to be retained in the memory. But I see nothing extraordinary in his journey to Brundisium, and his account of his bad dinner; nor in his dirty low quarrel between one Rupilius, whose words, as he expresses it, were full of poisonous filth; and another, whose language was dipped in vinegar. His indelicate verses against old women and witches have frequently given me great offence; nor can I discover the great merit of his telling his friend Mæcenas, that if he will but rank him in the class
of

of Lyric poets, his lofty head shall touch the stars. Ignorant readers are apt to advance every thing by the lump in a writer of reputation. For my part, I read only to please myself. I like nothing but what makes for my purpose. Candid, who had been brought up with a notion of never making use of his own judgment, was astonished at what he heard; but Martin found there was a good deal of reason in the senator's remarks.

O! here is a Tully, said Candid: this great man, I fancy you are never tired of reading? Indeed I never read him at all, replied Pococurante. What a deuce is it to me whether he pleads for Raberius or Cluentius? I try causes enough myself. I had once some liking to his philosophical works; but when I found he doubted of every thing, I thought I knew as much as himself, and had no need of a guide to learn ignorance.

Ha! cried Martin, here are fourscore volumes of the Memoirs of the academy of sciences; perhaps there may be something curious and valuable in this collection. Yes, answered Pococurante; so there might if any one of these compilers of this rubbish had only invented the art of pen-making: but all these volumes are filled with mere chimerical systems, without one single article conducive to real utility.

I see a prodigious number of plays, said Candid in Italian, Spanish, and French. Yes, replied the Venetian; there are I think three thousand, and not three dozen of them good for any thing. As to those huge volumes of divinity, and those enormous collections of sermons, they are not altogether

altogether worth one single page in Seneca ; and I fancy you will readily believe that neither myself nor any one else ever looks into them.

Martin, perceiving some shelves filled with English books, said to the senator, I fancy that a republican must be highly delighted with those books, which are most of them written with a noble spirit of freedom. It is noble to write as we think, said Pococurante ; it is the privilege of humanity. Throughout Italy we write only what we do not think ; and the present inhabitants of the country of the Cæsars and Antoninus's, dare not acquire a single idea without the permission of a father Dominican. I should be enamoured of the spirit of the English nation, did it not utterly frustrate the good effects it would produce, by passion and the spirit of party.

Candid, seeing a Milton, asked the senator if he did not think that author a great man ? Who ? said Pococurante sharply ; that barbarian who writes a tedious commentary in ten books of rumbling verse, on the first chapter of Genesis ? that slovenly imitator of the Greeks, who disfigures the creation, by making the Messiah take a pair of compasses from heaven's armoury to plan the world ; whereas Moses represented the Deity as producing the whole universe by his *fiat* ? Can I think you have any esteem for a writer who has spoiled Tasso's Hell and the Devil ; who transforms Lucifer sometimes into a toad, and, at others, into a pigmy ; who makes him say the same thing over again an hundred times ; who metamorphoses him into a school-divine ; and who, by an absurdly serious imitation of Ariosto's comic

comic invention of fire-arms, represents the devils and angels, commanding each other in heaven? Neither I nor any other Italian can possibly take pleasure in such melancholy reveries; but the marriage of sin and death, and snakes issuing from the womb of the former, are enough to make any person sick that is not lost to all sense of delicacy. This obscene, whimsical, and disagreeable poem met with the neglect it deserved at its first publication; and I only treat the author now as he was treated in his own country by his contemporaries.

Candid was sensibly grieved at this speech, as he had a great respect for Homer, and was very fond of Milton. Alas! said he softly to Martin, I am afraid this man holds our German poets in great contempt. There would be no such great harm in that, said Martin. O what a surprising man! said Candid still to himself; what a prodigious genius is this Pococurante*! nothing can please him.

* Pococurante is a right modern Aristarchus. Prompted by spleen and envy to poach for faults, he has just perception enough to discover a few blemishes, or seeming blemishes, without having taste to feel, or candour to acknowledge the numberless beauties which those performances contain. With the same justice, a man being asked his opinion of a celebrated beauty, enumerates a small mole on one cheek, a little wart on the other, an inconsiderable scar on the chin, and an uneven tooth, and passing over a sublime forehead, a pair of brilliant eyes, a delicious mouth with coral lips, a delicate complexion, an elegant contour of the face, and ravishing harmony of features, exclaims with marks of disgust; "What a shocking creature it is!" A fair critic does not vindicate little imperfections, but excuses them, in consideration of the excellencies in which they are intermingled.

*Verum ubi plura intent, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis*————

After finishing their survey of the library, they went down into the garden, when Candid commended the several beauties that offered themselves to his view. I know nothing upon earth laid out in such bad taste, said Pocourante; every thing about it is childish and trifling; but I shall have another laid out to-morrow upon a nobler plan.

As soon as our two travellers had taken leave of his excellency, Well, said Candid to Martin, I hope you will own, that this man is the happiest of all mortals, for he is above every thing he possesses. But do not you see, answered Martin, that he likewise dislikes every thing he possesses? It was an observation of Plato, long since, that those are not the best stomachs that reject, without distinction, all sorts of aliments. True, said Candid, but still there must certainly be a pleasure in criticising every thing, and in perceiving faults where others think they see beauties. That is, replied Martin, there is a pleasure in having no pleasure. Well, well, said Candid, I find that I shall be the only happy man at last, when I am blessed with the sight of my dear Cunegund. It is good to hope, said Martin.

In the mean while, days and weeks passed away, and no news of Cacambo. Candid was so overwhelmed with grief, that he did not reflect on the behaviour of Pacquette and friar Giroflée, who never staid to return him thanks for the presents he had so generously made them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Candid and Martin sup with six sharpers; who they were.

ONE evening that Candid, with his attendant Martin, were going to set down to supper with some foreigners, who lodged in the same inn where they had taken up their quarters, a man, with a face the colour of soot, came behind him, and taking him by the arm, said, hold yourself in readiness to go along with us, be sure you do not fail. Upon, this turning about to see from whom the above came, he beheld Cacambo. Nothing but the sight of Miss Cunegund could have given greater joy and surprize. He was almost beside himself. After embracing this dear friend, Miss Cunegund! said he, Miss Cunegund is come with you doubtless! Where, where is she? Carry me to her this instant, that I may die with joy in her presence. Miss Cunegund is not here, answered Cacambo; she is at Constantinople. Good heaven, at Constantinople! But no matter if she was in China, I would fly thither. Quick, quick, dear Cacambo, let us be gone. Soft and fair, said Cacambo, stay till you have supped. I cannot at present stay to say any thing more to you; I am a slave, and my master waits for me; I must go and attend him at table: but mum! say not a word, only get your supper, and hold yourself in readiness.

Candid, divided between joy and grief, charmed to have thus met with his faithful agent again, and surprised to hear he was a slave,

slave, his heart palpitating, his senses confused, but full of the hopes of recovering his dear Cunegund, sat down to table with Martin, who beheld all these scenes with great unconcern, and with six strangers, who were come to spend the carnival at Venice.

Cacambo waited at table upon one of those strangers. When supper was nearly over, he drew near to his master, and whispered him in the ear, Sire, your majesty may go when you please, the ship is ready; and so saying he left the room. The guests, surprized at what they had heard, looked at each other without speaking a word; when another servant drawing near to his master, in like manner said, Sire, your majesty's post-chaise is at Padua, and the bark is ready. The master made him a sign, and he instantly withdrew. The company all stared at each other again, and the general astonishment was increased. A third servant then approached another of the strangers, and said, Sire, if your majesty will be advised by me, you will not make any longer stay in this place. I will go and get every thing ready; and instantly disappeared.

Candid and Martin then took it for granted, that this was some of the diversions of the carnival, and that these were characters in masquerade. Then a fourth domestic said to the fourth stranger, Your majesty may set off when you please; saying this, he went away like the rest. A fifth valet said the same to a fifth master. But the sixth domestic spoke in a different stile to the person on whom he waited, and who sat near to Candid. Troth, Sir, said he, they will trust your majesty no longer, nor myself

neither, and we may both of us be chance to be sent to gaol this very night; and therefore I shall e'en take care of myself, and so good night to you. The servants being all gone, the six strangers, with Candid and Martin, remained in a profound silence. At length Candid broke it, by saying, Gentlemen, this is a very singular joke upon my word, why how came you all to be kings? For my part I own frankly, that neither my friend Martin here, nor myself, have any claim to royalty.

Cacambo's master then began, with great gravity, to deliver himself thus in Italian. I am not joking in the least, my name is Achmet III. I was grand seignor for many years; I dethroned my brother, my nephew dethroned me, my viziers lost their heads, and I am condemned to end my days in the old seraglio. My nephew, the grand sultan Mahomet, gives me permission to travel sometimes for my health, and I am come to spend the carnival at Venice*.

A young man who sate by Achmet, spoke next, and said, My name is Ivan. I was once emperor of all the Russias, but was dethroned in my cradle. My parents were confined, and I was brought up in a prison, yet I am some-

* It is very extraordinary indeed, that the sultan should grant this indulgence to the prince whom he had dethroned. But to represent Achmet voluntarily returning from a free country to his prison at Constantinople, where he knew he should be very much exposed to the bow-string, is a most violent and unnatural outrage on probability. This accidental meeting of the other princes, is not ill imagined, excepting still the emperor John of Russia, a country where dethroned princes were never treated with such tenderness and respect.

times allowed to travel, though always with persons to keep a guard over me, and I am come to spend the carnival at Venice.

The third said, I am Charles-Edward, king of England; my father has renounced his right to the throne in my favour. I have fought in defence of my rights, and near a thousand of my friends have had their hearts taken out of their bodies alive, and thrown in their faces. I have myself been confined in a prison*. I am going to Rome to visit the king my father, who was dethroned as well as myself; and my grandfather and I am come to spend the carnival at Venice.

The fourth spoke thus, I am the king of Poland †; the fortune of war has stripped me of my hereditary dominions. My father experienced the same vicissitudes of fate. I resign myself to the will of providence, in the same manner as sultan Achmet, the emperor Ivan, and king Charles-Edward, whom God long preserve; and I am come to pass the carnival at Venice.

The fifth said, I am king of Poland also. I have twice lost my kingdom; but Providence has given me other dominions, where I have done more good, than all the Sarmatian kings put together, were ever able to do on the banks

* Alluding to his being arrested by the French king at Paris, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, because he would not quietly withdraw himself from the dominions of France.

† Augustus, king of Poland, elector of Saxony, driven from his hereditary dominions, by his neighbour the king of Prussia.

of the Vistula *. I resign myself likewise to Providence; and am come to pass the carnival at Venice.

It now came to the sixth monarch's turn to speak. Gentlemen, said he, I am not so great a prince as the rest of you, it is true, but I am however a crowned head. I am Theodore, elected king of Corsica. I have had the title of majesty, and am now hardly treated with common civility. I have coined money, and am not now worth a single ducat. I have had two secretaries, and am now without a valet. I was once seated on a throne, and since that have lain upon a truss of straw, in a common gaol in London †, and I very much fear I shall meet with the same fate here in Venice, where I come, like your majesties, to divert myself at the carnival.

The other five kings listened to this speech with great attention; it excited their compassion; each of them made the unhappy Theodore a present of twenty sequins, and Candid gave him a diamond, worth just an hundred times that sum. Who can this private person be, said the five princes to one another, who is able

* Stanislaus Lecinski, formerly king of Poland, now possessor of Lorraine, and father to the queen of France.

† This remarkable personage, after having lain in the common prison of the king's bench, for a paucity debt, was cleared by an act of parliament, passed for the relief of insolvent debtors; and the schedule of his effects, delivered for the benefit of his creditors, contained his right and pretensions to the crown of Corsica. He died a few years ago at London, in extreme misery, to the reproach of the English nation, which had at one time acknowledged him as a sovereign prince, and their ally.

to give, and has actually given, an hundred times as much as any of us?

Just as they rose from table, in came four serene highnesses *, who had also been stripped of their territories by the fortune of war, and were come to spend the remainder of the carnival at Venice. Candid took no manner of notice of them; for his thoughts were wholly employed on his voyage to Constantinople, whither he intended to go in search of his lovely Miss Cunegund.



CHAP. XXVII.

Candid's voyage to Constantinople.

THE trusty Cacambo had already engaged the captain of the Turkish ship, that was to carry sultan Achmet back to Constantinople, to take Candid and Martin on board. Accordingly they both embarked, after paying their obeisance to his miserable highness. As they were going on board, Candid said to Martin, you see we supped in company with six dethroned kings, and to one of them I gave charity. Perhaps there may be a great many other princes still more unfortunate. For my part I have lost only an hundred sheep, and am now going to fly to the arms of my charming Miss Cunegund.—My dear Martin, I must in-

* Probably he means the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the dukes of Brunswic, Saxe-Gotha, and Mecklembourg-Schwerin;

sist on it, that Pangloss was in the right. All is for the best. I wish it may said, Martin.— But this was an odd adventure we met with at Venice. I do not think there ever was an instance before, of six dethroned monarchs supping together at a public inn. This is not more extraordinary, said Martin, than most of what has happened to us. It is a very common thing for kings to be dethroned; and as for our having the honour to sup with six of them, it is a mere accident, not deserving our attention.

As soon as Candid set his foot on board the vessel, he flew to his old friend and valet Cacambo; and throwing his arms about his neck, embraced him with transports of joy. Well, said he, what news of Miss Cunegund? Does she still continue the paragon of beauties? Does she love me still? How does she do? You have, doubtless, purchased a superb palace for her at Constantinople.

My dear master, replied Cacambo, Miss Cunegund washes dishes on the banks of the Propontis, in the house of a prince who has very few to wash. She is at present a slave in the family of an ancient sovereign named Ragotsky, whom the grand Turk allows three crowns a day to maintain him in his exile; but the most melancholy circumstance of all is, that she is turned horribly ugly. Ugly or handsome, said Candid, I am a man of honour; and, as such, am obliged to love her still. But how could she possibly have been reduced to so abject a condition, when I sent five or six millions to her by you? Lord bless me, said Cacambo, was not I obliged to give two mil-

lions to seignor Don Fernando d'Ibaraa, y Figueora, y Mascarenas, y Lampourdous, y Soufa, the governor of Buenos-Ayres, for liberty to take Miss Cunegund away with me? and then did not a brave fellow of a pyrate very gallantly strip us of all the rest? And then did not this same pyrate carry us with him to Cape Matapan, to Milo, to Nicaria, to Samos, to Petra, to the Dardanelles, to Marmora, to Scutari? Miss Cunegund and the old woman are now servants to the prince I have told you of; and I myself am slave to the dethroned sultan. What a chain of shocking accidents! exclaimed Candid. But after all, I have still some diamonds left, with which I can easily procure Miss Cunegund's liberty. It is a pity though she is grown so very ugly.

Then turning to Martin, What think you friend, said he, whose condition is most to be pitied, the emperor Achmet's, the emperor Ivan's, king Charles-Edward's, or mine? Faith I cannot resolve your question, said Martin, unless I had been in the breasts of you all. Ah, cried Candid, was Pangloss here now, he would have known, and satisfied me at once. I know not, said Martin, in what ballance your Pangloss could have weighed the misfortunes of mankind, and have set a just estimation on their sufferings. All that I pretend to know of the matter is, that there are millions of men on the earth, whose conditions are an hundred times more pitiable than those of king Charles-Edward, the emperor Ivan, or sultan Achmet. Why that may be, answered Candid.

In a few days they reached the Bosphorus; and the first thing Candid did, was to pay a very

very high ransom for Cacambo: then, without losing time, he and his companions went on board a galley, in order to search for his Cunegund, on the banks of the Propontis, notwithstanding she was grown so ugly.

There were two slaves among the crew of the galley, who rowed very ill, and to whose bare back the master of the vessel frequently applied a bull's pizzle. Candid, from natural sympathy, looked at these two slaves more attentively than at any of the rest, and drew near them with an eye of pity. Their features, though greatly disfigured, appeared to him to bear a strong resemblance with those of Pangloss, and the unhappy baron Jesuit, Miss Cunegund's brother. This idea affected him with grief and compassion: he examined them more attentively than before. In troth, said he, turning to Martin, if I had not seen my master Pangloss fairly hanged, and had not myself been unlucky enough to run the baron through the body, I should absolutely think those two rowers were them.

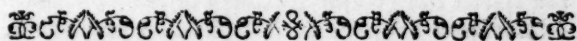
No sooner had Candid uttered the names of the baron and Pangloss, than the two slaves gave a great cry, ceased rowing, and let fall their oars out of their hands. The master of the vessel, seeing this, ran up to them, and redoubled the discipline of the bull's pizzle. Hold, hold, cried Candid, I will give you what money you shall ask for these two persons. Good heavens! it is Candid, said one of the men. Candid! cried the other. Do I dream, said Candid, or am I awake? Am I actually on board this galley? Is this my lord baron

whom I killed? and that my master Pangloss, whom I saw hanged before my face?

It is me! it is me! cried they both together. What is this your great philosopher? said Martin. My dear Sir, said Candid to the master of the galley, how much do you ask for the ransom of the baron of Thunder-ten-tronckh, who is one of the first barons of the empire, and of Mr. Pangloss, the most profound metaphysician in Germany? Why then, Christian cur, replied the Turkish captain, since these two dogs of Christian slaves are barons and metaphysicians, who no doubt are of high rank in their own country, thou shalt give me fifty thousand sequins. You shall have them, Sir; carry me back as quick as thought to Constantinople, and you shall receive the money immediately. No! carry me first to Miss Cunegund. The captain, upon Candid's first proposal, had already tacked about, and he made the crew ply their oars so effectually, that the vessel flew through the water quicker than a bird cleaves the air.

Candid bestowed a thousand embraces on the baron and Pangloss. And so then, my dear baron, I did not kill you? and you, my dear Pangloss, are come to life again after your hanging. But how came you slaves on board a Turkish galley? And is it true that my dear sister is in this country? said the baron. Yes, said Cacambo. And do I once again behold my dear Candid? said Pangloss. Candid presented Martin and Cacambo to them; they embraced each other, and all spoke together. The galley flew like lightning; and now they were
got

got back to the port. Candid instantly sent for a Jew, to whom he sold for fifty thousand sequins a diamond, richly worth one hundred thousand, though the fellow swore to him all the time by father Abraham, that he gave him the most he could possibly afford. He no sooner got the money into his hands, than he paid it down for the ransom of the baron and Pangloss. The latter flung himself at the feet of his deliverer, and bathed him with his tears : the former thanked him with a gracious nod, and promised to return him the money the first opportunity. But is it possible, said he, that my sister should be in Turkey ? Nothing is more possible, answered Cacambo, for she scours the dishes in the house of a Transylvanian prince. Candid sent directly for two Jews, and sold more diamonds to them ; and then he set out with his companions in another galley to deliver Miss Cunegund from slavery.



C H A P. XXVIII.

What befel Candid, Cunegund, Pangloss, Martin, &c.

PARDON, said Candid, to the baron ; once more let me intreat your pardon, reverend father, for running you through the body. Say no more about it, replied the baron, I was a little too hasty I must own ; but as you seem to be desirous to know by what accident I came to be a slave on board the galley where you saw me, I will inform you. After I had been cured

of the wound you gave me, by the college apothecary, I was attacked and carried off by a party of Spanish troops, who clapped me up in prison in Buenos-Ayres, at the very time my sister was setting out from thence. I asked leave to return to Rome, to the general of my order, who appointed me chaplain to the French ambassador at Constantinople. I had not been a week in my new office, when I happened to meet one evening with a young Icglan, extremely handsome, and well made. The weather was very hot; the young man had an inclination to bathe. I took the opportunity to bathe likewise. I did not know it was a crime for a Christian to be found naked in company with a young Turk. A *cadi* ordered me to receive an hundred blows on the soles of my feet, and sent me to the galleys. I do not believe that there was ever an act of more flagrant injustice. But I would fain know how my sister came to be scullion to a Transylvanian prince, who has taken refuge among the Turks?

But how happens it that I behold you again, my dear Pangloss? said Candid. It is true, answered Pangloss, you saw me hanged, though I ought properly to have been burnt; but you may remember, that it rained extremely hard when they were going to roast me. The storm was so violent, that they found it impossible to light the fire; so they e'en hanged me, because they could do no better. A surgeon purchased my body, carried it home, and prepared to dissect me. He began by making a crucial incision from my navel to the clavicle. It is impossible for any one to have been more lamely hanged than I had been. The executioner of
the

the holy inquisition was a sub-deacon, and knew how to burn people very well, but as for hanging, he was a novice at, being quite out of the way of his practice; the cord being wet and not slipping properly, the noose did not join. In short, I still continued to breathe; the crucial incision made me scream to such a degree, that my surgeon fell flat upon his back; and imagining it was the devil he was dissecting, ran away, and in his fright tumbled down stairs. His wife hearing the noise flew from the next room, and seeing me stretched upon the table with my crucial incision, was still more terrified than her husband, and fell upon him. When they had a little recovered themselves, I heard her say to her husband, My dear, how could you think of dissecting an heretic? Don't you know that the devil is always in them? I'll run directly to a priest to come and drive the evil spirit out. I trembled from head to foot at hearing her talk in this manner, and exerted what little strength I had left to cry out, Have mercy on me! At length the Portuguese barber took courage, sewed up my wound, and his wife nursed me; and I was upon my legs in a fortnight's time. The barber got me a place to be lacquey to a knight of Malta, who was going to Venice; but finding my master had no money to pay me my wages, I entered into the service of a Venetian merchant, and went with him to Constantinople.

One day I happened to enter a mosque, where I saw no one but an old Iman and a very pretty young female devotee, who was telling her beads; her neck was quite bare, and in her bosom she had a beautiful nosegay of tu-

lips, roses, anemonies, ranunculuses, hyacinths, and auriculas; she let fall her nosegay. I ran immediately to take it up, and presented it to her with a most respectful bow. I was so long in delivering it that the iman began to be angry; and, perceiving I was a Christian, he cried out for help; they carried me before the cadi, who ordered me to receive one hundred bastinadoes, and sent me to the gallies. I was chained in the very galley, and to the very same bench with the baron. On board this galley there were four young men belonging to Marseilles, five Neapolitan priests, and two monks of Corfu, who told us that the like adventures happened every day. The baron pretended that he had been worse used than myself; and I insisted that there was far less harm in taking up a nosegay and putting it into a woman's bosom than to be found stark naked with a young Icoglan. We were continually whipt, and received twenty lashes a day with a bull's pizzle, when the concatenation of sublunary events brought you on board our galley to ransom us from slavery.

Well, my dear Pangloss, said Candid to them, when you was hanged, dissected, whipped, and tugging at the oar, did you continue to think that every thing in this world happens for the best? I have always abided by my first opinion, answered Pangloss; for, after all, I am a philosopher, and it would not become me to retract my sentiments; especially, as Leibnitz could not be in the wrong; and that pre-establihed harmony is the finest thing in the world, as well as *plenum* and the *materia subtilis*.

C H A P. XXIX.

*In what manner Candid found Miss Cunegund
and the old woman again.*

WHILE Candid, the Baron, Pangloss, Martin and Cacambo, were relating their several adventures, and reasoning on the contingent or non-contingent events of this world ; on causes and effects ; on moral and physical evil ; on free-will and necessity ; and on the consolation that may be felt by a person, when a slave and chained to an oar in a Turkish galley, they arrived at the house of the Transylvanian prince on the coasts of the Propontis. The first objects they beheld there, was Miss Cunegund and the old woman, who were hanging some table-cloths on a line to dry.

The baron turned pale at the sight. Even the tender Candid, that affectionate lover, upon seeing his fair Cunegund all sun-burnt, with blear-eyes, a withered neck, wrinkled face and arms, all covered with a red scurf, started back with horror ; but, recovering himself, he advanced towards her out of good manners. She embraced Candid and her brother ; they embraced the old woman, and Candid ransomed them both.

There was a small farm in the neighbourhood which the old woman proposed to Candid to make a shift with till the company should meet with a more favourable destiny. Cunegund, not knowing that she was grown ugly, as no one had informed her of it, reminded Candid of his promise in so peremptory a manner,

ner, that the simple^d lad did not dare to refuse her; he then acquainted the baron that he was going to marry his sister. I will never suffer, said the baron, my sister to be guilty of an action so derogatory to her birth and family; nor will I bear this insolence on your part: no, I never will be reproached that my nephews are not qualified for the first ecclesiastical dignities in Germany; nor shall a sister of mine ever be the wife of any person below the rank of a baron of the empire. Cunegund flung herself at her brother's feet, and bedewed them with her tears; but he still continued inflexible. Thou foolish fellow, said Candid, have I not delivered thee from the galleys, paid thy ransom, and thy sister's too, who was a scullion, and is very ugly, and yet condescend to marry her? and shalt thou pretend to oppose the match! If I were to listen only to the dictates of my anger, I should kill thee again. Thou mayest kill me, again, said the baron; but thou shalt not marry my sister while I am living *.



CHAP. XXX.

Conclusion.

CANDID had, in truth, no great inclination to marry Miss Cunegund; but the extreme impertinence of the baron determined him to conclude the match; and Cunegund

* A very ludicrous illustration of German pride.

pressed him so warmly, that he could not recant. He consulted Pangloss, Martin, and the faithful Cacambo. Pangloss composed a fine memorial, by which he proved that the baron had no right over his sister; and that she might, according to all the laws of the empire, marry Candid with the left hand. Martin concluded to throw the baron into the sea; Cacambo decided, that he must be delivered to the Turkish captain and sent to the galleys; after which he should be conveyed by the first ship to the father-general at Rome. The advice was found to be very good; the old woman approved of it, and not a syllable was said to his sister; the business was executed for a little money; and they had the pleasure of tricking a Jesuit, and punishing the pride of a German baron.

It was altogether natural to imagine, that, after undergoing so many disasters, Candid married to his mistress and living with the philosopher Pangloss, the philosopher Martin, the prudent Cacambo, and the old woman, having besides brought home so many diamonds from the country of the ancient Incas, would lead the most agreeable life in the world. But he had been so much choused by the Jews, that he had nothing else left but his little farm; his wife, every day growing more and more ugly, became headstrong and insupportable; the old woman was infirm, and more ill-natured yet than Cunegund. Cacambo who worked in the garden, and carried the produce of it to sell at Constantinople, was past his labour, and cursed his fate. Pangloss despaired of making a figure in any of the Ger-
man

man universities. And as to Martin, he was firmly persuaded, that a person is equally ill situated every where. He took things with patience. Candid, Martin, and Pangloss, disputed sometimes about metaphysics and morality. Boats were often seen passing under the windows of the farm fraught with effendis, bashaws, and cadis, that were going into banishment to Lemnos, Mitilene, and Erzerum. And other cadis, bashaws, and effendis, were seen coming back to succeed the place of the exiles, and were driven out in their turns. Thy saw several heads very curiously stuck upon poles, and carrying as presents to the sublime porte. Such sights gave occasion to frequent dissertations; and when no disputes were carried on, the irksomeness was so excessive, that the old woman ventured one day to tell them, I would be glad to know, which is worst, to be ravished a hundred times by negro pyrates, to have one buttock cut off, to run the gauntlet among the Bulgarians, to be whipt and hanged at an *auto-de-fe*, to be dissected, to be chained to an oar in a galley; and, in short, to experience all the miseries thro' which every one of us hath passed, or to remain here doing of nothing? This, said Candid, is a grand question?

This discourse gave birth to new reflexions, and Martin especially concluded, that man was born to live in the convulsions of disquiet, or in the lethargy of idleness. Tho' Candid did not absolutely agree to this; yet he did not determine any thing on the head. Pangloss avowed that he had undergone dreadful sufferings; but having once maintained that every

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thing

thing went on as well as possible, he still maintained it, and at the same time believed nothing of it.

There was one thing which, more than ever confirmed Martin in his detestable principle, made Candid hesitate, and embarrassed Pangloss, which was the arrival of Pacquette and brother Giroflée one day to their farm. This couple had been in the utmost distress; they had very speedily made away with their three thousand piastres; they had parted, been reconciled; quarrelled again, thrown into prison; had made their escape, and, at last brother Giroflée turned Turk. Pacquette still continued to follow her trade wherever she came; but she got little or nothing by it. I foresaw very well, says Martin, to Candid, that your presents would soon be squandered, and only make them more miserable. You and Cacambo have spent millions of piastres, and yet you are not more happy than brother Giroflée and Pacquette. Ah! says Pangloss to Pacquette, It is heaven who has brought you here among us, my poor child! Do you know that you have cost me the tip of my nose, one eye and one ear? What a handsome shape is here! and what is this world! This new adventure engaged them more deeply than ever in philosophical disputations.

In the neighbourhood lived a very famous dervise who passed for the best philosopher in Turkey; him they went to consult; Pangloss, who was their spokesman, addressed him thus: Master Doctor, we come to intreat you to tell us, why so strange an animal as man has been formed?

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Why do you trouble your head about it? said the dervise; is it any business of yours? But my reverend father, says Candid, there is a horrible deal of evil on the earth. What signifies it, says the dervise, whether there is evil or good. When his highness sends a ship to Egypt, does he trouble his head, whether the rats in the vessel are at their ease or not? What must then be done, says Pangloss? Be silent, answers the dervise. I flattered myself, replied Pangloss, to have reasoned a little with you on the causes and effects, on the best of possible worlds, the origin of evil, the nature of the soul, and a pre-established harmony. At these words the dervise shut the door in their faces.

During this conversation, news was spread abroad, that two vizirs of the bench and the musti had been just strangled at Constantinople, and several of their friends empaled. This catastrophe made a great noise for some hours. Pangloss, Candid, and Martin, as they were returning to the little farm, met with a good-looking old man, who was taking the air at his door under an alcove formed of the boughs of orange-trees. Pangloss, who was as inquisitive as he was disputative, asked him what was the name of the Musti, who was lately strangled. I cannot tell, answered the good old man; I never knew the name of any musti or vizir breathing. I am entirely ignorant of the event you speak of; I presume, that in general, such as are concerned in public affairs sometimes come to a miserable end; and that they deserve it: but I never enquire what is doing at

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Constantinople; I am contented with sending thither the produce of my garden, which I cultivate with my own hands. After saying these words, he made the strangers come into his house. His two daughters and two sons presented them with diverse sorts of sherbet of their own making; besides caymac, heightened with the peels of candied citrons, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, pistachio-nuts, and Moccha-coffee unadulterated with the bad coffee of Batavia or the American islands. After which the two daughters of this good mussulman perfumed the beards of Candid, Pangloss, and Martin.

You must certainly have a vast estate, said Candid to the Turk; who replied, I have no more than twenty acres of ground, the whole of which I cultivate myself with the help of my children; and our labour keeps off from us three great evils, idleness, vice, and want.

Candid, as he was returning home, made profound reflexions on the Turk's discourse. This good old man, said Pangloss and Martin, appears to me to have chosen for himself a lot much preferable to that of the six kings with whom we had the honour to sup. Human grandeur, said Pangloss, is very dangerous, if we believe the testimonies of almost all philosophers; for we find Eglon, king of Moab was assassinated by Aod; Absalom was hanged by the hair of his head, and run thro' with three darts; king Nadab son of Jeroboam was slain by Baaza; king Ela by Zimri; Okofias by Jehu; Athalia by Jehoiada; the kings Jehoiahim, Jeconiah, and Zedekiah were led into captivity: I need not tell you what was the fate

fate of Cræsus, Aftyages, Darius, Dionysius of Syracuse, Pyrrhus, Perseus, Hannibal, Jugurtha, Ariovistus, Cæsar, Pompey, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Richard II. of England, Edward II. Henry VI. Richard III. Mary Stuart, Charles I. the three Henrys of France, and the emperor Henry IV. Neither need you tell me, said Candid, that we must take care of our garden. You are in the right, says Pangloss; for when man was put into the garden of Eden, it was with an intent to dress it: and this proves that man was not born to be idle. Work then without disputing, said Martin; it is the only way to render life supportable.

The little society, one and all, entered into this laudable design; and set themselves to exert their different talents. The little piece of ground yielded them a plentiful crop. Cunegund, indeed was very ugly, but she became an excellent hand at pastry-work; Pacquette embroidered; the old woman had the care of the linen. There was none down to brother Giroflée but did some service; he was a very good carpenter, and became an honest man. Pangloss used now and then to say to Candid, There is a concatenation of all events in the best of possible worlds; for, in short, had you not been kicked out of a fine castle for the love of Miss Cunegund; had you not been put into the Inquisition; had you not travelled over America on foot; had you not run the baron thro' the body; and had you not lost all your sheep, which you brought from the good country of Eldorado, you would not have been here
to

to eat preserved citrons and pistachio-nuts. Excellently observed, answered Candid; but we must mind our garden *.

• The moral of this piece then seems to be, that nothing is more absurd than to believe that Providence hath ordered every thing for the best; that nothing is more ridiculous than the exercise of reason; that nothing is more futile and frivolous than the cultivation of philosophy: that mankind is a species of savages, who devour one another; and that true contentment is no where to be found, but in possessing and cultivating a few acres of ground in Turkey—where the most brutal despotism reigns, and where there is no sort of security either for property or for life.

END of the FIRST PART.



CANDID:

OR, THE

OPTIMIST.

PART SECOND.

IT was thought that Dr. Ralph had no intention to carry on his treatise of Optimism any further; and therefore it was translated and published as a complete piece; but Dr. Ralph, spirited up by the little cabals of the German universities, added a second part, which we have caused to be translated with all possible expedition, to satisfy the impatience of the public; and, especially, of such who are diverted with the witticisms of Master Alibron, who know what a Merry Andrew is, and who never read the JOURNAL of TREVoux.

CANDID:

OR, THE OPTIMIST. PART II*.

CHAP. I.

How Candid quitted his companions, and what happened to him.

WE soon become tired of every thing in life: riches fatigue the possessor; ambition, when satisfied, leaves only remorse behind it; the joys of love are joys but for a while; and Candid, made to experience all the vicissitudes of fortune, was soon disgusted with cultivating his garden. Mr. Pangloss, said he, if we are in the best of possible worlds, you will own to me, at least, that this is not

* In this second part our author proceeds to shew, by a great variety of adventures, the folly of that philosophy which is called *Optimism*, or a thorough persuasion that every thing is disposed for the best. One would imagine that in the prosecution of this plan, he should have ended the days of his hero in misery and distress; whereas he leaves him in actual possession of such happiness as could not fail to confirm him in the first principles he had imbibed under Pangloss.

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enjoying that portion of possible happiness; but living obscure in a little corner of the Pro-pontis, having no other resource than that of my own manual labour, which may fail me one day; no other pleasures than what Mrs. Cunegund gives me, who is very ugly; and, which is worse, is my wife; no other company than yours, which is sometimes irksome to me; or that of Martin, which makes me melancholy; or that of Giroflée, who is but very lately become an honest man; or that of Pacquette, the danger of whose correspondence you have so fully experienced; or that of the hag who has but one hip, and is constantly repeating old wives tales.

To this Pangloss made the following reply: Philosophy teaches us, that Monads * divisible *in infinitum*, arrange themselves with wonderful sagacity in order to compose the different bodies which we observe in nature. The heavenly bodies are what they ought to be; they are placed where they should be; they describe the circles which they ought to do: man follows the bent he ought to follow; he is what he ought to be; he does what he ought to do. You bemoan yourself, O Candid, because the Monad of your soul is disgusted: but disgust is a modification of the soul; and this does not hinder, but every thing is for the best, both for you and others. When you beheld me covered with sores, I did not maintain my opinion the less for that; for if Miss Pac-

* From the Greek word *Μονάς ἀδύνατος*, which signifies a point, unity, the beginning of number; and is sometimes used to signify God himself.

quette had not made me taste the pleasures of love and its poison, I should not have met with you in Holland; I should not have given the Anabaptist James an opportunity of performing a meritorious act; I should not have been hanged in Lisbon for the edification of my neighbour; I should not have been here to assist you with my advice, and make you live and die in Leibnitz's opinion. Yes, my dear Candid, every thing is linked in a chain, every thing is necessary in the best of possible worlds. There is a necessity that the burgher of Montauban should instruct kings; that the worm of Quimper-Corentin should carp, carp, carp; that the declaimer against philosophers should occasion his own crucifixion in St. Dennis-street; that a rascally Recollet, and the arch-deacon of St. Malo should diffuse their gall and calumny thro' their Christian journals; that philosophy should be accused at the tribunal of Melpomene; and that philosophers should continue to enlighten human nature, notwithstanding the croakings of ridiculous animals that flounder in the marshes of learning*; and should you be once more driven by a hearty kicking from the finest of all castles, to learn again your exercise among the Bulgarians; should you again suffer the dirty effects of a Dutchwoman's zeal; be half drowned again before Lisbon; to be unmercifully whipped again by order of the most holy inquisi-

* This is by way of reprisal upon the authors of some French journals, in which our author's works have been severely censured, and his principles maliciously misrepresented.

tion; should you run the same risks again among Los Padres, the Oreillons, and the French; should you in short suffer every possible calamity, and never understand Leibnitz better than I myself do, you will still maintain that all is well; that all is for the best; that a *plenum*, the *materia subtilis*, a pre-established harmony, and Monads, are the finest things in the world; and that Leibnitz is a great man, even to those who do not comprehend him.

To this fine speech, Candid, the mildest being in nature, tho' he had killed three men, two of whom were priests, answered not a word: but weary of the doctor and his society, next morning at break of day, taking a white staff in his hand, he marched off, without knowing whither he was going, but in quest of a place where one does not become disgusted, and where men are not men, as in the good country of Eldorado.

Candid, so much the less unhappy as he had no longer a love for Miss Cunegund, living upon the bounty of different people, who are not Christians, but yet give alms*, arrived after a very long and very tiresome journey at Tauris† upon the frontiers of Persia, a city

† The Turks are very charitable; and their charity is bestowed, without distinction, upon Mussulmans, Christians, Jews, and all their fellow-creatures in general.

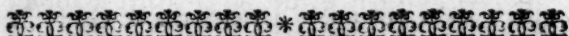
* Tauris, once the capital of Persia, is situated in the province of Adirbeitzan, at the foot of a mountain, supposed by some to be mount Orontes, and watered by the little river of Spingicha. It was said to contain six hundred thousand inhabitants, and was formerly called *Cba-Hassen*, which signifies *the royal Residence*. It has been often the theatre of war between the Turk and Persians, who have ravaged it by turns, and even filled it with blood and desolation.

noted for the cruelties which the Turks and Persians have by turns exercised therein.

Half dead with fatigue, having hardly more cloaths than what were necessary to cover that part which constitutes the man, and which men call shameful, Candid could not well relish Pangloss's opinion, when a Persian accosted him, in the most polite manner, beseeching him to ennoble his house with his presence. You make a jest of me, says Candid to him; I am a poor devil who have left a miserable dwelling I had in Propontis, because I had married Miss Cunegund; because she is grown very ugly, and because I was disgusted: I am not, indeed, made to ennoble any body's house; I am not noble myself, thank God: If I had the honour of being so, baron Thunder-ten-tronckh should have paid very dearly for the kicks on the backside with which he favoured me, or I should have died of shame for it, which would have been pretty philosophical: besides, I have been whipt very ignominiously by the executioners of the most holy inquisition, and by two thousand heroes at three-pence halfpenny a day. Give me what you please, but do not insult my distreis with taunts which would deprive you of the whole value of your beneficence. My lord, replied the Persian, you may be a beggar, and this appears pretty plainly; but my religion obliges me to use hospitality: it is sufficient that you are a man and under misfortunes; that the apple of my eye should be the path for your feet; vouchsafe to ennoble my house with your radiant presence*.

* The Persians deal much in hyperbolical compliment and professions of friendship, which are generally insincere.

I will, since you desire it, answered Candid. Come then, enter, says the Persian. They went in accordingly, and Candid could not forbear admiring the respectful treatment shewn him by his host. The slaves prevented his desires; the whole house seemed to be busied in nothing but contributing to his satisfaction. Should this last, said Candid to himself, all does not go so badly in this country. Three days were past, during which time the kind proceedings of the Persian were all of a piece; and Candid already cried out, Master Pangloss, I always imagined you were in the right; for you are a great philosopher.



C H A P. II.

What befel Candid in this House; and how he got out of it.

CANDID being well fed, well cloathed, and free from chagrin, soon became again as ruddy, as fresh, and as gay as he had been in Westphalia. His host, Ismael Raab, was pleased to see this change: he was a man six feet high, high, adorned with two small eyes extremely red, and a large nose full of pimples, which sufficiently declared his infraction of Mahomet's law: his whiskers were the most famous in the country, and mothers wished their sons nothing so much as a like pair. Raab had wives, because he was rich; but he thought in a manner that is but too common in the east, and in some of our colleges in Europe. Your
excellence

excellence is brighter than the stars, says one day the cunning Persian to the brisk Candid, half smiling and half suppressing his words: you must have captivated a great many hearts: you are formed to give and receive happiness. Alas! answered our hero, I was happy only by halves, behind a screen, where I was but so so at my ease. Mademoiselle Cunegund was handsome then — Mademoiselle Cunegund; poor innocent thing! Follow me, my lord, says the Persian. And Candid followed accordingly. They came to a very agreeable retreat, where silence and pleasure reigned. There, Ismael Raab tenderly embraced Candid, and in a few words made a declaration of love like that which the beautiful Alexis expresses with so much pleasure in Virgil's Eclogues. Candid could not recover from his astonishment. No, cried he, I can never suffer such infamy! what cause and what horrible effect! I had rather die. So you shall, says Ismael enraged; how, thou Christian dog! because I would politely give you pleasure — resolve directly to satisfy me, or to suffer the most cruel death. Candid did not long hesitate. The cogent reason of the Persian made him tremble; for he feared death like a philosopher.

We accustom ourselves to every thing in time. Candid, well-fed, well taken care of, but closely watched, was not absolutely disgusted with his condition. Good cheer, and the different diversions performed by Ismael's slaves gave some respite to his chagrin: he was unhappy only when he thought; and thus it is with the greatest part of mankind.

At that time, one of the most staunch supporters of the monkish crew in Persia, the most learned of the Mahometan doctors, who understood Arabic perfectly, and even Greek, as spoken at this day in the country of Demosthenes and Sophocles, the reverend Ed-Ivan-baal-Denk, returned from Constantinople, where he had conversed with the reverend Mamoud-Abram on a very delicate point of doctrine; namely, whether the prophet had plucked from the angel Gabriel's wing the pen which he used for the writing of the Alcoran; or, if Gabriel had made him a present of it. They had disputed for three days and three nights with a warmth worthy of the noblest ages of controversy: and the doctor returned home persuaded, like all the disciples of Ali, that Mahomet had plucked the quill; while Mamoud-Abram remained convinced, like the rest of Omar's followers, that the prophet was incapable of committing any such rudeness, and that the angel had very politely made him a present of this quill for his pen.

It is said that there was at Constantinople a certain free-thinker who insinuated, that it was necessary to examine first whether the Alcoran was really writ with a pen taken from the wing of the angel Gabriel; but he was stoned.

Candid's arrival had made a noise in Tauris: many who had heard him speak of contingent and non-contingent effects, imagined he was a philosopher. The reverend Ed-Ivan-Baal-Denk was told of him: he had the curiosity to come and see him; and Raab, who could hardly refuse a person of such consequence, sent for Candid to make his appearance. He seemed to be very well

well pleased with the manner in which Candid spoke of bad physics, bad morals *, of agent and actuated. I understand that you are a philosopher and that's all. But 'tis enough, Candid, says the venerable recluse : it is not right that so great a man as you are should be treated with such indignity, as I am told, in the world. You are a stranger, Ismael Raab has no right over you. I propose to conduct you to court, there you shall meet with a favourable reception : the sopher loves the sciences. Ismael, you must put this young philosopher into my hands, or dread incurring the displeasure [of the prince, and drawing upon yourself the vengeance of heaven ; but especially of the monks. These last words frightened the otherwise undaunted Persian, and he consented to every thing : Candid, blessing heaven and the monks, went the same day out of Tauris with the Mahometan doctor. They took the road to Ispah, where they arrived loaded with the blessings and favours of the people.

* Nothing surely can be more ridiculous, or have less tendency to the improvement of real philosophy, than the disputes that have arisen about natural and moral evil.

CHAP. III.

Candid's reception at court, and what followed.

THE reverend Ed-Ivan-Baal-Denk made no delay in presenting Candid to the king. His majesty took a particular pleasure in hearing him: he made him dispute with several learned men of his court, and those looked upon him as a fool, an ignoramus, and idiot; which very much contributed to persuade his majesty, that he was a great man. Because, said he to them, you do not comprehend Candid's reasonings; you abuse him; but I, who also comprehend nothing at all of them, assure you that he is a great philosopher, and I swear to it by my whisker. Upon these words, the literati were struck dumb.

Candid had apartments assigned him in the palace; he had slaves to wait on him; he was dressed in magnificent cloaths, and the sopher commanded that whatever he should say, no one should dare to assert that he was wrong. His majesty did not * stop here. The venerable monk was continually soliciting him in favour of his guest, and his majesty, at length, resolved to rank him among the number of his most intimate favourites.

* If this would induce philosophers who lose their time in barking in Procopius's cottage, to take a short trip into Persia, this frivolous work would be of pretty great service to messieurs the Parisians. This note by Mr. Ralph,

God be praised and our holy prophet, says the iman, addressing himself to Candid ; I am come to tell you a very agreeable piece of news, that you are happy, my dear Candid ; that you are going to raise the envy of the world : you shall swim in opulence ; you may aspire to the most splendid posts in the empire. But do not forget me, my friend : think that it is me who have procured you the favour you are just upon the point of enjoying : let gaiety reign over the horizon of your countenance. The king grants you a favour which has been sought by many, and you will soon exhibit a fight which the court has not enjoyed these two years past. And what are these favours, demanded Candid, with which the prince intends to honour me ? This very day, answered the monk quite overjoyed, this very day you are to receive fifty strokes with a bull's-pizzle on the soles of your feet, in the presence of his majesty. The eunuchs named for perfuming you for the occasion, are to be here directly ; prepare yourself to go chearfully thro' this little trial, and thereby render yourself worthy of the King of Kings. Let the King of Kings, [cried Candid in a rage, keep his favour to himself, if I must receive fifty blows with a bull's-pizzle in order to merit them. It is thus, replied the doctor coldly, that he deals with those on whom he means to pour down his benefits. I love you too much to regard the little pet which you shew on the occasion, and I will make you happy in spite of yourself

He had not done speaking, when the eunuchs arrived, preceded by the executor of his majesty's private pleasures, who was one of the

greatest and most robust lords of the court. Candid in vain remonstrated against their proceedings. They perfumed his legs and feet, according to custom. Four eunuchs carried him to the place appointed for the ceremony thro' the midst of a double file of soldiers, while the trumpets sounded, the cannon fired, and the bells of all the mosques * of Ispahan jingled: the sophi † was already there, accompanied with his principal officers and most distinguished personages of his court. In an instant they stretched out Candid upon a little form finely gilt, and the executor of the private pleasures put himself in a posture for entering upon his office. O! master Pangloss, master Pangloss, were you but here!—said Candid weeping and roaring out with all his force; a circumstance which would have been thought very indecent, if the monk had not given the people to understand, that his guest had put himself into such violent agitations, only the better to divert his majesty. This great king, it is true, laughed like a fool: he even took such delight in the affair, that after the fifty blows had been given, he ordered fifty more to be added. But

* There never was a bell in any mosque since the beginning of the world.—This little impropriety puts us in mind of the puppet-show in Don Quixote, in which the shewman having introduced bells on the city of Saragossa, while it was in possession of the Moors, the knight very gravely assures master Peter he must be mistaken: *porque entre Moros no se usan campanas*. For bells are never used among the Moors.

† I make use of the word *Sophi*, because it is more universally known than that of *Sesewy*, which is the proper name, according to Mr. Petit de la Croix, who says that *Sophi* signifies *Capuchin Emperor*; but this is of very little signification. A note of the translator's.

his first minister having represented to him with a firmness not very common, that such an unheard of favour with regard to a stranger, might alienate the hearts of his subjects, he revoked that order, and Candid was carried back to his apartments.

They put him to bed, after having bathed his feet with vinegar. The grandees came round him in order to congratulate him on his good fortune. The sopher then came to assist him in person, and not only gave him his hand to kiss, according to the custom, but likewise honoured him with a great blow of his fist on his mouth. From whence the politicians conjectured, that Candid would arrive at extraordinary preferment ; and what is very uncommon, tho' politicians, they were not deceived.



CHAP. IV.

Fresh favours conferred on Candid ; his great advancement.

AS soon as our hero was cured, he was introduced to the king, to return him his thanks. The monarch received him very graciously. He gave him two or three hearty boxes on the ear during their conversation, and conducted him back as far as the guard-room, with several sound kicks on the posteriors ; at which the courtiers were ready to burst for envy. Since his majesty had been in a drubbing humour, no person had ever received such signal marks of his majesty's favour in this way as Candid.

Three

Three days after this interview, our philosopher, who was enraged at the favours he had received, and thought that every thing went very bad, was nominated governor of Chusistan, with an absolute power. He was decorated with a fur-cap, which is a grand mark of distinction in Persia. He took his leave of the sophi, and departed for Sus, the capital of his province. From the moment that Candid made his appearance at court, the grantees had conspired his destruction. The excessive favours which the Sophi had heaped on him, served but to increase the storm ready to burst upon his head. He however applauded himself on his good fortune; and, especially, his removal from court: he enjoyed in prospect the pleasures of supreme rank, and he said from the bottom of his heart,

How blest the subject from his lord removed.

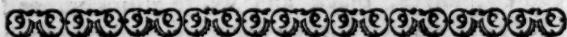
He had not gone quite twenty miles from Ispahan, before five hundred horsemen, armed cap-a-pee, came up with him and his attendants, and discharged a volley of fire-arms upon them. Candid imagined at first, that this was intended to do him an honour; but the ball which broke his leg, soon gave him to know what was going on. His people laid down their arms, and Candid, more dead than alive, was carried to a castle remote from any other dwelling. His baggage, camels, slaves, white and black eunuchs, with thirty-six women which the Sophi had given him for his use, all became the prey of the conqueror. Our hero's leg was cut off for fear of a mortification; and care was taken of his life, that a more cruel death might be inflicted on him.

O Pan-

O Pangloss! Pangloss! what would now become of your Optimism, if you saw me short of one leg in the hands of my cruellest enemies; just as I was entering upon the path of happiness, and was governor, or king, as one may say, of one of the most considerable provinces of the empire of ancient Media; when I had camels, slaves, black and white eunuchs, and thirty-six women for my own use, and of which I had not made any. Thus Candid spoke as soon as he was able to speak.

But while he was thus bemoaning himself, every thing was going for the best for him. The ministry, informed of the outrages committed against him, had detached a body of well-disciplined troops in pursuit of the mutineers, and the monk Ed-Ivan-Baal-Denk, took care to publish by means of others of his fraternity, that Candid being the work of the monks, was consequently the work of God. Such as had any knowledge of this atrocious attempt were so much the more ready to discover it, as the ministers of religion gave assurance on the part of Mahomet, that every one who had eaten pork, drank wine, omitted bathing for any number of days, together; or had conversed with women at the time of their impurity, against the express prohibitions of the Alcoran, should be *ipso facto*, absolved, upon declaring what they knew concerning the conspiracy. They soon discovered the place of Candid's confinement, which they broke open; and, as it was a religious affair, the party worsted were exterminated to a man agreeable to custom in that case. Candid, marching over a heap of dead bodies, made his escape, triumphed over
the

the greatest peril he had hitherto encountered, and with his attendants resumed the road to his government. He was received there as a favourite who had been honoured with fifty blows of a bull's pizzle on the soles of his feet, in the presence of the king of kings.



CHAP. V.

How Candid becomes a very great man, and yet is not contented.

THE good of philosophy, is its inspiring us with a love for our fellow creatures. Paschal * is the almost only philosopher who seems desirous to make us hate our neighbours. Luckily Candid had not read Paschal, and he loved the poor human race very cordially. This was soon perceived by the upright part of the people. They had always kept at a distance from the pretended legates of heaven, but made no scruple of visiting Candid, and assisting him with their counsels. He made several wise regulations for the encouragement of agriculture, population, commerce, and the arts. He rewarded those who had made any useful experiments; and even encouraged such as had produced some essays on literature. When the

* This is not doing strict justice to Paschal; but if he had really been such a philosopher, our author would seem to have adopted his maxims in this performance; for it is impossible to love or regard humanity, such as it is represented in the adventures of Candid.

people in my province are in general content, said he, with a charming candor, possibly I shall be so myself. Candid was a stranger to mankind: he saw himself torn to pieces in seditious libels, and calumniated in a work entituled, *the Friend to Mankind* *. He found that while he was labouring to make people happy, he had only made them ungrateful. Ah, cried Candid, how hard it is to govern these beings without feathers, which vegetate on the earth! Why am I not still in Propontis, in the company of master Pangloss, miss Cunegund, the daughter of pope Urban X. with only one buttock, brother Girofleé, and the most luscious Pacquette.



CHAP. VI.

The pleasures of Candid.

CANDID, in the bitterness of his grief, wrote a very pathetick letter to the Rev. Ed-Ivan-Baal-Denk. He painted to him in such lively colours the present state of his soul, that Ed-Ivan, greatly affected with it, obtained permission of the Sophi, that Candid should resign his employments. His majesty, in recompense of his services, granted him a very considerable pension. Eased from the weight of grandeur, our philosopher immediately sought after Pangloss's optimism, in the pleasures of a

* A performance which lately made its appearance in the French language.

private life. He till then had lived for the benefit of others, and seemed to have forgotten that he had a seraglio.

He now called it to remembrance with that emotion which the very name inspires. Let every thing be got ready, says he to his first eunuch, for my visiting my women. My lord, answered the shrill-piped slave, it is now that your excellency deserves the title of wife. The men for whom you have done so much, were not worthy of employing your thought; but the women—— That may be, said Candid modestly.

At the bottom of a garden, where art had assisted nature to unfold her beauties, stood a little house, of simple and elegant structure; and by that means alone, very different from those which are to be seen in the suburbs of the finest city in Europe. Candid could not approach it without blushing: the air round this charming retreat diffused a delicious perfume; the flowers, amorously interlaced, seemed here to be guided by the instinct of pleasure, and preserved, for a long time, their various beauties. Here the rose never lost its lovely hue: the view of a rock, from which the waters precipitated themselves with a murmuring and confused noise, invited the soul to that soft melancholy, which is ever the forerunner of pleasure. Candid enters trembling into a saloon, where taste and magnificence were united: his senses are drawn by a secret charm: he casts his eyes on young Telemachus, who breathes on the canvas in the midst of the nymphs of Calypso's court. He next turns them to Diana, half naked, who flies into the arms of the tender Endymion:
his

his agitation increases at the sight of a Venus, faithfully copied from that of Medicis * : his ears on a sudden are struck with a divine harmony; a company of young Circassian females appear covered with their veils; they form round him a sort of dance, agreeably designed, and more just than those trifling jigs that are performed on as trifling stages, after the representation of the death of Cæsar and Pompey.

At a signal given they throw off their veils, and discover faces full of expression, that lend new life to the diversion. These beauties studied the most seducing attitudes, without appearing to intend it: one expressed in her looks a passion without bounds; another a soft languor, which waits for pleasures without seeking them: this fair stoops and raises herself precipitately, to give leave to a cursory view of those enchanting charms, which the fair sex display in such full scope at Paris; and that other throws aside a part of her fimarre to shew a leg, which alone is capable of enflaming a mortal of any delicacy. The dance ceases, and they remain in profound silence.

This pause recalls Candid to himself. The fire of love takes possession of his breast: he darts the most ardent looks on all around him; imprints warm kisses on lips as warm, and eyes that swim in liquid fire: he passes his hand over globes whiter than alabaster, whose palpitating motion repels the touch; admires

* The author seems to have forgot, that there are as few pictures as bells, in any place where the religion of Mahomet is professed.

their proportion; perceives little vermilion protuberances, like those rose buds which only wait the genial rays of the sun to unfold them: he kisses them with rapture, and his lips for some time remained glued thereon.

Our philosopher next admires, for a while, a majestic figure, of a fine and delicate shape. Burning with desires, he at length throws the handkerchief to a young person, whose eyes he had observed to be always fixed upon him, and which seemed to say, Teach me the meaning of a trouble I am ignorant of; and who, blushing at the secret avowal, became a thousand times more charming. The eunuch then opened the door of a private chamber, consecrated to the mysteries of love, into which the lovers enter; and the eunuch addressing his master, said, Here it is, my lord, you are going to be truly happy. Oh! answered Candid, I am in great hopes of it.

The cieling and walls of this little retreat, were covered with looking-glass: in the midst was placed a couch of black sattin, on which Candid threw the young Circassian, and undressed her with incredible haste. The fair one gave him no other interruption, but to imprint kisses, full of fire, on his lips. My lord, said she to him in the Turkish language, which she spoke perfectly, how fortunate is your slave, to be thus honoured with your transports! An energy of sentiment can be expressed in every language, by those who truly feel it. These few words enchanted our philosopher: he was no longer himself; all he saw, all he heard, was new to him. What difference between Miss Cunegund, grown ugly, and violated by
Bulga-

Bulgarian freebooters, and a Circassian girl of eighteen, till then a stranger to man. This was the first time of the wise Candid's enjoying her. The objects which he devoured, were repeated in the glasses; on what side soever he cast his eyes, he saw upon the black sattin the most beautiful and fairest body possible, and the contrast of colours lent it new lustre, with round, firm, and plump thighs, an admirable fall of loins, a—— but I am obliged to have a regard to the false delicacy of our language. It is sufficient for me to say, that our philosopher tasted, by frequent repetitions, of that portion of happiness he was capable of receiving; and that the young Circassian in a little time proved his *sufficing reason*.

O master, my dear master! cried Candid, almost beside himself, every thing here is as well as in Eldorado; a fine woman can alone complete the wishes of man. I am as happy as it is possible to be. Leibnitz is in the right, and you are a great philosopher. For instance; I engage that you, my lovely girl, have always had a bias towards optimism, because you have always been happy. Alas! No, answered she, I do not know what optimism is; but I swear to you, that your slave has not known happiness till to-day. If my lord is pleased to give me leave, I will convince him of it, by a succinct recital of my adventures. I am very willing, said Candid; I am in a pretty calm situation for hearing an historical detail. Upon which the fair slave begun as follows.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Zirza.

MY father was a Christian, and so likewise am I, as far as I have been told. He had a little hermitage near Cotatis, where, by his fervent devotion, and practising austerities shocking to human nature, he acquired the veneration of the faithful. Crowds of women came to pay him their homage, and took a particular satisfaction in bathing his posteriors, which he lashed every day with several smart strokes of a discipline: doubtless it was to one of the most devout of these visitants, that I owe my being. I was brought up in a cave, in the neighbourhood of my father's little cell. I was twelve years of age, and had not yet left this kind of grave, when the earth shook with a dreadful noise; the arch of the vault fell in, and I was drawn out from under the rubbish half dead, when light struck my eyes for the first time. My father took me into his hermitage as a predestinated child. The whole of this adventure appeared strange to the people; my father cried it up as a miracle, and so did they.

I was called Zirza, which in Persian, signifies *Child of Providence*. Notice was soon taken of my poor charms: the women already came but seldom to the hermitage, and the men much oftener. One of them tells me that he loved me. Villain, says my father to him, hast thou substance sufficient to love her? This is a deposit which God has entrusted to me: he has made his appearance to me this night,
under

under the shape of a venerable hermit, and forbid me to give up the possession thereof out of my hands, for less than a thousand sequins. Get thee gone, poor devil, lest thine impure breath should blast her charms. I have, answered he, only a heart to offer her. But say, barbarian, dost thou not blush to make sport of the deity, for the gratifying thine avarice? With what front, vile wretch, darest thou pretend that God hath spoken to thee? This is throwing the greatest contempt upon the author of beings, to represent him conversing with such men as thou art. O blasphemy! cried my father in a rage, God himself has commanded to stone blasphemers. As he spoke these words, he fell upon my lover, and with repeated blows laid him dead to the ground, and his blood flew in my face. Though I had not yet known what love is, this man had given me concern, and his death threw me into an affliction, so much the greater, as it rendered the sight of my father insupportable to me. I took a resolution to leave him: he perceived it. Ungrateful, says he to me, it is to me thou owest thy being. Thou art my daughter,—and thou hatest me: but I am going to deserve thy hatred, by the most rigorous treatment. He kept his word but too well with me, cruel man! During five years, which I spent in tears and groans, neither my youth, nor my clouded beauty, could in the least abate his wrath. Sometimes he stuck a thousand pins into all the parts of my body: at other times, with his discipline, he made the blood trickle down my thighs.—This, says Candid, gave you less pain than the pins. True, my lord, answers Zirza. At

last, continued she, I fled from my father's habitation; and not daring to trust myself to any body, I flung myself into the thickest part of the woods, where I was three days without food, and should have died, were it not for a tyger which I had the happiness to please, and was willing to share with me the prey he caught. But I had many horrors to encounter from this formidable beast; and the brute was very near depriving me of the flower, which you, my lord, have plucked from me, with so much pain and pleasure. Bad food gave me the scurvy. Scarcely was I cured *, before I followed a merchant of slaves, who was going to Teflis; the plague was there then, and I took it. These various misfortunes did not absolutely affect my features, nor hinder the Sophi's purveyor from buying me for your use. I have languished in tears these three months, that I have been among the number of your women. My companions and I imagined ourselves to be the objects of your contempt; and if you knew, my lord, how disagreeable eunuchs are, and how little adapted for comforting young girls who are despised——In short, I am not yet eighteen years of age; and of these I have spent twelve in a frightful cavern; undergone an earthquake; been covered with the blood of the first lovely man I had hitherto seen; endured, for the space of four years, the most cruel tortures, and had the scurvy, and the plague. Consumed with desires, amidst

* Was it the tyger that prescribed and procured medicines for her? This episode does great violence to the imagination.

a crew of black and white monsters, still preserving that which I have saved from the fury of an awkward tyger; and, cursing my fate, I have passed three months in this seraglio; where I should have died of the jaundice, had not your excellency honoured me at last with your embraces. O heavens! cried Candid, is it possible that you have experienced such sensible misfortunes at so tender an age? What would Pangloss say could he hear you? But your misfortunes are at end, as well as mine. Every thing does not go badly now; is not this true? Upon that Candid resumed his caresses, and was more than ever confirmed in the belief of Pangloss's system.



CHAP. VIII.

Candid's disgusts. An unexpected meeting.

OUR philosopher in the midst of his seraglio, dispensed his favours equally. He tasted the pleasures of variety, and always returned to the *Child of Providence* with fresh ardour. But this did not last long; he soon felt violent pains in his loins, and excruciating colicks. He dried up, as he grew happy. Then Zirza's breast appeared no longer so white, or so well placed; her thighs not so hard, nor so plump; her eyes lost all their vivacity in those of Candid; her complexion its lustre; and her lips that pure vermilion which had enchanted him at first sight. He now perceived that she walked badly, and had an offensive smell: he

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saw,

saw, with the greatest disgust, a spot upon the mount of Venus, which he had never observed before to be tainted with any blemish: the vehement ardour of Zirza became burthensome to him: he could see, with great coolness, the faults of his other women, which had escaped him in his first transports of passion: he saw nothing in them but a bare-faced impudence: he was ashamed to have walked in the steps of the wisest of men; and *he found women more bitter than death.*

Candid, always cherishing these Christian sentiments, spent his leisure time in walking over the streets of Sus; when one day a cavalier, in a superb dress, came up to him suddenly and called him by his name. Is it possible! cried Candid, my lord, that you are—it is not possible; otherwise you are so very like—the abbé of Perigord—I am the very man, answered the abbé. Upon this Candid started back, and, with his usual ingenuousness, said, Are you happy Mr. Abbé? A fine question, replied the abbé; the little deceit which I have put upon you has contributed not a little to gain me credit. The police had employed me for some time; but, having fallen out with them, I quitted the ecclesiastical habit, which was no longer of any service to me. I went over into England, where persons of my profession are better paid. I said all I knew, and all I did not know, about the strength and weakness of the country I had lately left. I especially gave bold assurances, that the French were the dregs of the world, and that good sense dwelt nowhere but in London. In short, I made a splendid fortune, and have just concluded a treaty

treaty at the court of Persia, which tends to exterminate all the Europeans, who come for cotton and silk into the Sophi's dominions, to the detriment of the English *. The object of your mission is very commendable, says our philosopher; but, Mr. Abbé, you are a cheat; I don't like cheats, and I have some credit at court. Tremble now your happiness has arrived at its utmost limits; you are just upon the point of suffering the fate you deserve. My lord Candid, cried the abbé, throwing himself on his knees, have pity on me: I feel myself drawn to evil by an irresistible force, as you find yourself necessitated to the practice of virtue. This fatal propensity I have perceived, from the moment I became acquainted with Mr. Wasp, and worked at the *Feuilles*. What do you call *Feuilles* †, says Candid? Feuilles, answers the abbé, are sheets of seventy-two pages in print, in which the public are entertained in the strain of calumny, satire, and dullness. An honest man who can read and write, and not being able to continue among the Jesuits so long as he chose, has set himself to compose this pretty little work, that he may have wherewithal to give his wife some lace, and bring

* This is a severe, though seasonable sarcasm, upon an illiberal spirit of monopoly, and national prejudice, which seems to characterize the present times.

† *Feuilles* is one of the thirty or forty journals printed at Paris; and known only in France, where it is pretty current among the people of all ranks. Besides, this detached piece of seventy-two pages must not be confounded with others of the same number of pages, which the author himself respects, and which philosophers highly value. *This is a note of Dr. Ralph's.*

up his children in the fear of God ; and there are certain honest people, who for a few pence, and some bottles of bad wine, assist the man in carrying on his scheme. This Mr. Wasp is besides a member of a curious club, who divert themselves with making poor ignorant people drunk, and setting them to blaspheme ; or in bullying a poor simple devil, and breaking his furniture, and afterwards challenging him. Such little pretty amusements these gentry call justifications, and richly deserve the attention of the police. In fine, this very honest man, Mr. Wasp, who boasts he never was in the galleys, is troubled with a lethargy, which renders him insensible to the clearest truths ; and out of which he can be drawn only by certain violent means, which he sustains with a resignation and courage above conception. I have worked for some time under this celebrated genius ; I am become an eminent writer in my turn, and I had but just quitted Mr. Wasp, to do a little for myself, when I had the honour of paying you a visit at Paris. Though you are a very great cheat, Mr. Abbé, yet your sincerity in this point makes some impression upon me. Go to court ; ask for the Rev. Ed-ivan-Baal-Denk ; I shall write to him in your behalf, but upon express condition, that you promise me to become an honest man ; and that you will not be the occasion of some thousands having their throats cut, for the sake of a little silk and cotton. The abbé promised all that Candid required, and they parted pretty good friends.

CHAP. IX.

Candid's disgraces, travels, and adventures.

NO sooner had the abbé gotten access to court, than he employed all his skill in order to ingratiate himself with the minister, and ruin his benefactor. He spread a report, that Candid was a traitor, and that he had spoke disrespectfully of the hallowed whiskers of the king of kings. All the courtiers condemned him to be burnt in a slow fire; but the Sophi, more favourable, only sentenced him to perpetual banishment, after having previously killed the sole of his accuser's foot, according to the usage among the Persians. The abbé went in person to put the sentence in execution: he found our philosopher in pretty good health, and disposed to become again happy. My friend, says the English ambassador to him, I come with regret to let you know, that you must quit this kingdom with all expedition, and kiss my feet. With a true repentance for your horrid crimes.—Kiss your feet, Mr. Abbé! certainly you are not in earnest, and I do not understand joking. Upon which some mutes, who had attended the abbé, entered and took off his shoes, letting poor Candid know, by signs, that he must submit to this piece of humiliation, or else expect to be impaled. Candid, by virtue of his free-will, kissed the abbé's feet. They put him on a forry linen-robe, and the executioner drove him out of the town, crying all the time, Behold a traitor! who has spoken irreverently of the Sophi's whiskers! irreverently of the imperial whiskers!

What did the officious monk, whilst his friend, whom he protected, was treated thus? I know nothing of that. It is probable, that he was tired of protecting Candid. Who can depend on the favour of kings, and especially that of monks!

In the mean time our hero went melancholy on. I never spoke, said he to himself, about the king of Persia's whiskers. I am cast in an instant from the pinnacle of happiness, into the abyss of misery; because a wretch, who has violated all laws, accuses me of a pretended crime which I have never committed; and this wretch, this monster, this persecutor of virtue — he is happy.

Candid, after travelling for some days, found himself upon the frontiers of Turkey. He directed his course towards the Propontis, with a design to settle there again, and pass the rest of his days in the cultivation of his garden. He saw, as he entered a little village, a great multitude of people tumultuously assembled: he inquired into the cause of it. This, says an old man to him, is an accident pretty singular. 'Tis some time ago, since the wealthy Mahomet demanded in marriage the daughter of the janissary Zamoud: he found her not to be a virgin; and in pursuance of a principle quite natural, and authorized by the laws, he sent her home to her father, after having branded her in the face. Zamoud, exasperated at the disgrace brought on his family, in the first transports of a fury that is very natural, with one stroke of his scymetar clove the disfigured visage of his daughter. His eldest son, who loved his sister passionately, and this is very fre-

frequent in nature, flew upon his father, and plunged, quit: naturally too, a very sharp poignard to his heart. Afterwards, like a lion who grows more enraged at seeing his own blood flow, the furious Zamoud ran to Mahomet's house; and after striking to the ground some slaves who opposed his passage, murdered Mahomet, his wives, and two children then in the cradle; all which was very natural, considering the violent situation he then was in. At last, to crown all, he killed himself with the same poignard, reeking with the blood of his father, and his enemies, which is also very natural. What a scene of horrors! cried Candido. What would you have said, master Pangloss, had you found such barbarities in nature? Would not you acknowledge that nature is corrupted, that all is not—No, says the old man, for the pre-established harmony—O heavens! do ye not deceive me? Is this Pangloss, says Candido, whom I again see? The very same, answered the old man: I knew you, but I was willing to find out your sentiments, before I would discover myself. Come, let us discourse a little on contingent effects, and see if you have made any progress in the art of wisdom. Alas! says Candido, you chuse your time improperly; rather let me know what is become of Miss Cunegund; tell me where are brother Giroflée, Pacquette, and pope Urban's daughter. I know nothing of them, says Pangloss; it is now two years since I left our habitation, in order to find you out. I have travelled over almost all Turkey: I was upon the point of setting out for the court of Persia, where I heard you made a great figure, and I only tarried in

this little village, among these good people, till I had gathered strength for continuing my journey. What is this I see, answered Candid, quite surpris'd? You want an arm, my dear doctor. That is nothing, says the one-handed and the one-eyed doctor: nothing is more common in the best of worlds, than to see persons who want one eye and one arm. This accident befall me in a journey from Mecca. Our caravan was attacked by a troop of Arabs: our guard attempted to make resistance; and, according to the rules of war, the Arabs, who found themselves to be the strongest side, massacred us all without mercy. There perished about five hundred persons in this attack, among whom was about a dozen of big-bellied women. For my part I had only my skull split, and an arm cut off; I did not die for all this, and I still found that every thing went for the best. But as to yourself, my dear Candid, whence is it that you have a wooden leg? Upon this Candid began, and gave an account of his adventures. Our philosophers turned together towards the Propontis, and enlivened their journey by discoursing on physical and moral evil, free-will and predestination, monads and pre-established harmony.

CHAP. X.

Candid and Pangloss arrive in the Propontis; what they saw there; and what became of them.

O Candid! said Pangloss, why was you tired of cultivating your garden? Why did we not still continue to eat citrons and pistachionuts? Why was you weary of your happiness? Because every thing is necessary in the best of worlds, there was a necessity that you should undergo the bastinado, in the presence of the king of Persia; have your leg cut off, in order to make Chusistan happy; experience the ingratitude of men, and draw down upon the heads of some atrocious villains the punishment which they had deserved. With such talk as this, they arrived at their old habitation. The first objects that presented themselves, were Martin and Pacquette, in the habit of slaves. Whence, says Candid to them, is this metamorphosis? after embracing them tenderly. Alas! answered they sobbing, You have no more a habitation; another has undertaken the labour of cultivating your garden; he eats your preserved citrons and pistachios, and we are treated like negroes. Who, says Candid, is this other? The high admiral, answered they, a mortal the least humane of all mortals. The sultan, willing to recompense his services without putting himself to any expence, has confiscated all your goods, under pretext that you had gone over to his enemies, and condemned us to slavery. Be advised by me, Candid, added Martin, and continue your journey. I always

told you every thing is for the worst; the sum of evil exceeds by much that of good. Be gone, and I do not despair but you may become a Manichean, if you are not so already. Pangloss would have begun an argument in form; but Candid interrupted him, to ask about Miss Cunegund, the old woman, brother Giroflée and Cacambo. Cacambo, answered Martin, is here; he is at present employed about emptying a house of office. The old woman is dead, from a kick given her by an eunuch in the breast. Brother Giroflée has entered among the Janissaries. Miss Cunegund has recovered her plumpness, and former beauty; she is in our master's seraglio *. What a chain of misfortunes, says Candid! Was there a necessity for Miss Cunegund to become handsome, only to make me a cuckold? It matters little, says Pangloss, whether Miss Cunegund be beautiful or ugly in your arms or those of another, that is nothing to the general system: for my part, I wish her a numerous progeny. Philosophers do not perplex themselves by whom women have children, provided they have them. Population—Alas! says Martin, philosophers ought much rather to employ themselves in rendering a few individuals happy, than engaging them to multiply the number of sufferers. Whilst they were thus arguing, a great noise was heard on a sudden; it was the admiral diverting himself, by causing a dozen slaves to be whipped. Pangloss and Candid, both frightened, with tears in

* This one of the most surprising revolutions we meet with in the whole performance, that beauty once vanished with youth should return.

their eyes parted from their friends, and in all haste took the road to Constantinople.

There they found all the people in a great stir. A fire had broke out in the suburb of Pera; five or six hundred houses were already consumed, and two or three thousand persons perished in the flames. What a horrible disaster, cried Candid! All is well, says Pangloss, these little accidents happen every year. It is intirely natural for the fire to catch houses built of wood, and for those who are in them to be burnt. Besides, this procures some resources to honest people, who languish in misery.—What is this I hear, says an officer of the sublime porte? How, wretch, darest thou say that all is well, when half Constantinople is in flames. Dog, be cursed of our prophet, receive the punishment due to thy impudence! And as he uttered these words, he took Pangloss by the middle, and flung him head long into the flames. Candid, half dead with fright, crept on all fours, as well as he could, to a neighbouring quarter, where all was more quiet; and we shall see what became of him in the next chapter.

C H A P. XI.

Candid continues his travels, and in what quality.

I Have nothing left, said our philosopher, but to make myself either a slave or a Turk. Happiness has forsaken me for ever. A turban would corrupt all my pleasures. I shall be in-

capable of tasting tranquility of soul, in a religion full of imposture, into which I enter merely from a motive of vile interest. No, I shall never be content, if I cease to be an honest man: let me make myself then a slave. Candid had no sooner taken this resolution than he set about putting it into execution. He chose an Armenian merchant for his master, who was a man of a very good character, and passed for virtuous, as much as an Armenian can be. He gave Candid two hundred sequins, as the price of his liberty. The Armenian was upon the point of departing for Norway: he took Candid with him, in hopes that a philosopher would be of use to him in his traffic. They embarked, and the wind was so favourable for them, that they were not above half the usual time in their passage. They even had no occasion for buying a wind from the Lapland witches, and contented themselves with giving them some stock-fish, that they might not disturb their good fortune with their enchantments; which sometimes happens, if we may believe Moreri's Dictionary on this head.

The Armenian, no sooner landed than he provided a stock of whale-blubber, and ordered our philosopher to go over all the country to buy him some dried salt-fish: he acquitted himself of his commission in the best manner he could, returned with several rein-deers loaded with this merchandize, and made profound reflections on the astonishing difference which is to be found between the Laplanders and other men. A very diminutive female Laplander, whose head was a little bigger than her

body ; her eyes red and full of fire, a flat nose, and mouth as wide as possible, wished him a good day, with an infinite grace. My little lord, says this being (a foot and ten inches high) to him *, I think you very handsome ; do me the favour to love me a little. So saying, she flew to him and caught him round the neck. Candid pushed her way with horror. She cries out, when in comes her husband with several other Laplanders. What is the meaning of all this uproar, say they ? It is answers the little being, that this stranger— Alas ! I am choaked with grief ; he despises me. So then, says the Lapland husband, thou unpolite, dishonest, brutal, infamous, cowardly rascal ; thou bringest disgrace upon my house ; thou dost me the most sensible injury ; thou refusest to lie with my wife. Lo ! here's the good of our neighbour, cried our hero : what would you have said then, if I had lain with her ? I would have wished thee all sort of prosperity, says the Laplander to him in wrath ; but thou only deserveest my indignation. At uttering this he discharged on Candid's back a volley of blows with a cudgel. The rein-deer were seized by the relations of the offended husband, and Candid, for fear of worse, was forced to betake himself to flight, and renounce for ever his good master ; for how dared he present himself before him without money, whale-blubber, or rein-deer ?

* This must have been Lilliput, not Lapland.

C H A P. XII.

Candid still continues his travels. New adventures.

CANDID travelled a long time without knowing whither he was going: at length he resolved to go to Denmark, where he had heard that every thing went pretty well. He had few pieces of money about him, which the Armenian had made him a present of; and this sum, tho' inconsiderable, he hoped would carry him to the end of his journey. Hope rendered his misery supportable to him, and he still passed some happy moments. He found himself one day in an inn with three travellers, who talked to him with great warmth about a *plenum* and the *materia subtilis*. Mighty well, says Candid to himself, these are philosophers. Gentlemen, says he to them, a *plenum* is incontestible: there is no vacuum in nature, and the *materia subtilis* is a well-imagined hypothesis. You are then a Cartesian, says the three travellers: yes, answers Candid, and a Leibnitzian, which is more. So much the worse for you, replied the philosophers. Des Cartes and Leibnitz had not common sense. We are Newtonians, and we glory in it; if we dispute, 'tis only the better to confirm ourselves in our opinions, and we all think the same. We search for truth in Newton's track, because we are persuaded that Newton is a great man—And Des Cartes too, and Leibnitz and Pangloss

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likewise,

likewise, says Candid: these great men are worth a thousand of yours. You are a fool, friend, answered the philosophers: do you know the laws of refraction, attraction, and motion? Have you read the truths which Dr. Clarke has published, in answer to the reveries of your Leibnitz? Do you know what centrifugal and centripetal force is? and that colours depend on their density? Have you any notion of the theory of light and gravitation? Do you know the period of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years which unluckily does not agree with chronology? No, undoubtedly, you have but false ideas of all these things: peace then, thou contemptible Monad, and beware how you insult giants, by comparing them to pygmies*. Gentlemen, answered Candid, were Pangloss here, he would tell you very fine things; for he is a great philosopher: he has a sovereign contempt for your Newton; and, as I am his disciple, I likewise make no great account of him. The philosophers enraged beyond measure, fell upon poor Candid, and drubbed him most philosophically.

Their wrath subsiding, they asked our hero's pardon for their too great warmth. Upon this, one of them began a very fine harangue on mildness and moderation.

* If this satire is levelled only at a set of wrong-headed coxcombs and ignorant pretenders, who profess themselves disciples and partizans of certain great men, the merit of whose writings they have not sense enough to know, the author's aim is laudable; but if he means it as ridicule on the character of Sir Isaac Newton, the satire must retort upon himself, in the opinion of every candid and intelligent reader.

While

While they were talking, they saw a grand burial pass by: our philosophers from thence took occasion to descant on the foolish vanity of man. Would it not be more reasonable, says one of them, that the relations and friends of the deceased should, without pomp and noise, carry the bier themselves? would not this funeral act, by presenting to them the idea of death, produce an effect the most salutary, the most philosophical? This reflexion, which would offer of itself, namely, *the body I carry is that of my friend, my relation; he is no more; and, like him, I must cease to be in this world*: would not this, I say, be a means of lessening the number of crimes in this vile world, and of bringing back to virtue beings who believe the immortality of the soul? Men are too much inclined to remove from them the thoughts of death, for fear of presenting too strong images of it. Whence is it that people keep at a distance from such a spectacle as a mother and a wife in tears? The plaintive accents of nature, the piercing cries of despair, would do much greater honour to the ashes of the dead, than all these individuals clad in black from head to foot, together with useless female mourners, and that crowd of ministers, who sing in a gay air funeral orations, which the deceased do not hear.

This is extremely well spoken, says Candid; and did you always speak thus well, without thinking proper to thresh people, you would be a great philosopher.

Our travellers parted with expressions of mutual confidence and friendship. Candid still continued travelling towards Denmark. He plunged into the woods; where, musing deeply

ly on all the misfortunes which had happened to him in the best of worlds, he turned aside from the road and lost himself. The day began to draw towards the evening, when he perceived his mistake; he was seized with dismay, and raising in a melancholy manner his eyes to heaven, and leaning against the trunk of a tree, our hero spoke in the following terms: I have gone over half the world; seen fraud and calumny triumphant; have only sought to do service to mankind, and I have been persecuted. A great king honours me with his favour and fifty blows of a bull's pizzle. I arrive with a wooden-leg in a very fine province; there I taste pleasures after having drank deep of mortifications. An abbé comes; I protect him: he insinuates himself at court thro' my means, and I am obliged to kiss his feet—I meet with my poor Pangloss only to see him burnt. I find myself in company with philosophers, the mildest and most sociable of all the species of animals that are spread over the face of the earth, and they give me an unmerciful drubbing—All must necessarily be for the best, since Pangloss has said it; but nevertheless I am the most wretched of all possible beings. Here Candid stopt short to listen to cries of distress, which seemed to come from a place near him. He stepped forward out of curiosity, when he beheld a young woman who was tearing her hair with all the signs of the greatest despair. Whoever you are, says she to him, if you have a heart, follow me. He went with her; but they had not gone many paces before Candid perceived a man and a woman stretched out on the grass: their faces declared the nobleness

bleness of their souls and origin; their features, tho' distorted by pain, had something so interesting, that Candid could not forbear bemoaning them, and informing himself with a lively eagerness about the cause which reduced them to so miserable a situation. 'Tis my father and mother, whom you see, says the young woman: yes, these are the authors of my wretched being, continued she, throwing herself into their arms. They fled to avoid the rigour of an unjust sentence: I accompanied them in their flight, happy to share in their misfortune! from a thought that in the deserts where we were going to hide ourselves, my feeble hands might procure them a necessary subsistence. We have stopped here to take some rest; I discovered that tree which you see, whose fruit has deceived me—Alas! Sir, I am a wretch to be detested by the world and myself. Arm your hand to avenge offended virtue and to punish the parricide! Strike—this fruit—I presented it to my father and mother; they eat of it with pleasure: I rejoiced to have found the means of quenching the thirst with which they were tormented—Unhappy wretch! 'twas death I presented to them: this fruit is poison.

This tale made Candid shudder; his hair stood on end, and a cold sweat ran over all his body. He was eager, as much as his present condition could permit, to give some relief to this unfortunate family; but the poison had already made too much progress; and the most efficacious remedies would not have been able to stop its fatal effect.

Dear

Dear child, our only hope ! cried the two unhappy parents, God pardon thee as we pardon thee ; it was the excess of thy tenderness which has robbed us of our lives.—Generous stranger, vouchsafe to take care of her ; her heart is noble and formed to virtue ; she is a deposit which we leave in your hands, that is infinitely more precious to us than our past fortune—Dear Zenoida, receive our last embraces ; mingle thy tears with ours. Heavens ! how happy are these moments to us ! Thou hast opened to us the dreary cave in which we languished for forty years past. Tender Zenoida, we bless thee ; mayest thou never forget the lessons which our prudence hath dictated to thee ; and may they preserve thee from the abyss which we see ready to swallow thee.

They expired as they pronounced these words. Candid had great difficulty to bring Zenoida to herself. The moon enlightened the affecting scene ; the day appeared, and Zenoida, plunged in sad affliction, had not as yet recovered the use of her senses. As soon as she opened her eyes, she entreated Candid to dig a hole in the ground in order to inter the bodies : she assisted in the work, with an astonishing courage. This duty fulfilled, she gave free scope to her tears. Our philosopher drew her from this fatal place : they travelled a long time without observing any certain route. At length, they perceived a little cottage ; two persons in the decline of life dwelt in this desert, who were always ready to give every assistance in their power to their fellow-creatures in distress. These old people were such as Philemon and Baucis are described to us. For fifty years they had tasted the soft endearments

endearments of marriage, without ever experiencing its bitterness; an unimpaired health, the fruit of temperance and tranquility of mind; mild and simple manners; a fund of unexhaustible candour in their character; all the virtues which man owes to himself, formed the glorious, and only fortune which heaven had granted them. They were held in veneration in the neighbouring villages, the inhabitants of which, full of an happy rusticity, might have passed for honest people, had they been catholics. They looked upon it as a duty not to suffer Agaton and Suname (for so the old couple were called) to want for any thing. Their charity extended to the new-comers. Alas! said Candid, 'tis a great loss, my dear Pangloss, that you were burnt: you was master of sound reason; but yet in all the parts of Europe and Asia, which I have travelled over in your company, every thing is not for the best: it is only in Eldorado, whither no one can go, and in a little cottage situated in the coldest, most barren, and frightful region in the world. What pleasure should I have to hear you harangue about the pre-established harmony and monads! I should be very willing to pass my days among these honest Lutherans; but I must renounce going to mass, and resolve to be torn to pieces in the *Journal Chretien*.

Candid was very inquisitive to learn the adventures of Zenoida, but complaisance withheld him from speaking to her about it; she perceived the respectful constraint he put upon himself, and satisfied his impatience in the following terms.

C H A P. XIII.

The History of Zenoida. How Candid fell in love with her; and what followed.

I Am come of one of the most ancient families in Denmark; one of my ancestors perished at that horrid feast which the wicked Christiern prepared for the destruction of so many senators. The riches and dignities with which our family has been distinguished, have hitherto served only to make them more eminently unfortunate. My father had the presumption to displease a great man in power by boldly telling him the truth; he was presently accused by suborned witnesses of a number of crimes which had no foundation. His judges were deceived. Alas! where is that judge who can always discover those inares which envy and treachery lay for unguarded innocence? My father was sentenced to be beheaded. He had no way left to avoid his fate but by flight: accordingly he withdrew to the house of an old friend, whom he thought deserving of that truly noble appellation: we remained some time concealed in a castle belonging to him on the sea-side; and we might have continued there to this day, had not the base wretch with whom we had taken refuge, attempted to repay himself for the services he did us, in a manner that gave us all reason to detest him. This infamous monster had conceived a most unnatural passion for my mother and myself at the same time; he attempted our virtue by methods the most unworthy of a man of honour; and we were obliged to expose

pose ourselves to the most dreadful dangers to avoid the effects of his brutal passion. In a word, we took to flight a second time, and you know the rest.

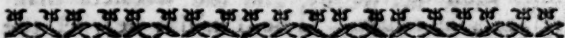
In finishing this short narrative, Zenoida burst into tears afresh. Candid wiped them from her eyes, and said to her, by way of consolation, Madam, every thing is for the best; if your father had not died by poison, he would infallibly have been discovered, and then his head would have been cut off. The good lady, your mother, would, in all probability have died of grief, and we should not have been in this poor hut, where every thing is as well as in the finest of all possible castles. Alas! Sir, replied Zenoida, my father never told me that every thing was for the best; but he has often said, We are all children of the same divine father, who loves us, but who has not exempted us from the most callous sorrows, the most grievous maladies, and an innumerable tribe of miseries that afflict the human race. Poison grows by the side of the salutiferous quinquina, in America. The happiest of all mortals has some time or other shed tears. What we call life is a compound of pleasure and pain; it is the passing away of a certain stated portion of time that always appears too long in the sight of the wise man, and which every one ought to employ in doing good to the community in which he is placed; in the enjoyment of the works of Providence, without idly seeking after hidden causes; in squaring his conduct by the rules of conscience; and, above all, in shewing a due respect to religion. Happy is he who can follow this unerringly!

These

These things my ever-respected father has frequently inculcated to me. Ill betide those wretched scribblers, he would often say, who attempt to pry into the hidden ways of Providence. From the principle, that God will be honoured from thousands of atoms, mankind have blended the most absurd chimeras with respectable truths. The Turkish dervise, the Persian bramin, the Chinese bonza, and the Indian talapoin, all worship the Deity in a different manner: but they enjoy a tranquillity of soul amidst the darkness in which they are plunged; and he who would endeavour to enlighten them, does them but ill service. It is not loving mankind to tear the bandage of prejudice from their eyes.

Why, you talk like a philosopher, said Candid; may I ask you, my pretty young lady, of what religion you are? I was brought up in the Lutheran profession, answered Zenoida. Every word you have spoke, said Candid, has been like a ray of light that has penetrated to my heart, and I find a sort of esteem and admiration for you, that—But how, in the name of wonder, came so bright an understanding to be lodged in so beautiful a form? Upon my word, miss, I esteem and admire you, as I said before, so much that—Candid stammered out a few words more, when Zenoida, perceiving his confusion, quitted him, and from that moment carefully avoided all occasions of being alone with him; and Candid, on his part, sought every opportunity of being alone with her, or else being by himself. He was buried in a melancholy that to him had charms; he was deeply enamoured of Zenoida; but endeavoured

endeavoured to conceal his passion from himself: his looks, however, too plainly evinced the feelings of his heart. Alas! would he often say to himself, if master Pangloss was here, he would give me good advice; for he was a great philosopher.



CHAP. XIV.

Continuation of the loves of Candid.

THE only consolation that Candid felt, was in covering with Zenoida in the presence of their hosts. How happens it, said he to her one day, that the monarch to whom you have access, has suffered such injustice to be done to your family? Assuredly you have sufficient reason to hate him? How! said Zenoida, who can hate their king? who can do otherwise than love that person to whose hand is consigned the keen-edged sword of the laws? Kings are the living images of the Deity, and we ought never to arraign their conduct; obedience and respect is the duty of a subject. I admire you more and more, said Candid; indeed, madam, I do: pray, do you know the great Leibnitz, and the great Pangloss, who was burnt after having escaped an hanging bout? are you acquainted with the monads, the *materia subtilis*, and the *vortices*? No, Sir, replied Zenoida; I never heard my father mention any of these; he only gave me a slight tincture of experimental philosophy, and taught me to hold in contempt all those kinds of philosophy

philosophy that do not directly tend to make mankind happy ; that give him false notions of his duty to himself and his neighbour ; that do not teach him to regulate his conduct, and fill his mind only with uncouth terms, or ill-founded conjectures ; that do not give him a clearer idea of the author of nature than what he may acquire from his works, and the wonders that are every day passing before our sight. Once again, miss, you enchant me ; you ravish me ; you are an angel that heaven has sent to remove from before my eyes the mist of master Pangloss's sophistical arguments. Poor wretch that I was ! After having been so heartily kicked, flogged, and bastinadoed ; after having been in an earthquake ; having seen doctor Pangloss once hanged, and very lately burnt ; after having been ravished by a villainous Persian, who put me to the most excruciating torture ; after having been robbed by a decree of the divan, and soundly drubbed by the philosophers : after all these things, I say to think that every thing was for the best ! but now, thank heaven ! I am disabused. But, truly speaking, nature never appeared half so charming to me as since I have been blessed with the sight of you. The melody of the rural choiristers charms my ears with an harmony, to which they were till now utter strangers ; I breathe a new soul, and the glow of sentiment that enchants me seems imprinted on every object ; I do not feel that effeminate languor, which I did in the gardens of Sus ; the sensation with which you inspire me is wholly different. Let us stop here, said Zenonida ; you seem to be running to lengths that may, perhaps, offend my delicacy, which you

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ought

ought to respect. I will be silent, then, said Candid; but my passion will only burn with the more force. On saying these words, he looked steadfastly at Zenoida; he perceived her to blush, and, as a man who was taught by experience, conceived the most flattering hopes from those appearances.

The beautiful Dane continued a long time to shun the pursuits of Candid. One day, as he was walking hastily to and fro in the garden, he cried out in an amorous extasy, Ah! why have I not now my Eldorado-sheep! why have I it not in my power to purchase a small kingdom! ah! was I but a king—What should I be to you? said a voice, which pierced the heart of our philosopher. Is it you, lovely Zenoida, cried he, falling on his knees? I thought myself alone. The few words I heard you just now utter seem to promise me the felicity to which my soul aspires. I shall, in all probability, never be a king, nor ever possessed of a fortune; but if you love me—Do not turn from me those lovely eyes, but suffer me to read in them a declaration which is alone capable of confirming my happiness. Bezuteous Zenoida, I adore you; let your heart be open to compassion—what do I see but you weep! ah! my happiness is too great. Yes, you are happy, said Zenoida; nothing can oblige me to disguise my tenderness for a person I think deserving of it: hitherto you have been attached to my destiny only by the bands of humanity; it is now time to strengthen those by ties more sacred; I have consulted my heart, reflect maturely in your turn; but remember, that if you marry me, you become obliged to

be my protector; to share with me those misfortunes that fate may yet have in store for me, and to sooth my sorrows. Marry you! said Candid; those words have shewn me all the folly of my conduct. Alas! dear idol of my soul, I am not deserving of the goodness you shew towards me. Cunegund is still living—Cunegund! who is that? It is my wife, answered Candid, with his usual frankness.

Our two lovers remained some moments without uttering a word; they attempted to speak, but the accents died away on their lips; their eyes were bathed in tears. Candid held the fair Zenoida's hands in his; he prest them to his breast, and devoured them with kisses; he had even the boldness to carry his, to the bosom of his mistress; he found her breath grew short; his soul flew to his lips, and fixing his mouth with ardour to that of Zenoida, he brought the faint one back to those senses which she had nearly lost. Candid thought he read his pardon in her eyes. Dearest lover, said she to him, anger would but ill suit with the liberty which I myself have given. Yet hold, you will ruin me in the opinion of the world; and you yourself would soon cease to have an affection for me when once I was become the object of contempt. Forbear, therefore, and spare my weakness. How! cried Candid, because the ill-judging vulgar say, that a woman loses her honour, by bestowing happiness on a being whom she loves, by following the tender bent of nature, that in the first happy ages of the world—But I will forbear to relate the whole of the interesting conversation, and content myself with saying that the eloquence

of Candid, heightened by the warmth of amorous expression, had all the effect that may be imagined on a young sensible female philosopher.

The lovers, who till then had passed their days in tedious melancholy, now counted every hour by a fresh succession of amorous joys. Pleasure flowed thro' their veins in an uninterrupted current. The gloomy woods, the barren mountains, surrounded by horrid precipices, the icy plains, and dreary fields, covered with snow on all sides, were so many continual mementos to them of the necessity of loving *. They determined never to quit that dreadful solitude; but fate was yet weary of persecuting them, as we shall see in the ensuing chapter.

* We should be glad to know what charms Candid possessed, that should induce the sensible, the philosophic, the virtuous, and the amiable Zenaida to trample upon the laws of chastity, and live in adultery with the husband of another woman—Was it his philosophy, which was truly ridiculous? was it his person adorned with a wooden leg? was it the importance of the parts he had acted in life, including that of a prostituted pathic? or was his success in this amour, intended to illustrate the caprice of the female sex, conspicuous even in the most respectable characters.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The arrival of Wolhall. A journey to Copenhagen.

CANDID and Zenoida amused themselves with discoursing on the works of the Deity; the worship which mankind ought to pay him; the mutual duties they owe to each other; especially that of charity, the most useful of all virtues. They did not confine themselves to frivolous declamations. Candid taught the young men the respect due to the sacred curb of the laws; Zenoida instructed the young women in the duties they owed their parents; both joined their endeavours to sow the hopeful seeds of religion in their young hearts. One day, as they were busied in those pious offices, Sunama came to tell Zenoida that an old gentleman several servants was just alighted at their house; and that, by the description he had given her of a person of whom he was in search, she was certain it could be no other than Zenoida herself. This stranger had followed Sunama close at her heels, and entered before she had done speaking, into the room where were Candid and Zenoida.

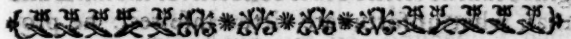
At sight of him Zenoida instantly fainted away; but Wolhall, not in the least affected with the situation he saw her in, took hold of her hand, and pulling her to him with violence, brought her to her senses; which she had no sooner recovered, than she burst into a flood of tears. So, niece, said he, with a sarcastic smile, I find you in very good company. I do not wonder you prefer this habitation to

capital, to my house, and the company of your family. Yes, Sir, replied Zenoida, I do prefer this place, where dwell simplicity and truth, to the mansions of treason and imposture. I can never behold but with horror that place where first began my misfortunes; where I have had so many proofs of your black actions, and where I have no other relations but yourself. Come, Madam, said Wolhall, follow me, if you please; for you must along, even if you should faint again. Saying this, he dragged her to the door of the house, and made her get into a post-chaise, which was waiting for him. She had only time to tell Candid to follow, and to bestow her blessing on her hosts, with promises of rewarding them amply for their generous cares.

A domestic of Wolhall was moved with pity at the grief in which he saw Candid plunged; he imagined that he felt no other concern for the fair Dane than what unfortunate virtue inspires: he proposed to him taking a journey to Copenhagen, and he facilitated the means for his doing it. He did more; he insinuated to him that he might be admitted as one of Wolhall's domestics, if he had no other resources than going to service. Candid liked his proposal; and no sooner arrived than his future fellow-servant presented him as one of his relations, for whom he would be answerable. Rascal, says Wolhall to him, I consent to grant you the honour of approaching a person of such rank as I am: never forget the profound respect which you owe to my commands; prevent them if you have sufficient sagacity for it: think that a man like me degrades himself in speaking to
a wretch

a wretch such as you. Our philosopher answered with great humility to this impertinent discourse; and from that day he was clad in his master's livery.

It is easy to imagine the joy and surprize that Zenoida felt when she recollected her lover among her uncle's servants: she threw several opportunities in the way of Candid, who knew how to profit by them: they swore eternal constancy. Zenoida had some unhappy moments; she sometimes reproached herself on account of her love for Candid; she vexed him sometimes by a few caprices: but Candid idolized her; he knew that perfection is not the portion of man, and still less so of woman. Zenoida resumed her good humour. The kind of constraint under which they lay, rendered their pleasures the more lively: they were still happy.



CHAP. XVI.

How Candid found his wife again, and lost his mistress.

OUR hero had only to bear with the haughty humours of his master, and that was purchasing his mistress's favours at no dear rate. Happy love is not so easily concealed, as many imagine. Our lovers betrayed themselves. Their connexion was no longer a mystery, but to the short-sighted eyes of Wolhall; all the domesticks knew it. Candid received congratulations on that head which made him tremble;

he expected the storm ready to burst upon his head, and did not doubt but a person who had been dear to him was upon the point of accelerating his misfortune. He had for some days before perceived a face resembling Miss Cunegund; he again saw the same face in Wolhall's court-yard: the object which struck him was very poorly cloathed, and there was no likelihood that a favourite of a great Mahometan should be found in the court-yard of a house at Copenhagen. This disagreeable object, however, looked at Candid very attentively: when coming up to him, and seizing him by the hair, she gave him the smartest blow on the face with her open hand that he had received for some time. I am not deceived; cried our philosopher! O, heavens! who would have thought it? what do you do here, after having suffered yourself to be violated by a follower of Mahomet? Go, perfidious spouse, I know you not. Thou shalt know me, replied Cunegund, by my outrageous fury: I know the life thou leadest, thy love for thy master's niece, and thy contempt for me. Alas! 'tis now three months since I quitted the seraglio, because I was there good for nothing further. A merchant has bought me to mend his linen, he takes me along with him when he makes a voyage to this country*; Martin,

* One would imagine there must be a great trade carried on between Constantinople and Norway, that these two persons should meet so seasonably for the accomplishment of the author's design---would it not have redounded more to the honour of his invention, if he had laid the scene in some part of the world where there was a real probability of their meeting?

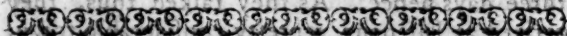
Cacambo, and Pacquette, whom he has also bought, are with me; Doctor Pangloss, thro' the greatest chance in the world, is in the same vessel as a passenger; we were shipwrecked some miles from hence; I escaped the danger with the faithful Cacambo, who, I swear to thee, has a skin as firm as thy own: I behold thee again, and find thee false. Tremble then, and fear every thing from a provoked wife.

Candid was quite stupified at this affecting scene; he had suffered Cunegund to depart, without thinking of the proper measures which are always to be kept with those who know our secrets, when Cacambo presented himself to his sight: they embraced each other with tenderness. Candid informed him of the conversation he had just had; he was very much afflicted for the loss of the great Pangloss, who, after having been hanged and burnt, was at last unhappily drowned. They spoke with that free effusion of heart which friendship inspires. A little billet thrown in at the window by Zenoida, put an end to the conversation. Candid opened it, and found in it these words:

“Fly, my dear lover, all is discovered. An innocent propensity which nature authorizes, and which hurts no one, is a crime in the eyes of credulous and cruel men. Wolhall has just left my chamber, and has treated me with the utmost inhumanity: he is gone to obtain an order for you to be clapt into a dungeon, there to perish. Fly, my ever dear lover, preserve a life which thou canst not pass any longer near me. Those happy moments are no more, in which we gave proofs of our reciprocal tenderness.—Ah! sad

“ Zenoida, how hast thou offended heaven, to
 “ merit so rigorous a fate? But I wander from
 “ the purpose; remember always thy precious
 “ dear Zenoida, and you, my dear lover, shalt
 “ live eternally within my heart—thou hast
 “ never thoroughly understood how much I
 “ loved thee—canst thou receive upon my en-
 “ flamed lips my last adieu! I find myself
 “ ready to join my unhappy father in the grave;
 “ the light is hateful to me; it serves only to
 “ reveal crimes.”

Cacambo, always wise and prudent, drew
 Candid, who no longer was himself, along with
 him; they made the best of their way out of
 the city. Candid opened not his mouth, and
 they were already a good way from Copen-
 hagen, before he was roused out of that
 lethargy in which he was buried. At last,
 he looked at his faithful Cacambo, and spoke
 in these terms.



CHAP. XVII.

*How Candid had a mind to kill himself, and did
 not do it. What happened to him at an inn.*

DEAR Cacambo, formerly my valet, now
 my equal, and always my friend, thou
 hast borne a share in my misfortunes; thou
 hast given me salutary advice; and thou hast
 been witness to my love for Miss Cunegund—
 Alas! my old master, says Cacambo, 'tis she
 who has served you this scurvy trick; it is she,
 who, after having learned from your fellow-
 servants, that your love for Zenoida as much as
 hers

hers for you, revealed the whole to the barbarous Wolhall. If this is so, says Candid, I have nothing further to do but die. Our philosopher pulled out of his pocket a little knife, and began whetting it with a coolness worthy of an ancient Roman or an Englishman. What do you mean to do? says Cacambo. To cut my throat, answers Candid. That's a very good thought, replied Cacambo; but the philosopher ought not to take any resolution but upon reflexion: you will always have it in your power to kill yourself, if your mind does not alter. Be advised by me, my dear master; defer your resolution till to-morrow; the longer you delay it, the more courageous will the action be. I perceive the strength of thy reasoning, says Candid: besides, if I should cut my throat immediately, the Gazetteer of Trevoux would insult my memory: I am determin'd therefore, that I will not kill myself till two or three days hence. As they talked thus, they arrived at Elfenaur, a pretty considerable town, not far from Copenhagen; there they lay that night, and Cacambo hugged himself for the good effect which sleep had produced upon Candid. They left the town at day-break. Candid still the philosopher, (for the prejudices of childhood are never effaced,) entertained his friend Cacambo on the subject of physical good and evil, the discourses of the sage Zenaida, and the striking truths which he had learnt from her conversation. Had not Pangloss been dead, said he, I should combat his system in a victorious manner. God keep me from becoming a Manichean. My mistress taught me to respect the impenetrable veil with which the Deity en-

velops his manner of operating upon us. 'Tis perhaps man who precipitates himself into the abyss of misfortunes under which he groans. Of a frugivorous animal he has made himself a carnivorous one. The savages which we have seen, eat only Jesuits, and do not live upon bad terms among themselves. These savages, if there be one scattered here and there in the woods, only subsisting by acorns and herbs, are, without doubt, still more happy. Society has given birth to the greatest crimes. There are men in society, who are necessitated by their condition to wish the death of others. The shipwreck of a vessel, the burning of a house, and the loss of a battle, cause sadness in one part of society, and give joy to another. All is very bad! my dear Cacambo, and there is nothing left for a philosopher, but to cut his own throat with all imaginable calmness. You are in the right, says Cacambo: but I perceive an inn, you must be very dry. Come, my old master! let us drink one draught, and we will after that continue our philosophical disquisitions.

When they entered the inn, they saw a company of country lads and lasses dancing in the midst of the yard, to the sound of some wretched instruments. Gaiety and mirth sat in every countenance; it was a scene worthy the pencil of Vataou. As soon as Candid appeared, a young woman took him by the hand, and intreated him to dance. My pretty maid, answered Candid, when a person has lost his mistress, found his wife again, and heard that the great Pangloss is dead, he can have little or inclination to cut capers. Moreover, I am to kill myself to-morrow morning, and
you

you know that a man who has but a few hours to live, ought not to lose them in dancing. Cacambo, hearing Candid talk thus, addressed him in these terms: A thirst for glory has always been the characteristic of great philosophers. Cato of Utica killed himself, after having taken a sound nap. Socrates drank the hemlock potion, after discoursing familiarly with his friends. Many of the English have blown their brains out with a pistol, after coming from an entertainment. But I never yet heard of a great man, who cut his own throat after a dancing-bout. It is for you, my dear master, that this honour is reserved. Take my advice, let us dance our fill, and we will kill ourselves to-morrow. Have you not remarked, answered Candid, this young country girl? Is she not a very pretty brunette? She has somewhat very taking in her countenance, says Cacambo. She has squeezed my hand, replied the philosopher. Did you mind, says Cacambo, how that in the hurry of the dance, her handkerchief falling aside, discovered two little admirable bobbies? I took particular notice of them. Look you, said Candid, had I not my heart filled with Miss Zenoida—The little brunette interrupted him, by begging him to go down with a dance with her. Our hero at length consented, and danced with the best grace in the world*. The dance finished, he kissed his smart country girl, and retired to his seat, without calling out the queen of the ring. Upon this a murmuring arose; every one, as well performers as spectators, appeared greatly incensed at so flagrant a piece of disrespect. Candid never

* With his wooden leg.

dreamed he had been guilty of any fault, and consequently did not attempt to make any reparation. A rude clown came up to him, and gave him a blow with his fist upon the nose. Cacambo returns it to the peasant with a kick in the belly. In an instant the musical instruments are all broken; the girls lose their caps; Candid and Cacambo fight like heroes, but at length are obliged to take to their heels, after a very hearty drubbing.

Every thing is imbittered to me, said Candid, giving his arm to his friend Cacambo; I have experienced a great many misfortunes, but I did not expect to be thus bruised to a mummy, for my dancing with a country girl at her own request.



C H A P. XVIII.

Candid and Cacambo go into an hospital; and whom they meet with there.

CACAMBO, and his old master, were quite dispirited. They began to fall into that sort of malady of the mind, which extinguishes all the faculties: they fell into a depression of spirits and despair, when they perceived an hospital, which was built for strangers. Cacambo proposed going into it; Candid followed him. There they met with the most obliging reception, and charitable treatment. In a little time they were cured of their wounds, but they caught the itch. The cure of this malady did not appear to be the work of a day, the idea of which filled the eyes of our philosopher with tears;

tears; and he said, scratching himself, Thou wouldst not let me cut my throat, my dear Cacambo; thy misplaced counsels have brought me again into disgrace and misfortune; and yet, should I cut my throat now, it will be published in the journal of Trevoux*, and it will be said this man was a poltroon, who killed himself only for having the itch. See what thou hast exposed me to, by the mistaken compassion thou hadst for my fate. Our disasters are not without remedy, answered Cacambo. If you will but please to listen to me, let us settle here as friars, I understand a little surgery, and I promise you to alleviate and render supportable our wretched condition.—Ah! says Candid, may all asses perish, and especially asses of surgeons, who are so dangerous to mankind. I will never suffer that thou shouldst give out thyself to be what thou art not: this is a treachery, the consequences of which I dread. Besides, if thou didst but conceive how hard it is, after having been viceroy of a fine province, after having seen one's self rich enough to purchase kingdoms, and after having been the favourite lover of Mrs. Zenaida, to resolve to serve in quality of friar in an hospital †—I conceive all that you say, replied Cacambo; but I also conceive, that it is very hard to die of hunger. Think, moreover, that the expedient which I propose to you, is

* This harping continually on the string of *le Journal de Trevoux*, denotes our author's being hurt by the criticisms of those journalists; a circumstance that will too much flatter their self-conceit. It is a triumph, which a writer of his merit should not have allowed them to enjoy.

† But there are none such in Denmark, or any other Protestant country.

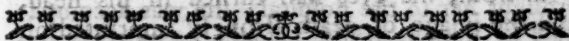
perhaps the only one which you can take, to elude the inquiries of the bloody minded Wolhall, and avoid the punishment which he is preparing for you.

One of the friars was passing along as they talked in this manner; they put some questions to him, to which he gave satisfactory answers: he assured them that the brothers wanted for nothing, and enjoyed a reasonable liberty. Candid thereupon determined to acquiesce with Cacambo's counsels. They took the habit together, which was granted them upon the first application; and our two poor adventurers now became underlings to those whose duty it was to perform the most servile offices.

One day as Candid was serving the patients with some wretched broth, an old man fixed his eye earnestly upon him. The visage of this poor wretch was livid, his lips were covered with froth, his eyes half turned in his head, and the image of death strongly imprinted on his lean and fallen cheeks. Poor man, says Candid to him, I pity you, your sufferings must be horrible. They are very great indeed, answered the old man, with a hollow voice like a ghost; I am told that I am hectical, phthifick, asthmatic, and poxed to the bone. If that be the case, I am indeed very ill; yet all does not go so badly, and this gives me comfort. Ah! says Candid, none but Dr. Pangloss, in a case so deplorable, can maintain the doctrine of *optimism*, when all others besides would preach up *pessim*.—Don't pronounce that abominable word, cried the poor man; I am the Pangloss you speak of. Wretch that I am, let me die in peace.—All is well, all is for the best. The effort which he made

made in pronouncing these words, cost him the last tooth, which he spitted out with a great quantity of corrupted matter, and expired a very few moments after.

Candid lamented him greatly, for he had a good heart. His obstinate perseverance was a source of reflexion to our philosopher; he often called to mind all his adventures. Cunegund remained at Copenhagen; he learned that she exercised there the occupation of a mender of old cloaths, with all possible distinction. The humour of travelling had quite left him. The faithful Cacambo supported him with his counsels and friendship. Candid did not murmur against providence; I know said he at times, that happiness is not the portion of man: happiness dwells only in the good country of Eldorado, where it is impossible for any one to go.



CHAP. XIX.

New discoveries.

CANDID was not so unhappy, as he had a true friend. He found in a mongrel valet what the world vainly look for in our quarter of the globe. Perhaps nature which gives origin to herbs in America, that are proper for the maladies of bodies on our continent, has also placed remedies there for the maladies of our hearts and minds. Possibly there are men in the new world of a quite different conformation from us, who are not slaves to personal interests, and are worthy to burn with the noble fire

fire of friendship. How desireable would it be, that instead of bales of indigo and cochineal, all covered with blood, some of these men were imported among us! This sort of traffick would be of vast advantage to mankind. Cacambo was of greater value to Candid, than a dozen of red sheep loaded with the pebbles of Eldorado. Our philosopher began again to taste the pleasure of life. It was a comfort to him to watch for the conservation of the human species, and not to be an useless member of society. God blesses such pure intentions, by giving him as well as Cacambo, the enjoyment of health. They had got rid of the itch, and fulfilled with chearfulness the painful functions of their station; but fortune soon deprived them of the security which they enjoyed. Cunegund, who had set her heart upon tormenting her husband, left Copenhagen to follow his footsteps. Chance brought her to the hospital; she was accompanied by a man, whom Candid knew to be baron Thunder-ton-tronckh. One may easily imagine what must have been his surprise. The baron, who saw him, addressed him thus; I did not tug long at the bar in the Turkish gallies; the Jesuits heard of my misfortune, and redeemed me for the honour of their society. I have made a journey into Germany, where I received some favours from my father's heirs. I omitted nothing to find my sister; and having learned at Constantinople, that she had sailed from thence in a vessel, which was ship-wrecked on the coasts of Denmark, I disguised myself. I took letters of recommendation to Danish merchants, who have correspondence with the society: and in fine, I found
my

my sister, who still loves you, base and unworthy as you are of her regard; and since you have had the impudence to lie with her, I consent to the ratification of the marriage, or rather a new celebration of it, with this express proviso, that my sister shall give you only her left hand; which is very reasonable, since she has seventy-one quarters, and you have never a one. Alas! says Candid, all the quarters of the world without beauty—— Miss Cunegund was very ugly, when I had the imprudence to marry her; she afterwards became handsome again, and another has enjoyed her charms. She is once more grown ugly, and you would have me give her my hand a second time. No, upon my word, my reverend father, send her back to her seraglio at Constantinople; she has done me too much injury in this country. Ungrateful man, says Cunegund, with the most frightful contortions; be persuaded, and relent in time; do not provoke the baron, who is a priest, to kill us both, to work out his disgrace with our blood. Dost thou believe me capable of having failed in intention, to the fidelity which I owed thee? What wouldst thou have had me do, against a man who found me handsome? Neither my tears, nor my cries, could have softened his brutal insensibility. Seeing there was nothing to be done, I disposed myself in such a manner, as to be violated with the least inconveniency possible, and every other woman would have done the same. This is all the crime I have committed, and does not merit thy displeasure. But I know my greatest crime with thee, is having deprived thee of thy mistress; and yet this action ought to convince thee of my love.

Come,

Come, my dear spoufy, if ever I should again become handsome; if ever my breasts, now lank and withered, should recover their roundness and elasticity; if—— it will be only for thee, my dear Candid. We are no longer in Turkey, and I swear faithfully to thee, never to suffer any violation for the future.

This discourse did not make much impression upon Candid; he desired a few hours to take his resolution how to proceed. The baron granted him two hours; during which time, he consulted his friend Cacambo. After having weighed the reasons, *pro* and *contra*, they determined to follow the jesuit and his sister into Germany. They accordingly leave the hospital, and set out together on their travels, not on foot, but on good horses hired by the baron. They arrive on the frontiers of the kingdom. A huge man, of a very villainous aspect, surveys our hero with close attention: it is the very man, says he, casting his eyes at the same time upon a little bit of paper he had in his hand. Sir, if I am not too inquisitive, is not your name Candid? Yes, Sir, so I have always been called. Sir, I flatter myself you are the very same; you have black eye-brows, eyes level with your head, ears not prominent, of a middling size, and a round flesh-coloured visage; to me you plainly appear to be five feet five inches high. Yes, Sir, that is my stature; but what have you to do with my ears and stature? Sir, we cannot use too much circumspection in our office. Permit me further to put one single question more to you: Have not you formerly been a servant to lord Wolhall? Sir, upon my word, answered Candid, quite disconcerted, I know
nothing

nothing of what you mean. May be so, Sir, but I know for certain, that you are the person whose description has been sent me. Take the trouble then to go walk into the guard-house, if you please.—Here, soldiers, take care of this gentleman; get the black-hole ready, and let the armourer be sent for, to make him a pretty little set of fetters of about thirty or forty pounds weight. Mr. Candid, you have a good horse there; I am in want of just such a one; and I fancy he will answer my purpose.—I shall make free with him!

The baron was afraid to say the horse was his. They carried off poor Candid, and Miss Cunegund, wept for a whole quarter of an hour. The Jesuit seemed perfectly unconcerned at this accident. I should have been obliged to have killed him, or to have made him marry you over again, says he to his sister; and all things considered what has just happened, is much the best for the honour of our family. Cunegund departed with her brother, and only the faithful Cacambo remained, who would not not forsake his friend.

OF THE HISTORY OF CANDID, OR THE OPTIMIST.

CHAP. X.

Consequence of Candid's misfortune. How he found his mistress again; and the fortune that happened to him.

OPangloss, said Candid, what a pity it is you perished so miserably! You have been witness only to a part of my misfortunes; and

I hoped to have prevailed on you, to forsake the ill founded opinion which you maintained to your last breath. No man ever suffered greater calamities than I have done; but there is not a single individual who has not cursed his existence, as the daughter of pope Urban warmly expressed herself. What will become of me, my dear Cacambo? Faith, I cannot tell, said Cacambo; all I know is, that I will not forsake you. But Miss Cunegund has forsaken me, says Candid. Alas! a wife is of far less value than a menial servant who is a true friend.

Candid and Cacambo discoursed thus in the black-hole. From thence they were taken out to be carried back to Copenhagen. It was there that our philosopher was to know his doom: he expected it to be dreadful; and our readers, doubtless, expect so too; but Candid was mistaken, as our readers will be likewise. It was at Copenhagen that happiness waited to crown all his sufferings: he was hardly arrived; when he understood that Wolhall was dead. This barbarian had no one to regret him, while every body interested themselves for Candid. His irons were knocked off, and his enlargement gave him so much the more joy, as it was immediately followed by the sight of his dear Zenoida. He flew to her with the utmost transport; they were a long time without speaking a word; but their silence was infinitely more expressive than words. They wept; they embraced each other; they attempted to speak, but tears stopt their utterance. Cacambo was a pleased spectator of this scene so truly interesting to a sensible being; he shared in the happiness of his friend, and was almost

almost as much affected as himself. Dear Cacambo! adorable Zenoida! cried Candid; you efface from my heart the deep traces of my misfortunes. Love and friendship prepare for me future days of serenity and uninterrupted delight. Through what a number of trials have I passed to arrive at this unexpected happiness! But they are all forgot: dear Zenoida; I behold you once more! you love me; every thing is for the best, in regard to me; all is good in nature.

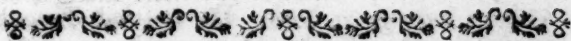
By Wolhall's death, Zenoida was left at her own disposal. The court had given her a pension out of her father's fortune, which had been confiscated; she shared it with Candid and Cacambo; she appointed them apartments in her own house, and gave out that she had received several considerable services from these two strangers, which obliged her to procure them all the comforts and pleasures of life, and to repair the injustice which fortune had done them. There were some who saw thro' the motive of her beneficence; which was no very hard matter to do, considering the great talk her connexion with Candid had formerly occasioned. The greater part blamed her, and her conduct was only approved of by some few who knew how to reflect. Zenoida, who set a proper value on the good opinion even of fools, was nevertheless too happy to repent the loss of it. The news of the death of Miss Cunegund, which was brought by the correspondents of the Jesuit merchants in Copenhagen, procured Zenoida the means of conciliating the minds of people; she ordered a genealogy to be drawn up for Candid. The author, who was a man

of

of abilities in his way, derived his pedigree from one of the most ancient families in Europe; he even pretended his true name was Canute, which was that of one of the former kings of Denmark; which appeared very probable, as *did into ute* is not such a great metamorphosis: and Candid by means of this little change, became a very great lord. He married Zenoida in public; they lived with as much tranquility as it is possible to do. Cacambo was their common friend; and Candid said often, All is not so well as in Eldorado; but all does not go so badly *.

* Our author, in distributing poetical justice among all the personages of his performance, seems to have forgot Martin, one of the most important characters of the whole, whom he had introduced on purpose as a contrast to the character of Pangloss; and in order to profess and inculcate such maxims in philosophy, as the author himself appears to approve.

END of CANDID.



MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

O F

M. DE VOLTAIRE.



L

MISCELLANIES

PLATO'S DREAM

PLATO was a great dreamer, as many of us have been since his time. He dreamt of mankind were formerly couples; and that as a punishment for their crimes, they were divided into male and female.

He undertook to prove that there can be no more than five perfect solids, because there are but five regular mathematical bodies. He published was one of his principal dreams. He dreamt, moreover, that watching and sleep, sleep, and sleep from watching; and that a person who should attempt to look at an object otherwise than a ball of wax, would not be able to do so. Dreams were, at that time, in great reputation.

Here follows one of his dreams, which is one of the least interesting. He dreamt that the great Demagogue, the eternal Governor, having peopled the islands of Icaria with innumerable slaves, was willing to make a trial of the knowledge of the sun, who had been well

MISCELLANIES.

PLATO's DREAM.

PLATO was a great dreamer, as many others have been since his time. He dreamt that mankind were formerly double; and, that as a punishment for their crimes, they were divided into male and female.

He undertook to prove that there can be no more than five perfect worlds, because there are but five regular mathematical bodies. His Republick was one of his principal dreams. He dreamt, moreover, that watching arises from sleep, and sleep from watching; and that a person who should attempt to look at an eclipse, otherwise than in a pail of water, would infallibly lose his sight. Dreams were, at that time, in great reputation.

Here follows one of his dreams, which is not one of the least interesting. He thought that the great Demiurgos, the eternal geometer, having peopled the immensity of space with innumerable globes, was willing to make a tryal of the knowledge of the genii, who had been wit-

nesses of his works. He gave to each of them a small portion of matter to arrange, nearly in the same manner as Phidias and Zeuxis would have given their scholars a statue or a picture to make, if we may be allowed to compare small things to great.

Demogorgon had for his lot the lump of mould, which we call the earth, and having formed it, such as it now appears, he thought he had executed a master-piece. He imagined he had silenced Envy herself, and expected to receive the highest panegyrics, even from his brethren; but how great was his surprise, when, at his next appearing among them, they received him with a general hiss.

One amongst them, more satirical than the rest, accosted him thus: "Truly you have performed mighty feats! you have divided your world into two parts; and, lest the one should have any communication with the other, you have carefully placed a vast collection of waters between the two hemispheres. The inhabitants must perish with cold under both your poles, and be scorched to death under the line. You have, in your great prudence, formed immense deserts of sands, for all who travel over them to die with hunger and thirst. I have no fault to find with your cows, your sheep, your cocks, and your hens; but can never be reconciled to your serpents, and your spiders. Your onions and your artichokes are very good things, but I cannot conceive what whim took you in the head to scatter such an heap of poisonous plants over the face of your earth, unless it was to poison its inhabitants. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, you have created about thirty different kinds of
6 monkeys,

monkeys, a still greater number of dogs, and only four or five species of the human race. It is true indeed you have bestowed on the latter of these animals, a somewhat, by you called Reason; but, in truth, this same reason is a very ridiculous thing, and borders very near upon folly. Besides, you do not seem to have shewn any very great regard to this two-legged creature, seeing you have made him with so few means of defence; subjected him to so many disorders, and provided him with so few remedies; and formed him with such a multitude of passions, and so small a portion of wisdom or prudence to resist them. You certainly was not willing that there should remain any great number of these animals on the earth at once; for, without reckoning the dangers to which you have exposed them, you have so ordered matters, that, taking every day through the year, the small-pox will regularly carry off the tenth part of the species, and its sister malady will taint the springs of life in the nine remaining parts; and then, as if this was not sufficient, you have so disposed things, that one-half of those who survive will be occupied in going to law with each other, or cutting one another's throats. Now, they must doubtless have infinite obligations to you, and it must be owned you have executed a master-piece."

Demogorgon blushed: he was sensible there was much moral and physical evil in this affair; but still he insisted there was more good than ill in it. "It is an easy matter to find fault, good folks!" said the genie; "but do you imagine it is so easy to form an animal, who, having the gift of reason and free-will, shall not sometimes abuse his liberty? Do you think, that, in rear-

ing between nine and ten thousand different plants, it is so easy to prevent some few from having noxious qualities? Do you suppose, that with a certain quantity of water, sand, and mud, you could make a globe that should have neither seas or deserts? As to you, my sneering friend, I think you have just finished the planet Mars. Let us see now what figure you make with your two great belts and your long nights without a moon to enlighten them. Let us examine your world, and see whether the inhabitants you have made are exempt from follies or diseases."

Accordingly the genii fell to examining the planet Mars, when the laugh went strongly against the laughers. The serious genie who had made the planet Saturn, did not escape without his share of censure; and his brother operators, the makers of Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus, had each in their turns some reproaches to undergo.

Several large volumes, and a great number of pamphlets, were wrote on this occasion; smart sayings and witty repartees flew about on all sides; they railed against and ridiculed each other; and, in short, the disputes were carried on with all the warmth of party heat, when the eternal Demiurgos thus imposed silence on them all: "In your several performances there is both good and bad, because you have a great share of understanding, but at the same time fall short of perfection. Your works will not endure above an hundred million of years, after which you will acquire more knowledge, and perform better. It belongs to me alone to create things perfect and immortal."

This was the doctrine Plato taught his disciples. One of them, when he had finished his harangue, cried out, *and so then you awoke.*

A LETTER from the AUTHOR to
Mr. S. GRAVESAND, Professor of
Mathematics.

I RETURN you thanks, Sir, for the figure you have been so obliging to send me of the instrument which you make use of to fix the image of the sun. I intend to have one made upon your plan, which will save me much difficulty and trouble, as I am but awkward, and find a great inconvenience in making use of my glasses in my dark apartment. As the sun advances, the colours vanish, and resemble the affairs of this world, which are not an instant together in the same situation. I have given the name of *Sta Sol* to your instrument. You are the only person since Joshua who has been able to fix the sun.

The same packet brought me the book which I desired of you, in which my adversary and that of all philosophers employs about three hundred pages on the subject of some of Pascal's thoughts, that I examined in the compass of little more than a sheet. I still abide by what I there said, viz. that the fault of most books is their being too long. A writer, who has reason on his side, will always be concise; but very little reason, and a great deal of abuse, have swelled his book to above three hundred pages.

I was always of opinion that Pascal threw his thoughts upon paper with an intention to revise them, and reject such as he thought unnecessary. Our critic will not believe any thing of the mat-

ter. He insists that Pascal was fond of all his notions, and that he would not have retrenched a single one. But he would be greatly surprised, did he know that the editors themselves suppressed at least half of them; and still more so, was he to see those which father des Mollets recovered a few years since, written in Pascal's own hand, and which are to be found in a work entitled *Recueil de Littérature*.

Men of forcible imaginations, like Mr. Pascal, pronounce with a kind of despotic authority; the weak and ignorant listen with a servile admiration, while those of a sound understanding carefully examine.

Mr. Pascal, some time before his death, constantly thought he saw a horrible abyss yawning by the side of his chair. Are we for that reason to imagine the same? As for me, I behold an abyss likewise; but it is in those things which he thought he had explained. You may find in Leibnitz's miscellaneous works, that Pascal's reason was at length totally impaired by a settled melancholy; and this he relates in somewhat too harsh a manner. However, it is nothing extraordinary that a man of so delicate a constitution and serious turn of thinking as Pascal was, should by an improper way of living disorder the organs of reason. This malady is neither more surprising nor more humiliating than the small-pox or fever. When the great Pascal stooped beneath its attack, he might be compared to Sampson, who had lost his strength. I do not know what name to give to the disease with which our doctor was attacked, who argued against me with so much bitterness; but he is miserably mistaken

in all points, and more especially in relation to the state of the question.

My trifling remarks on Mr. Pascal's thoughts are all founded on this maxim, that we ought fully to believe in original sin, because faith ordains it; but still more, because our reason is absolutely incapable of demonstrating to us the fall of human nature, revelation alone being able to teach it us. Plato lost himself in this subject. How could he know that mankind were formerly handsomer, bigger, stronger, or more happy, than at present; that they had a pair of beautiful wings, or that they got children without the help of women?

All those who have had recourse to natural philosophy, to prove the decay of this little globe of ours, have had as bad success as Plato. Observe those deformed mountains, cried they, those vast seas, which break in upon the earth in so many parts, and those lakes which have no vent for their waters. These are the ruins of a world accursed. But, upon a nearer examination, it has been found that those mountains were necessary to furnish us with rivers and mines, and are the perfections of a world blessed by its Creator. In like manner, does my censor assert, that our lives are very short in comparison of those of crows and stags; for he has heard his nurse say that a stag lives three hundred years, and a crow nine hundred. Hesiod's nurse, in all probability, had told him the same story; but Mr. Doctor has only to enquire of the first sportsman he meets, and he will tell him that a stag rarely lives above twenty years. He may harangue as long and as learnedly as he pleases; man is the animal of all others to which the Cre-

ator has given the longest life, and I should be very glad if he could shew me a crow an hundred and two years old, as were Mr. St. Aulaire and Mademoiselle de Chaucloy, when they died.

It is an unaccountable whim in those gentlemen, who are for having mankind miserable, right or wrong. I do not like those quack-doctors, who go about to persuade me I am ill, on purpose to make me buy their pills. Keep your drugs, friend, I should say, and leave me my health; but prithee do not abuse me, because I am in good health, and will not take your medicines. This man, however, has abused me in the grossest manner, according to the laudable custom of those people who have not the laugh on their side. He has found out in some journal certain letters on the nature of the soul, which I never wrote, and which were published under my name by the bookseller, as many other things have been that I never read. But as this gentleman does, he might have easily perceived that these letters could never have been mine, and that there are whole pages borrowed word for word from what I formerly wrote upon Locke. It is very plain that some one has robbed me; for my part, I never commit such thefts, poor and indigent as I may be.

The doctor takes infinite pains to prove, that the soul is a spirit. May be so; but really the arguments he brings to prove it are very doubtful. He wants to abuse Locke under my name, because that great writer has said, that God is sufficiently powerful to give matter the power of thinking. The more I read Mr. Locke, the more I wish those gentlemen would study him. He seems to me to have acted like Augustus, who
issued

issued an edict *de coercendo intra fines imperio*.
 “He has confined the empire of knowledge, to
 give it the greater strength.” What is the soul?
 I do not know. What is matter? I do not
 know. But he will tell me that Joseph Godfrey
 Leibnitz has lately discovered, that matter is an
 assemblage of monadical particles. Be it so. I
 understand nothing of the matter, nor he nei-
 ther. Or, supposing my soul to be a monadical
 particle, have I gained surprising knowledge?
 Ay! but I’ll prove to you that you are immortal,
 quoth my friend the doctor. Upon my word, I
 shall be very much obliged to you, doctor; for I
 have as great a desire of immortality as yourself.
 It was to attain it that I wrote the *Henriad*.
 But the good man thinks himself much more
 sure of immortality by his arguments, than I by
 my *Henriad*.

Vanitas vanitatum metaphysica vanitas.

We are formed to count, measure, and weigh.
 This Newton has done, and this you and Mr.
 Muschembroeck do; but as to the first principles
 of things, we know no more of them than
 Epistemon, or Master Edituus.

Those philosophers who form systems on the
 hidden construction of the universe, are like our
 travellers, who, when they have been at Constan-
 tinople, pretend to give a description of the se-
 raglio, and how the sultan and his favourites pass
 their time there; when, the truth is, they never
 saw any thing more than the outside of its walls.

Permit me, Sir, to take my leave; if any-one
 has a little insight into these matters, it is yourself;
 as for the gentleman who has passed censure on
 me, he is absolutely blind. I have the honour of

so being myself; but then it is not in quite so gross a manner: however, I am not so void of sight but I can perceive all your merit; and you know how truly sensible I am of the pleasure of your friendship.

*At Cirey, June 1,
1741.*

I am, &c.



ANSWER to Mr. MARTIN KAHLE,
Professor and Dean of the Philo-
sophers of Gottingen, in relation
to the above metaphysical Que-
stions.

MR. DEAN,

IT is with pleasure I take this opportunity of informing the public, that you have wrote a small book against me; in the seventeenth page of which you condemn the proof of the existence of a God drawn from final causes. If you had reasoned in this manner at Rome, the reverend father Jacobin, master of the sacred palace, would have sent you to the inquisition. Had you written against a divine of Paris, he would have caused your proposition to have been censured by the Sacred Faculty; or if against an enthusiast, he would have abused you, &c. &c. But I, who have not the honour to be neither Jacobin, divine, or enthusiast, shall leave you to enjoy your opinion, and abide by my own. I shall always be of opinion, that a clock proves the
existence

existence of a clock-maker, and the universe that of a God. I could wish you rightly understood yourself what you say concerning space and duration, the necessity of matter, monadical particles, and pre-established harmony; and beg leave to refer you to what I have written on this subject in the last new edition of my works, where I have endeavoured to understand myself what I was writing, which, I assure you, is no small matter in metaphysics.

By way of illustrating the doctrine of space and infinity, you quote the Medea of Sophocles, Cicero's Philippics, Ovid's Metamorphoses, some verses of the duke of Buckingham, and of Gombaud, Regnier, Rapin, and others. Now, Sir, you must give me leave to tell you, I know as much of poetry as yourself, am as fond of it as you can possibly be, and that, if the business was to cap verses, there would be fine sport between us; but I think they are of very little use in explaining a question in metaphysics, even though written by Lucretius, or the cardinal de Polignac. However, if you can really comprehend any thing of monadical particles, pre-established harmony, and the quoting of verses,

*Si Monsieur le Doyen peut jamais concevoir,
Comment tout étant plein a pu se mouvoir*.*

If you can also discover how absolute necessity admits of free will in man, you will do me infinite pleasure to communicate it to me: likewise if you will inform me when you shall have demonstrated, either in verse or prose, the reason

* "If Mr. Dean can or conceive or prove,
"How in a plenum aught has power to move."

why

why mankind cut one another's throats in the best of all possible worlds, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

I impatiently expect your arguments, your verses, and your invectives; and in the mean time protest to you, from the bottom of my soul, that neither you nor I know any thing concerning the matter in question. Nevertheless, I have the honour to be, &c.



A SHORT ANSWER to the LONG DISCOURSES of a GERMAN DOCTOR.

I BETOOK myself to the study of philosophy, in hopes of finding that repose which Sir Isaac Newton calls *rem prorsus substantialem*; but I found that the square root of the cube of the revolutions of the planets, and the squares of their distances, still made me enemies; I perceived that I had drawn upon me the indignation of certain German Doctors, for daring to measure the force of bodies in motion by $m \times v$, and having had the insolence to doubt not only monadical particles, and pre-established harmony, but even of the great principle of the indiscernabilia. How then could I hope for rest, notwithstanding the sincere respect I have for the fine genius of Leibnitz, after having thus attempted to shake the foundations of nature? My antagonists have, in order to convince me, employed an abundance of sophistry, and a still greater abundance of
gross

gross abuse, agreeable to the laudable custom long introduced into that science, which we call *Philosophy*; that is to say, *the Love of Wisdom*.

It is true that a certain person, infinitely reputable on all accounts, and who has many different kinds of understanding, has been pleased to employ one of them in explaining and embellishing the system of Mr. Leibnitz, and raising a beautiful portico before this vast and confused pile of building. I was surprised to find, that, while I admired, I could not believe him; but at length I discovered the reason: it was because he did not believe it himself; and this frequently happens among those who think they have an intention to persuade, and those who strive to be persuaded.

The further I proceed in this matter, the more I am confirmed in my notion that metaphysical systems are, with regard to philosophers, what romances are to women. They have all their day, and afterwards sink into utter oblivion. A mathematical truth will remain to eternity, while metaphysical phantoms vanish like the dreams of a sick man.

When I was in England, I could not have the satisfaction of seeing the great Newton, who was then drawing near to his end. The famous Samuel Clark, rector of St. James, who was the friend, the pupil, and the commentator of Newton, did me the favour to give me some instructions in that part of philosophy, which aims at heights above calculation and the senses. I did not indeed find that circumspect dissection of the human understanding, that blind man's staff, with which the modest Lock felt out his way, and found it; in a word, that learned timidity
which

which stopped him on the brink of the abyss. Clark boldly leaped into this abyss, and I had the presumption to think of following him. One day that we were busied in these deep researches, that delight the soul by their immensity, I said to a very worthy and learned member of the Royal Society, then present, Mr. Clark is a much greater metaphysician than Sir Isaac Newton. May be so, replied he coolly, but you might as well say, one plays better at foot-ball than the other. This answer made me enter into myself. I have since ventured to pierce one of these metaphysical balls, and I found that nothing came out but wind. And Mr. S. Gravesand, in answer to my letter, wherein I had this expression, *Vanitas vanitatum, metaphysica vanitas*; observed that he was sorry to own I was in the right.

Father Mallebranche, in his *Recherche de la Vérité*, conceiving that nothing could be more beautiful or useful than his system, expresses himself thus. "Man was not made to employ his time in examining gnats and flies, and we cannot approve of the pains that some persons are at to inform us of the make of certain insects, the transformation of worms, &c. It is allowable to amuse ourselves in this manner, when we have nothing else to do, and purely as a pastime." And yet, this *amusement*, purely for the sake of *amusing ourselves*, hath laid open to us the inexhaustible stores of Nature, by which she can restore to some animals the members they have lost; can produce new heads, after the former have been cut off; gives to this insect the power of joining itself, the instant after its head has been separated from its body, and permits others

to multiply their species without the commerce of the sexes. This *kind of amusement* has discovered a new world in miniature, and an infinite variety of wisdom and power ; while father Malbranche, after forty years painful study, has been only able to find out, that “light is a vibration of pressure on the little soft vortices ; and that we see every thing in God.”

I have said that Sir Isaac Newton had his doubts ; upon which my antagonists cry out, Oh ! we have no doubts, we know for certain that the soul is a certain something, destined of necessity to receive some certain ideas ; at the same time, that the body necessarily performs some certain motions, while neither of them have the least influence over each other ; in the same manner, as when one man preaches, and another makes gestures to him, and this is called pre-established harmony. We know that matter is composed of beings, which are not matter, and that the foot of a mite contains an infinite number of substances, which have no extent, every one of which has confused ideas ; which altogether compose a concentric mirror of the whole universe, and this is called the system of monadical particles. We also have a perfect and clear conception of the agreement of free-will and absolute necessity ; we also very well understand how all the parts of a plenum can be in motion. Happy geniuses, who can thus comprehend things so little comprehensible, and who perceive a different universe from that which we inhabit !

I am highly delighted to hear a doctor saying with a magisterial and ironical tone of voice, “You are all mistaken, you do not know that
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it has been lately discovered, that, 'what is possible to be, and that every thing that is possible to be, does not actually exist; and that every thing that does actually exist is possible, and that the essence of things never change.' Would to God the essence of doctors would change! And so then you inform us that there are essences; well, and I inform you that neither you nor I have the honour of knowing them: I also inform you that there never was, nor never will be, a man upon earth, who either has known or will know what matter is, what is the principle of life and sensation, what the soul of man is; whether there are souls, whose nature it is to feel only without reasoning, or to reason only without feeling, or to do neither the one nor the other; whether what is called matter has sensation, in the same manner as it has gravitation, with a multitude of other *ifs* and *whethers*.

As to the controversy about measuring the impetus of moving bodies, it appears to me to be only a dispute about words, and I am sorry there should be such things in the science of mathematics. Whether we reckon by $m \times v$, or by $m \times v^2$, it will make no alteration in the mechanical part, the same number of horses will always be necessary for such weight, the same charge of powder for guns of such a caliber, so that this dispute is in fact the opprobrium of geometry.

And yet would to heaven there were no other disputes amongst mankind, we should be angels upon earth. But do we not somewhat resemble the devils in Milton, who, though tormented with rage, envy, hatred, yet employ themselves

selves in reasoning upon metaphysical subjects in the midst of their torments.

— — — and reason'd high,
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end—



A LETTER, CONCERNING ROGER BACON.

YOU are of opinion, Sir, that Roger Bacon, (or, as he is commonly called, friar Bacon) the famous monk, who lived in the 13th century, was a very great man, and was possessed of the true knowledge, because he was persecuted and imprisoned at Rome, by a set of ignorant people. This is a great presumption in his favour, I must allow. But do we not every day see one quack gravely condemned by his brother quack; and one fool imposing fines and punishments on another? This world of ours, my friend, has long been a kind of mad-house, in which one who thinks himself God the Father, anathematizes him who thinks himself God the Holy Ghost, and these instances are far from being very scarce now-a-days.

Amongst other things, which rendered him justly estimable, we must first reckon his sufferings, and then the noble boldness with which he declared,

declared, that all Aristotle's writings were fit only to be burnt, and this at a time when the scholiasts revered Aristotle more than even the Jansenists do St. Augustin. Yet after all Bacon has in none of his performances excelled the Art of Poetry, the Rhetoric, and the Logic of Aristotle. These three immortal works prove beyond contradiction that Aristotle had a very noble and extensive, penetrating and methodical genius; and that he was a bad natural philosopher from no other reason, but that it was impossible to dive into the depths of natural philosophy without the assistance of instruments.

Does Bacon in his best work, wherein he treats of light and vision, express himself in a much clearer manner, than Aristotle, where he says, "Light generates its luminous species by way of multiplication; and this action is called repulsion, and conformable to the acting force, there is another multiplication, which is equivocal, and by which light begets heat, and heat putrefaction."

In another place, he tells you that a man may prolong his life by the use of spermaceti, aloes, and the flesh of a dragon; but he can give himself immortality, by means of the philosopher's stone. You may easily imagine that he, who was possessed of these curious secrets, could not but be well acquainted with every arcana in judicial astrology, without exception. Accordingly, we find him positively asserting in his *Opus Majus*, that the head is under the influence of the ram, the neck is governed by the bull, and the arms are under the power of the twins, &c. He even pretends to prove these curious matters from experience, and bestows many encomiums on a great and learned astrologer of

Paris.

Paris, who, as he says, hindered a physician from applying a plaister to the leg of his patient, because the sun was then in the sign Aquarius, and that sign is particularly fatal to the legs, when plaisters are put upon them.

It is a common received opinion that this Bacon was the inventor of gunpowder. It is certain, that, in his time, they had made large steps towards this horrible discovery; for I have made it my constant observation that the spirit of invention is of all ages, and that, however stupid or ignorant those doctors may be who have the direction of our minds and bodies, however industriously they may labour to establish the most senseless prejudices, or to banish common sense from amongst them, there will always be found some obscure personages, some artists endued with a superior degree of instinct, who invent admirable things, on which the learned afterwards reason.

Here follows word for word the famous passage in Bacon touching gunpowder: it is in the London edition of his *Opus Majus*, page 474. "Wild-fire cannot without great difficulty be extinguished; for water will not do it, &c."

Here it plainly appears that Bacon was acquainted only with this common experiment of putting a hollow globe filled with saltpetre on the fire. But there is a great distance between that and gunpowder, of which Bacon never makes the least mention in any of his works, but which was invented soon after his time.

I am however more surpris'd, that he did not know the direction of the compass-needle, which in his time began to be known in Italy: but to make amends he was well acquainted with the
nature

nature of the hazel-wand, and other matters of the same stamp, of which he treats in his *Dignity of Experimental Philosophy*.

But, notwithstanding the astonishing number of absurdities and chimeras, with which his writings abound, it must be confessed that Bacon was a wonderful genius for the age he lived in. The age he lived in ! you will say, why was it not that of the feudal government, and of scholiasts ? Figure to yourself a set of savages reading Aristotle and Avicen : such were we at that time.

Bacon knew something of geometry and optics, and this made him pass for a necromancer at Rome and at Paris. And yet his knowledge went no farther than what was found in the Arabian writer Alazer ; for, in those days, we knew nothing but what we learnt from those people. They were physicians and astrologers to all the crowned heads in Christendom. The king's fool was always of his own nation ; but his doctor must necessarily be an Arabian or a Jew.

Was Bacon to appear amongst us, even in this enlightened age, he would still be a great man. He was a lump of gold, defiled with all the dross of the times he lived in, and this gold is now cleansed and purified.

Poor mortals that we are ! how many ages have we taken to acquire a little knowledge and reason !

ON THE
 ANTI-LUCRETIVS
 OF
 CARDINAL de POLIGNAC.

AFTER reading the whole of the late cardinal de Polignac's poem, I was confirm'd in the opinion I had entertain'd of it, when his excellency did me the honour to read me the first canto. It is matter of great surpris how any one, in the midst of so many and so troublesome avocations, should have had either leisure or inclination to compose so long a work in verse, and in a foreign language, when, at the same time, he was not capable of writing four good lines of poetry in his own tongue. He appears to me to have united the fire of Lucretius with the elegance of Virgil; I especially admire in him that extreme ease, with which he always expresses the most difficult things.

His Anti-Lucretius may perhaps be somewhat too loose, and want that variety which generally pleases; but in this place I examine it as a philosopher not as a poet. I cannot but think that so noble a soul as his ought to have done more justice to the morals of Epicurus, who, though undoubtedly a very bad natural philosopher, was nevertheless a good man, and carefully taught the principles of benignity, temperance, and moderation; virtues which he rendered still more amiable by his example than his precepts.

And yet we find this great man thus called upon in the Anti-Lucretius,

Si virtutis eras avidus, &c.

But Epicurus might, with great justice, have made the cardinal the following reply: Had it been my happy lot, as it was yours, to have known the true God; had I, like you, been born in a pure and holy faith; I should certainly never have rejected the revelation of this God, to whose doctrine, though my understanding was a stranger, my heart avowed its moral principles. I never could admit a belief of the deities, such as they were revealed to me by the pagan religion. I had too enlightened a reason to adore deities, who were born of a father and mother, like mortals, and made war against each other. I was too much a lover of virtue, not to detest a religion, that, at one time, encouraged the commission of sin by the example of the gods themselves, and at another sold for money the remission of the most flagrant and unnatural crimes. On the one hand, I beheld mankind in general deformed with vice, and endeavouring to render themselves pure in the sight of deities as impure as themselves; while, on the other, I beheld a designing set of men, who boasted in justifying the most wicked actions, either by initiating those who committed them into the holy mysteries, or by dropping on them the blood of heifers, or by plunging them in the waters of the Ganges. I saw the most unjust wars undertaken with a shew of religion. If the liver of a victim happened to be without a blemish, or that a woman with dishevelled hair and a distracted countenance, uttered certain words which neither

neither herself nor any of the bye-standers understood. In a word, I saw the whole earth stained with the blood of human victims, that the inhuman high-priests poured out in sacrifices to their inhuman deities. I glory in the abhorrence I shewed to such a religion. Mine was that of virtue: I invited my disciples to withdraw themselves from any commerce with a world that was so badly governed. A true Epicurian was a mild, moderate, just, and amiable being, who gave offence to no community of people, and who never kept executioners in pay to murder, in the face of the world, those who did not happen to think as he did. How inconsiderable then is the difference between your religion and mine? I overturned the worship of false gods; and, had I lived when you did, I should have acknowledged the true one."

Nearly in this manner might Epicurus have endeavoured to justify his errors: he might even claim a right to pardon for having opposed the immortality of the soul, by saying, I am to be pitied, rather than condemned, for having opposed a truth which God did not think proper to reveal till five hundred years after my death. I thought in the same manner with all the law-givers of the heathen world, who were equally ignorant of the truth with myself.

I could therefore have wished that cardinal de Polignac had lamented Epicurus for his error, at the same time that he condemned him; and such a turn of thought was by no means incompatible with the beauties of poetry.

With regard to natural philosophy, I think the author has wasted much time, and many good verses, in refuting the declension of atoms, and

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other absurdities with which Lucretius's poem swarms. This is like levelling a cannon against an ant-hill. Besides, what reason could he have for combating the dreams of Lucretius, only to substitute those of Descartes in their place?

Cardinal de Polignac has, in the course of his poem, introduced some very beautiful verses upon the discoveries of the great Newton; but, unhappily for him, he there opposes demonstrated truths. The Newtonian philosophy is not to be discussed in verse; we can hardly investigate it in prose. It is founded wholly on geometry, which eludes the grasp of a poetical genius. Poetry may, indeed, embellish the outside of the system; but those who mean to dive into the truths it contains, must have recourse to calculations, and not to verse.

A DIS-

A DISSERTATION

On the Changes that have happened in our Globe, and on the Petrifications which are alledged as Proofs thereof; written originally in Italian, and sent by the Author to the Academy of Bologna, and since translated by him into French.

THERE are certain errors which belong alone to the common people; there are others which are confined to philosophers. In this latter class we may perhaps rank the notion which prevails amongst the generality of natural philosophers, that the earth almost every-where affords proofs of a once total subversion. In the mountains of Hesse, there has been found a stone which had the impression of a turbot, and a petrified pike-fish was found in one of the Alps. From hence it has been taken for granted, that the mountains we now see have been formerly covered with seas and rivers; whereas it is much more natural to suppose, that these fish had been brought thither by some traveller, who, finding them spoiled, threw them away, and, in process of time, they became petrified; but this notion would have been too simple, and not have left sufficient room for hypothesis. Ay! but a ship's anchor has been found upon one of the moun-

rains of Switzerland ! Indeed ! and might it not have been brought there like many other heavy burdens, and even as cannon have been, by hand, and afterwards used to stop some very weighty load from sliding down the declivity of the rock ; or might not this very anchor have been brought from the little sea-port in the lake of Geneva ? or, after all, may not the story itself of the anchor be false ? Undoubtedly ; but then it has been thought more proper to affirm, that this was the anchor of some vessel that had been moored in Switzerland before the Deluge.

There is some resemblance between the tongue of a sea-dog and a stone called *Glossopetra*. This is enough to persuade a naturalist that these stones have been all tongues of sea-dogs left in the Apennines in Noah's time. Why do they not, at the same time, affirm, that the shells called *Concha Veneris* are the very thing whose name they bear ?

Almost all reptiles are of a spiral form when not in motion ; and it is nothing wonderful, that, when they are petrified, they should retain the same uncooth figure ; and it is altogether natural for stones themselves to be formed in this shape : the Alps and the Vorgian mountains are full of such. Now, it has pleased naturalists to give the name of *Cornu Ammonis*, or Ammon Horn, to these stones ; and they pretend to discover therein the fish called *Nautilus*, which they never saw, and which is said to be bred in the Indian seas ; and, without the trouble of examining whether this petrified body is a *Nautilus* or an eel, they conclude that the Indian sea has formerly overflowed the mountains of Europe.

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There have been also found, in some of the provinces of France and Italy, certain small shells that are positively said to be natives of the Syrian sea. I am in no disposition to contest their origin; but why may it not be remembered, that the innumerable crouds of pilgrims and crusaders, who carried money into the Holy Land, brought back with them a number of shells? or is it more eligible to believe, that the seas of Joppa and Sidon came and covered the whole country of Burgundy and the Milanese?

We might, indeed, chuse whether we would credit either of these hypotheses; and rather think, with many naturalists, that these shells, that are supposed to have been transferred from such a distance, are fossils, which are produced by the earth in these climates. Again; we might, with an equal degree of probability, conjecture, that the places where these shells are found were formerly covered with lakes or collections of water: but whichever opinion or error we may adopt, these shells are by no means a proof that the whole universe has been turned upside down.

The hills about Calais and Dover are rocks of chalk; therefore these hills have been formerly undivided by water. The soil about Gibraltar and Tangiers is nearly of the same nature; therefore Afric and Europe were formerly joined, and there was no Mediterranean Sea. The Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Appennines, have been thought by several philosophers to be the ruins of a world that has undergone a number of changes. This opinion was strongly maintained by the whole Pythagorian school, as well as by many others. They likewise affirm,

that the earth we at present inhabit was formerly a sea, and that the sea was for a long time dry land.

Ovid is well known to have spoke the opinions of the naturalists of the East, in the lines he puts into the mouth of Pythagoras.

This was in fact the opinion of Pythagoras and the Indians, and it is doing him no injustice to relate it in verse. This opinion has gained particular credit by those heaps or beds of shells that are found under-ground in Calabria, Touraine, and other places at a considerable distance from the sea; and there is some reason to believe that they have been deposited there in a long succession of years.

The sea, which has retired several leagues from its antient shores in some places, has in others made considerable encroachments upon the land. But from this almost imperceptible loss, many have thought they had a right to conclude that the sea did for a long time cover the rest of the globe. Frejus, Narbonne, Ferrara, and some others, are no longer sea-ports; one half of the country of East-Friesland was overflowed by the ocean; therefore it follows, that for several ages whales have sported upon Mount Taurus and the Alps, and man inhabited the bed of the ocean.

This hypothesis of the natural revolutions that have happened in this world, has been strengthened in the minds of some philosophers by the discovery made by the chevalier de Louville, a famous astronomer, who, as is well known, in the year 1714, set out from Marseilles on purpose to discover by observations whether an angle
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of the ecliptic with the equator was the same as it had been fixed by Pitheas about two thousand years before. He found it less by twenty minutes; that is to say, the ecliptic had, according to his observations, in the space of two thousand years, approached nearer to the equator by one third of a degree; which proves, that in six thousand years it will be nearer by a whole degree.

This supposed, it is evident that the earth, besides its known motions, must have another, by which it is made to revolve round itself from one pole to another. It will be found, that, in the space of 23,000 years, the sun will continue for a great length of time on the equator; and, in a period of two millions of years, all the climates in the world will have been in their turns under the torrid and the frigid zones. But what occasion, you will say, to alarm one's self about what is to happen two millions of years hence? There is probably a much longer period between the positions of the planets, with regard to each other. We already know the earth has a motion which is completed in 25,000 years, called the precession of the equinoxes. Revolutions of thousands of millions of years are infinitely less in the sight of the Great Architect of Nature, than to us that of a wheel which compleats its round in the twinkling of an eye. This new period, invented by the chevalier de Louville, which has been corrected and supported by several astronomers, has occasioned search to be made after the antient Babylonish observations transmitted to the Greeks by Alexander, and preserved to posterity by Ptolomy in his *Almagest*.

The Babylonians in Alexander's time pretended to have astronomical observations for upwards of 400,300 years. It was endeavoured to reconcile these Babylonish calculations with the hypothesis of the revolution of two millions of years. At length, some philosophers concluded, that, all the climates having been each in their turn the Pole, and the Equinoctial Line, all the seas must likewise have changed places.

Extraordinary and great changes in nature are objects, which will always please the imaginations of the wisest men. Philosophers are as fond of a change of scene in the universe, as the common people are of those on the stage. Our imagination, taking its flight from the point of existence and duration, launches into millions of ages, to contemplate with a secret pleasure Canada under the Equator, and the seas of Nova Zembla covering the top of mount Atlas.

A certain author in his theory of the earth, a work more famous than instructive, pretends that the deluge subverted our whole globe, and from its ruins made the rocks and mountains we now see, and threw every thing into a state of irreparable confusion: in short, he looks upon the universe as one great heap of ruins. The author of another theory, no less famous, sees nothing therein but the utmost order, and affirms, that, without the deluge, such noble harmony could never have subsisted: both writers allow the mountains to be the consequences of an universal inundation.

Burnet, the first of these authors, tells us for certain in his fifth chapter, that before the deluge the earth was compact, regular, uniform, and

and without hills, vallies, or seas. According to him, the deluge caused all these; and this is a reason why we find the *Cornea Ammonies* in the Appennine mountains.

Woodward, the other theorist, condescends to allow that there were mountains before the deluge; but it is very certain that it dissolved all the different metals, and formed others, and that this is the reason, why in this new earth of ours, we so frequently find flints, that were softened by the water, and appear now full of petrified animals. Woodward might have been convinced, if he pleased, that water will not dissolve marble, flint, or the like substances; and that the rocks which are constantly washed by the sea, still retain their hardness; but no matter. His hypothesis required, that the water should have a power of dissolving, in the space of one hundred and fifty days, all the stones and minerals in the world, to lodge a few oysters and periwinkles in them.

It would require more time than the waters continued upon the face of the earth to read all the authors who have formed hypotheses on this subject. Every one of them destroys and new-moulds the earth, in the same manner as Descartes has created his after his own fancy; for the greatest part of your philosophers put themselves without any ceremony in the place of the deity, and imagine they can create a world by their bidding.

Far be it from me to think of copying their example; I have not the vanity to think I shall ever be able to discover the means made use of by the creator to form the world, to drown, or to preserve it. I confine myself to the scripture-

word, without attempting to explain it, or admitting of what it does not say. I only desire to be permitted to examine, according to the rules of probability, whether this globe either has been, or will one day be, entirely different from what it now is. And here we have nothing more to do, than make use of our eye-sight.

In the first place, I shall examine those mountains, which doctor Burnet, and many others, look upon as the ruins of the old world scattered up and down, without order or design, like those ruins of a city bombarded by an enemy. And here I, on the contrary, perceive them to be disposed with infinite regularity, from one end of the world to the other. They are in fact a chain of high inexhaustible aqueducts, which, by dividing in several places, make room for the entrance of rivers, and arms of the sea to moisten the earth.

From the Cape of Good Hope there runs a continued chain of rocks, which stoop to give passage to the Niger and the Zair, and then rise again under the name of Mount Atlas, whilst the Nile falls down from another branch of those mountains. A narrow arm of the sea separates Mount Atlas from the promontory of Gibraltar, and it is afterwards joined to the Sierra Morena; this latter joins to the Pyrenees, these to the Cevennes, the Cevennes to the Alps, and the Alps to the Apennines, which run as far as the kingdom of Naples; over against them are the mountains of Epirus and Thessaly. As soon as you have passed the straits of Gallipoli, you meet with Mount Tauros, whose branches, under the names of Caucassus, Immaus, &c. stretch

to the extremities of the globe. Thus the earth is crowned in every sense of the word, with these reservoirs of water, which furnish, without exception, all the rivers, that bedew and fertilize it; nor does the sea furnish a single brook of its salt fluid to any one of its shores.

Burnet caused a map of the earth to be engraved, divided into mountains, instead of provinces. By this, and his representations, he endeavours all he can to give us an idea of the most terrible confusion; but, both his own map and his own words, do, in spite of himself, give us to understand the utmost harmony and utility.

“The Andes, says he, in America are a thousand leagues, (3000 miles) the Taurus divides Asia into two parts, &c. could any man take in these at one view, he would be perfectly convinced that the globe of the earth is more deformed than can be imagined.” On the contrary, it is certain, that could any reasonable man at one view behold both hemispheres crossed by a regular chain of mountains, serving as reservoirs to the rains, and sources to the rivers; he must acknowledge, in all this pretended confusion, the wisdom and paternal care of a divine Being.

There is not one climate on the earth, without a mountain and a river springing from it. This chain of hills is an essential part in the great machine of the world. Without them no terrestrial animal could live, for want of the water they furnish, which is drawn up out of the sea, and purified by a perpetual exhalation; this vapour is carried by the wind to the tops of the hills, from whence it falls down again in rivers, and it is demonstrable that this exhalation

is so great as to suffice both for forming rivers, and furnishing rain.

Another hypothesis, which supposes that in the before-mentioned period of two millions of years, the axis of the earth, by continually rising upwards, and revolving round itself, has forced the ocean out of its bed; this hypothesis, I say, is equally contrary to natural philosophy with the others. A motion by which the axis of the earth is elevated only ten minutes in a thousand years, does not appear sufficiently violent to destroy the globe. This motion, supposing it really to exist, would certainly leave the mountains in their places; and, to say the truth, I do not see any appearance of the Alps, or Mount Caucasus having been brought to the places where they now are, either by degrees, or instantly from the coasts of Cafrania.

But if, leaving the examination of the mountains, we consider the ocean alone, it will equally overturn this system. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and this vast basin grows deeper, in proportion to its distance from the shores. There is not a single rock in the main sea, if we except a few islands; now, if there was a time, when the ocean covered our mountains, and man and beast inhabited the bed of the sea, how was it possible for them to have subsisted? What mountains had they then to furnish them with rivers? This requires a globe of quite a different nature from ours. And again, how could this globe have, at that time, revolved round itself, seeing that it was one half hollow, and the other prominent; and this prominence loaded over and above with the whole weight of the ocean? How could the laws of gravity and hydrostatics

drostatics be accomplished? or how could the ocean keep itself upon the mountains without sliding into that immense bed, which nature had formed for it? A world of a philosophical creation is generally a very ridiculous one.

I will suppose for an instant with those who admit the period of two millions of years, that we arrived at the point of time, when the ecliptic falls in with the equator. I then suppose Italy, France, and Germany, to form the torrid zone; but we must not imagine that either then, or at any other time, the ocean can change its place: no motion of the earth can ever resist the laws of gravity, and in whatever manner our globe may turn, every thing will press equally upon the centre. The universal system of mechanics is invariably the same.

No system, no hypothesis, then can give the least degree of probability to the general received notion, that our globe has changed its appearance; that the ocean did for a long time cover the earth which we now inhabit; and that mankind formerly dwelt in those places that now serve as habitations for porpoises and whales. Nothing has been changed of the animal or vegetable world; the species have all remained unalterably the same, and it would be very strange that a grain of millet should retain its nature for ever, and yet the whole globe subject to such changes.

What I have here said of the ocean may be said likewise of the Mediterranean, and the great lake called the Caspian Sea. If these lakes have not been always the same that they now are, the nature of this globe must absolutely have

have been altogether different from what it is at present.

A great number of authors tell us, that, an earthquake having one day swallowed up the mountains that joined the two continents of Europe and Africa, the ocean made itself a passage between Calpe and Abila, and formed the Mediterranean Sea, which runs as far as the Palus Mæotis, which is five hundred leagues distant from thence; so that a tract of fifteen hundred miles was hollowed in an instant to receive the ocean. It is to be observed, at the same time, that in that part of the sea opposite to Gibraltar no bottom can be found, which makes the adventure of the mountains still more marvellous.

If it was only to be considered how many rivers of Europe and Asia fall into the Mediterranean, we should see that their waters must necessarily form a great lake there. The Don, the Boristhenes, the Danube, the Po, the Rhone, &c. could not empty themselves into the ocean, unless we chuse to amuse ourselves with the imagination, that there was a time, when the Don and Boristhenes came over the Pyrenees to visit Biscay.

Philosophers, nevertheless, have insisted, that the Mediterranean was produced by some accident. They ask, what becomes of the waters, that so many rivers are continually pouring into it? Or where the Caspian sea can empty itself? They have supposed a vast subterraneous cavity to have been formed, in the general subversion of the system of the earth, that threw out these seas; and that they have

A DISSERTATION, &c. 255

a communication with each other, and with the ocean, by means of this imaginary gulph. It has likewise been affirmed, that fish have been thrown into the Caspian sea with a ring in their nose, and taken out afterwards in the Mediterranean. In this manner has history and philosophy been treated for a long time; but since true history has taken away the fiction, and real natural philosophy that of airy hypotheses, we ought no longer to give credit to such idle tales. It is demonstrable, that exhalation alone will sufficiently account for the reason why these seas do not overflow their shores, and that there is no necessity for them to disembody themselves into the ocean. And it is highly probable, that the Mediterranean sea has always occupied its present place; and that the fundamental constitution of this universe has never suffered a change.

I am very sensible, that there will always be a set of people, upon whose minds a petrified pike, found upon mount Cenis, or a turbot in the country of Hesse, will have greater weight than all the arguments of sound philosophy. They will still be fond of imagining, that the summit of the mountains have heretofore served as a bed to the ocean, notwithstanding the impossibility of the thing from the laws of nature; while others again will think, from finding some few Syrian shells in Germany, that the Syrian sea came to Frankfort. A taste for the wonderful, is the parent of hypotheses; but nature appears to delight as much in uniformity and unchangeableness, as our imaginations do in surprising revolutions: and, to use the words of the great

great Newton; *Natura est sibi consona*. We are told by the scripture, that there has been a deluge; but there remains no other monument on the earth (at least that I can perceive) but the remembrance of so dreadful a prodigy, which in vain admonishes us to amend our lives.

A DIGRESSION

ON THE

Manner in which our GLOBE might
have been overflowed.

WHEN I say that the universal deluge, which raised the waters fifteen cubits above the top of the highest mountains, is a miracle not to be performed by any of the laws of nature with which we are acquainted, I say no more than the strict truth. Those who have gone about to find physical reasons for this extraordinary prodigy, have been as unlucky as those who would endeavour to explain, by the laws of mechanics, how four thousand persons were fed with five loaves and three fishes.

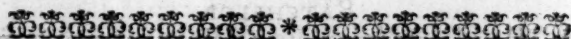
Some have imagined, that the clouds above were sufficient to deluge the earth; but the clouds are only the waters of the sea, drawn continually up from its surface, and rarefied by the atmosphere of the air. The more this atmosphere is loaded with waters, the greater decrease

crease of them there is in our globe. Thus the same quantity of water still subsists; and if the clouds were to empty themselves equally upon the whole globe, there would not be an inch of earth over-flowed. If they happen to be driven in a heap by the wind into any one climate, and empty themselves upon a square league of ground, while other places round about have no rain at all, then only that square league of ground will be deluged.

Others have made the ocean quit its bed, and cover the whole face of the earth. Now we reckon at present, that the sea, taking all those parts where there are soundings, and those where there are none, (at least to be found) taking these together, I say the depth of the sea may be about a thousand feet. It is not above fifty feet in many places, and not near so much near the land: however, if we put it at a thousand feet we shall not be very wide of the truth.

Now, the mountains of Quito rise more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea; therefore it would have required ten oceans to one, raised above another, upon the aqueous part of the globe, and ten other oceans upon the other part: and as the sphere would then have been of a greater circumference, there must have been four oceans more to have covered its increased surface; so that it would have taken twenty-four oceans at least to overflow the top of the mountains of Quito; or if it would only take four; as doctor Burnet affirms, a naturalist would be strangely put to it with these four oceans. Who would imagine that Burnet, could ever have thought of making them

them boil to augment their bulk? Besides, he might have known, that water in boiling never swells more than a fourth above its ordinary volume. To what shifts are those reduced, who attempt to explain what it is their business only to reverence!



DIALOGUES

BETWEEN

A SAVAGE and a BATCHELOR of ARTS.

A Governor of Cayenne, having brought over with him a Savage from Guiana*, who had a great share of good natural understanding, and spoke French tolerably well, a Batchelor of Arts at Paris had the honour of entering into the following conversation with him.

BATCHELOR.

I suppose, Mr. Savage, you have seen a number of your country people who pass their lives all alone; for it is said that this is the true way of living natural to man, and that society is only an artificial depravity.

† Guiana, or Caribbiana, is the south-east division of Terra Firma, in South America, in which are included Surinam and Cayenne, or equinoctial France, extending from the mouth of the river Oroonoke, or that of the Amazons.

SAVAGE.

Indeed I never did see any of those people you speak of. Man appears to me to be born for society, as well as several other species of animals. Each species follows the dictates of their nature; as for us, we live all together in a community.

BATCHELOR.

How! in community? Why then you have fine towns, and cities with walls, and kings who keep a court. You have shows, convents, universities, libraries, and taverns, have you?

SAVAGE.

No; but have I not frequently heard it said, that in your continent you have Arabians, Seythians, who never knew any thing of these matters, and yet form considerable nations? Now we live like these people; neighbouring families assist each other. We inhabit a warm climate, and so have very few necessities; we can easily procure ourselves food; we marry; we get children; we bring them up, and then we die. You see this is just the same as amongst you; some few ceremonies excepted.

BATCHELOR.

Why, my good Sir, then you are not a savage?

SAVAGE.

I do not know what you mean by that word.

BATCHELOR.

Nor, to tell you the truth, do I myself,—stay let me consider a little.—Oh!—a savage?—Why—a savage is—what we call a savage, is a man of a morose unsociable disposition, who flies all company.

SAVAGE.

SAVAGE.

I have told you already that we live together in families.

BATCHELOR.

We also give the name of Savage, to those beasts who are not tamed, but roam wild about the forests; and from hence we have transferred that appellation to men who inhabit the woods.

SAVAGE.

I go into the woods sometimes, as well as you do to hunt.

BATCHELOR.

Pray now, do you think sometimes.

SAVAGE.

It is impossible to be without some sort of ideas.

BATCHELOR.

I have a great curiosity to know what your ideas are. What think you of man?

SAVAGE.

Think of him! Why, that he is a two-footed animal, who has the faculty of reasoning, speaking, and who uses his hands much more dexterously than the monkey. I have seen several kinds of men, some white like you, others copper-coloured, like me, and others black, like those that wait upon the governor of Cayenne. You have a beard, we have none; the negroes have wool, you and I have hair. They say, that in your more northerly climates the inhabitants have white hair, whereas that of the Americans is black. This is all I know about man.

BATCH-

BATCHELOR.

But your soul, my dear Sir? your soul? what notion have you of that? whence comes it? what is it? what does it do? how does it act? where does it go?

SAVAGE.

I know nothing about all this, indeed; for I never saw the soul.

BATCHELOR.

Apropos; do you think that brutes are machines?

SAVAGE.

They appear to me to be organized machines, that have sentiment and memory.

BATCHELOR.

Well; and pray now, Mr. Savage, what do you think that you, you yourself, I say, possess above those brutes?

SAVAGE.

The gifts of an infinitely superior memory; a much greater share of ideas; and, as I have already told you, a tongue capable of forming many more sounds than those of brutes; with hands more ready at executing; and the faculty of laughing; which a long-winded arguementator always makes me exercise.

BATCHELOR.

But tell me, if you please, how came you by all this? what is the nature of your mind? how does your soul animate your body? do you always think? is your will free?

SAVAGE.

Here are a great number of questions: you ask me, How I came to possess what God has given to man? You might as well ask me how I was born? For certainly, since I am
born

born a man, I must possess the things that constitute a man in the same manner as a tree has its bark, roots, and leaves. You would have me to know what is the nature of my mind. I did not give it to myself, and therefore I cannot know what it is ; and as to how my soul animates my body, I am as much a stranger to that too ; and, in my opinion, you must first have seen the springs that put your watch in motion before you can tell how it shows the hour. You ask me if I always think ? No, for sometimes I have half-formed ideas, in the same manner as I see objects at a distance, confusedly ; sometimes my ideas are much stronger, as I can distinguish an object better when it is nearer to me ; sometimes I have no ideas at all, as when I shut my eyes I can see nothing. Lastly, you ask me, if my will is free ? Here I do not understand you ; these are things you are perfectly well acquainted with, no doubt ; therefore I shall be glad you will explain them to me.

BATCHELOR.

Yes, yes, I have studied all these matters thoroughly ; I could talk to you about them for a month together without ceasing, in such a manner as would surpass your understanding. But tell me, do you know good and evil, right and wrong ? do you know which is the best form of government ? which the best worship ? what is the law of nations ? the common law ? the civil law ? the canon law ? Do you know the names of the first man and woman who peopled America ? Do you know the reason why rain falls into the sea ; and why you have no beard ?

SAVAGE.

Upon my word, Sir, you take rather too great advantage of the confession I made just now, that man has a superior memory to the brutes; for I can hardly recollect the many questions you have asked me: you talk of good and evil; right and wrong; how I think that whatever gives you pleasure, and does injury to no one, is very good and very right; that what injures our fellow creatures, and gives us no pleasure, is abominable; and what gives us pleasure, but, at the same time, hurts others, may be good with respect to us for the time; but is in itself both dangerous to us, and very wrong with regard to others.

BATCHELOR.

And do you live in society with these maxims?

SAVAGE.

Yes, with our relations and neighbours; and without much pain or vexation, we quietly attain our hundredth year; some indeed reach to an hundred and twenty; after which our bodies serve to fertilize the earth that has nourished us.

BATCHELOR.

You seem to me to have a clear understanding; I would very fain puzzle it. Let us dine together, after which we will philosophize methodically.

SECOND DIALOGUE.

SAVAGE.

I Find that I have swallowed foods that are not made for me; notwithstanding I have a good stomach, you have made me eat after my hunger

stomach was satisfied, and drink when I was no longer dry. My legs are not so firm under me as they were before dinner; my head feels heavy, and my ideas are confused. I never felt this diminution of my faculties in my own country. For my part, I think the more a man puts into his body here, the more he takes away from his understanding. Pray tell me, what is the reason of all this damage and disorder?

BATCHELOR.

I'll tell you. In the first place, as to what passes in your legs, I know nothing about the matter; you must consult the physicians about that; they'll satisfy you in a trice. But I am perfectly well acquainted with how things go in your head. You must know then, that the soul being confined to no place, has fixed her seat either in the pineal gland, or the callous body in the middle of the brain. The animal spirits that rise from the stomach fly up to the soul, which they cannot affect, they being matter, and she immaterial. Now, as neither can act upon the other, therefore the soul takes their impression; and, as she is a simple principle, and consequently subject to no change, therefore she suffers a change, and becomes heavy and dull when we eat too much; and this is the reason that so many great men sleep after dinner.

SAVAGE.

What you tell me appears very ingenuous and profound; but I should take it as a favour if you would explain it to me in such a manner as I might comprehend.

BATCHELOR.

Why, I have told you every thing that can
be

be said upon this weighty affair ; but, to satisfy you, I will be a little more explicit. Let us go step by step. First, then, do you know that this is the best of all possible worlds ?

SAVAGE.

How ! is it impossible for the infinite Being to create any thing better than what we now see ?

BATCHELOR.

Undoubtedly ; for nothing can be better than what we see. It is true, indeed, that mankind rob and murder each other ; but they all the while extol equity and moderation. Several years ago they massacred about twelve millions of your Americans ; but then it was to make the rest more reasonable. A famous calculator has proved, that from a certain war of Troy, which you know nothing of, to the last war in North America, which you do know something of, there have been killed in pitched battles no less than 555650000 men, without reckoning young children and women buried under the ruins of cities and towns which have been set on fire ; but this was all for the good of community : four or five thousand dreadful maladies, to which mankind are subject, teach us the true value of health ; and the crimes that cover the face of the earth, greatly enhance the merit of religious men, of which I am one ; you see that every thing goes in the best manner possible, at least as to me.

Now things could never be in this state of perfection, if the soul was not placed in the pineal gland. For——But let me take you along with me in the argument. Let us go step by step. What notion have you of laws,

N

and

and of the rule of right and wrong; of the *to Kalon*, as Plato calls it?

SAVAGE.

Well, but my good Sir, while you talk of going step by step, you speak to me of an hundred different things at a time.

BATCHELOR.

Every one converses in this manner. But tell me who made the laws in your country?

SAVAGE.

The Public good.

BATCHELOR.

That word *public good*, means a great deal. We have not any so expressive; pray, in what sense do you understand it?

SAVAGE.

I understand by it, that those who have a plantation of cocoa trees or maize, have forbidden others to meddle with them; and that those who had them not, are obliged to work, in order to have a right to eat part of them. Every thing that I have seen, either in your country or my own, teaches me that there can be no other spirit of the laws.

BATCHELOR.

But as to women, Mr. Savage, women?

SAVAGE.

As to women, they please me when they are handsome and sweet-tempered: I prize them even before our cocoa-trees; they are a fruit which we are not willing to have plucked by any but ourselves. A man has no more right to take my wife from me than to take my child. However, I have heard it said, that there are people who will suffer this; they have it certainly in their will; every one may do what he pleases with his own property.

BATCHELOR.

But as to successors, legatees, heirs, and collateral kindred?

SAVAGE.

Every one must have a successor. I can no longer possess my field, when I am buried in it; I leave it to my son; if I have two, I divide it equally between them. I hear that among you Europeans, there are several nations where the law gives the whole to the eldest child, and nothing to the younger. It must have been fordid interest that dedicated such unequal and ridiculous laws: I suppose either the elder children made it themselves, or their fathers, who were willing they should have the preheminance.

BATCHELOR.

What body of laws appear to you the best?

SAVAGE.

Those in which the interests of mankind, my fellow-creatures, have been most consulted.

BATCHELOR.

And where are such laws to be found?

SAVAGE.

In no place that I have ever heard of.

BATCHELOR.

You must tell me from whence the inhabitants of your country first came? who do you think first peopled America?

SAVAGE.

God—whom else should we think?

BATCHELOR.

That is no answer. I ask you from what country your people first came?

SAVAGE.

From the same country where our trees came;
really

really the Europeans appear to me a very pleasant kind of people, to pretend that we can have nothing without them: we have just as much reason to suppose ourselves your ancestors, as you have to imagine yourselves ours.

BATCHELOR.

You are an obstinate little savage!

SAVAGE.

You a very babbling batchelor.

BATCHELOR.

But hearkye, Mr. Savage, one word more with you, if you please. Do you think it right in Guiana to put those to death who are not of the same opinion with yourselves?

SAVAGE.

Undoubtedly, provided you eat them afterwards.

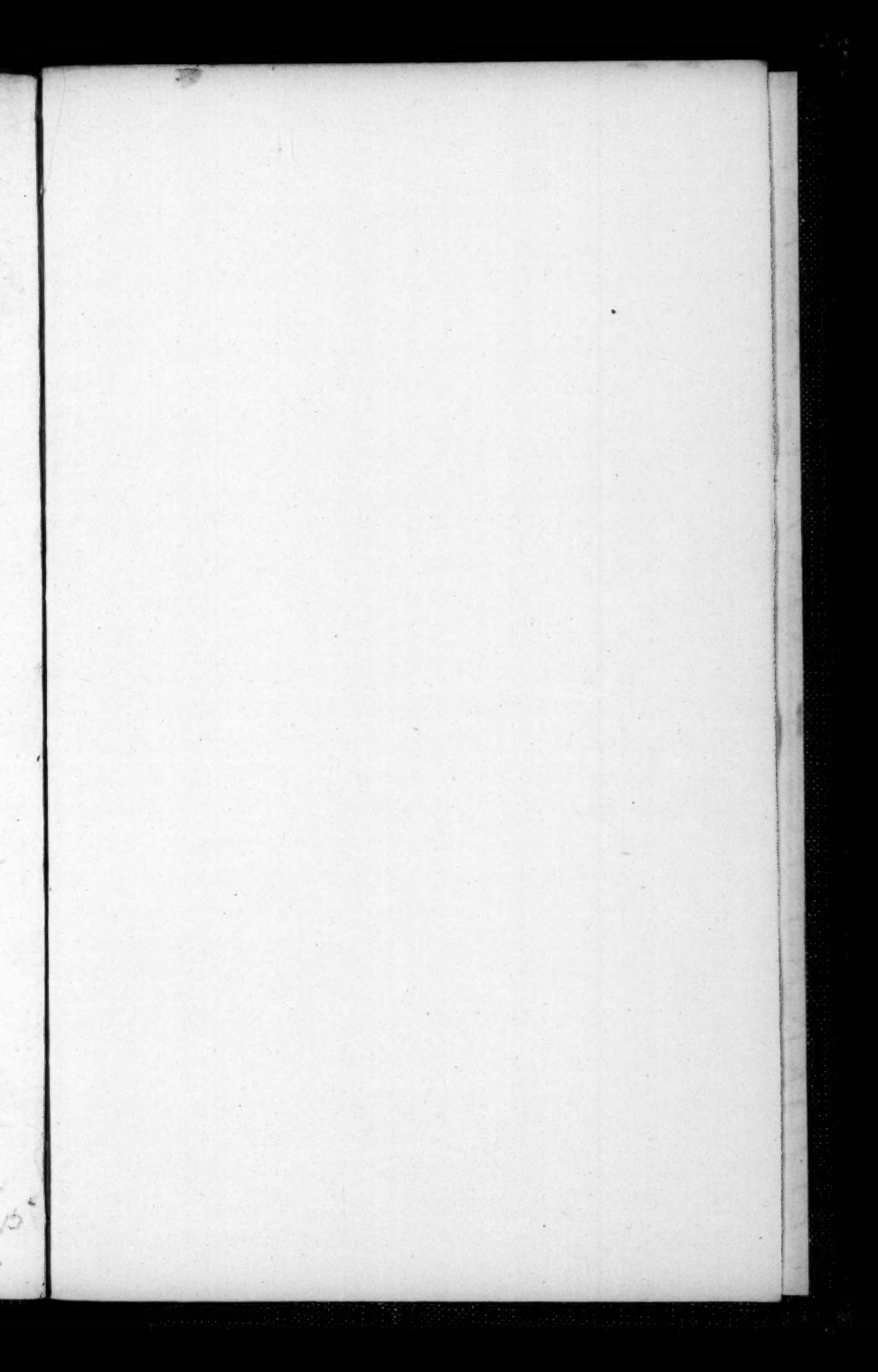
BATCHELOR.

Now you are joking. What do you think of the constitution?

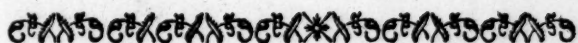
SAVAGE.

Your servant.

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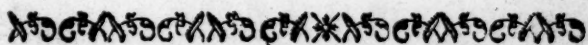


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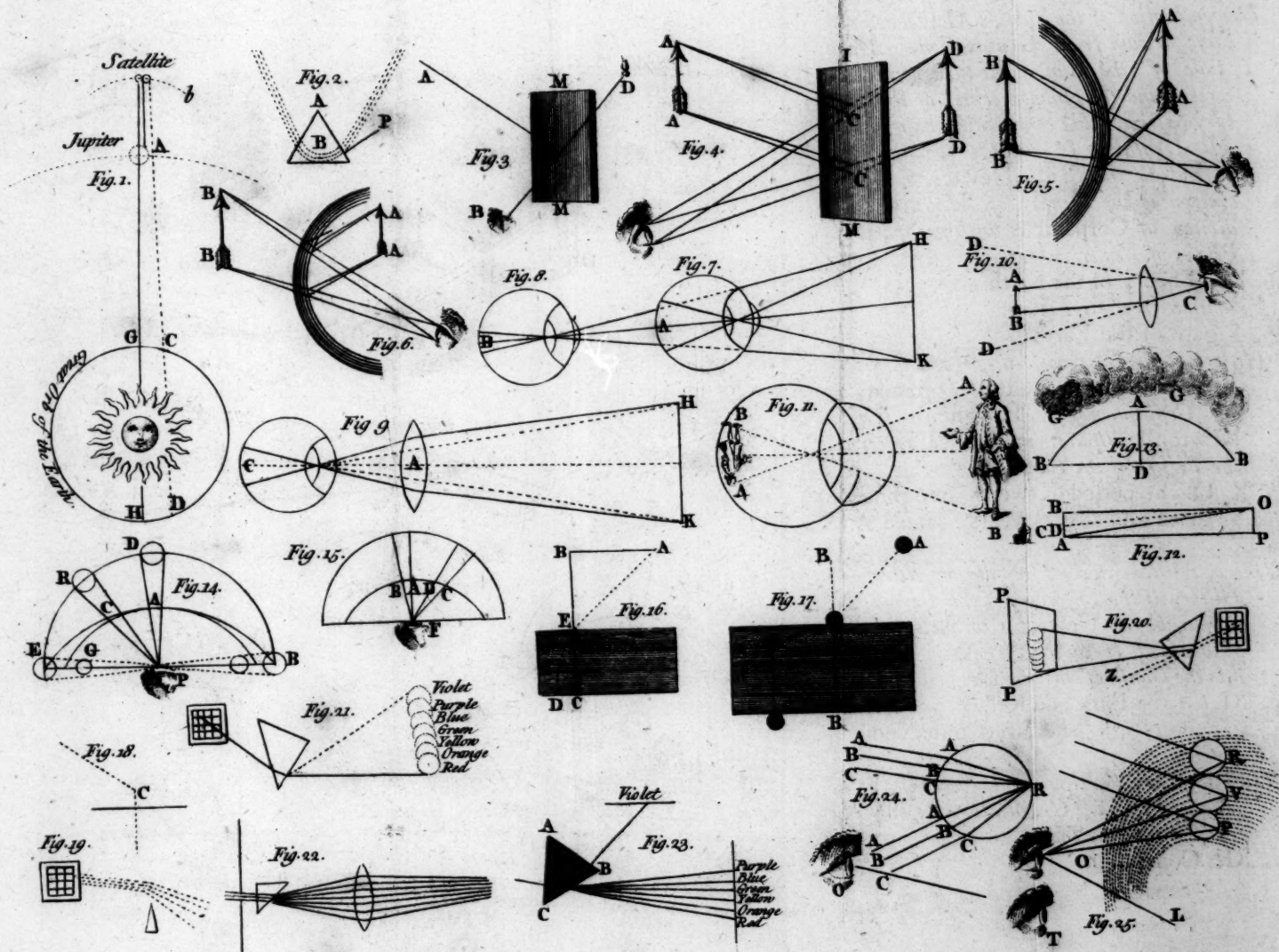
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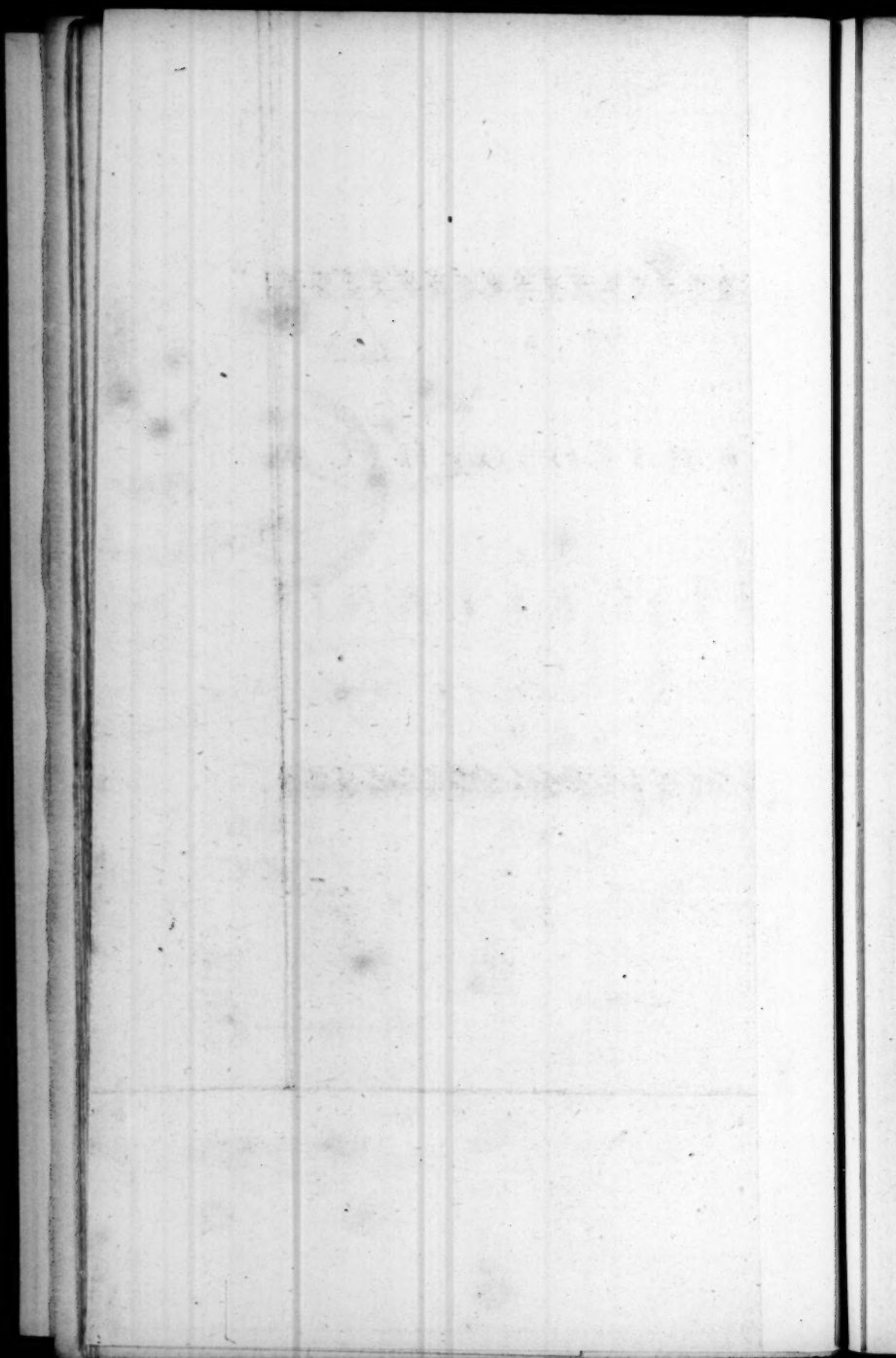
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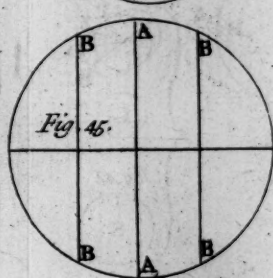
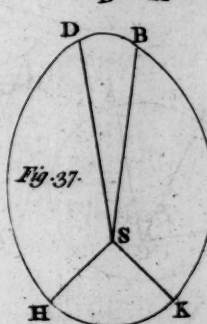
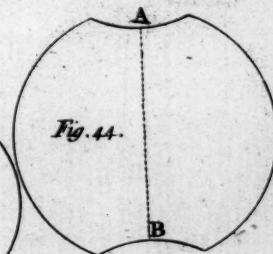
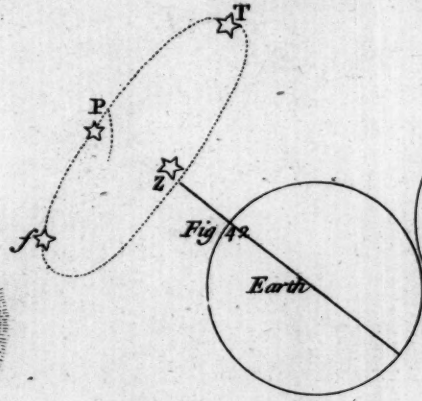
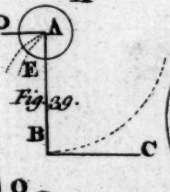
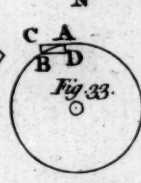
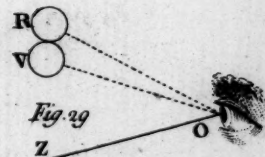
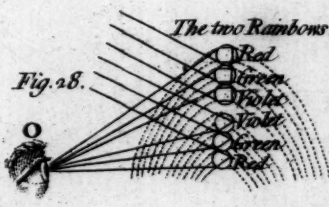
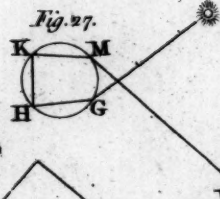
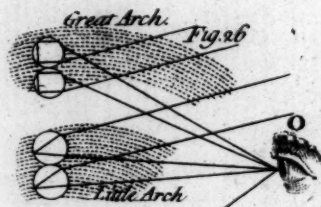
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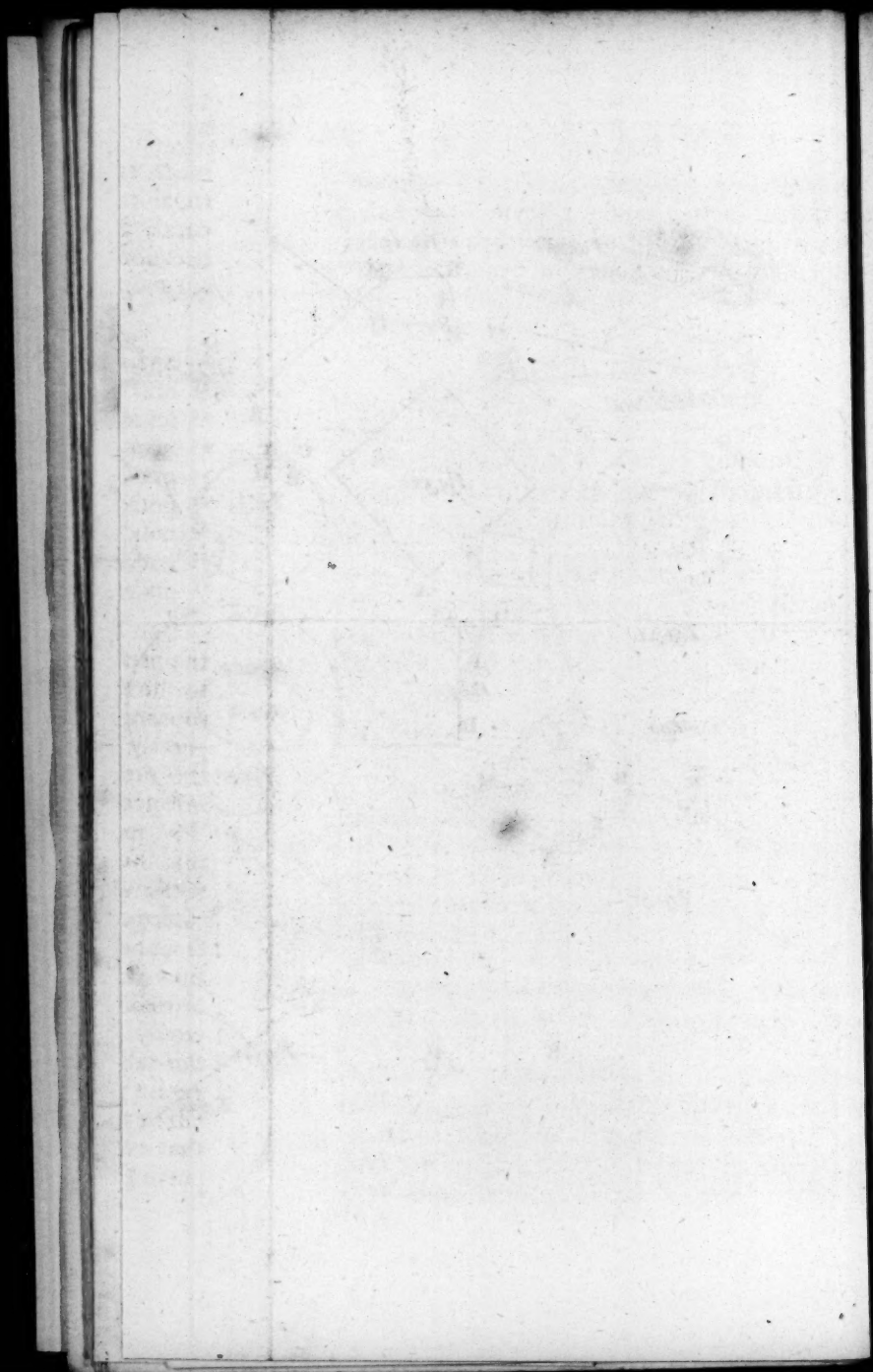
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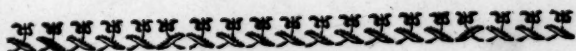
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R E M A R K S

O N

Mr. P A S C A L ' S T H O U G H T S .

YOU have here the remarks which I made some time since on Mr. Pascal's thoughts. Let me desire you however not to compare me on this occasion to Hezekiah, who was for having all the works of Solomon burnt. I have a profound respect for Mr. Pascal's genius and eloquence, but this respect serves to convince me that he himself would have corrected many of those thoughts which he occasionally committed to paper, with an intention of examining them afterwards, and at the same time that I combat his opinions, I admire his genius.

It appears to me that Mr. Pascal's design in general was to exhibit mankind in an odious light. He exacts the uttermost efforts of his pen, to make us all appear a wicked and wretched set of beings. He writes against the human species, in much the same strain as he wrote against the Jesuits. He ascribes to the essence of our nature things that are peculiar to some men only, and with all imaginable eloquence abuses the whole race of mankind. I shall be so bold to defend my fellow creatures against the invectives or this sublime Misanthropist. I will venture to affirm, that we are neither so wretched nor so wicked as he declares us to be. I am likewise fully persuaded, that had he, in the book he pro-

posed to write, carried into execution the plan laid down by him in his thoughts, it would have been a work full of eloquent false reasonings and untruths, reduced in a wonderful manner. I even think that the great number of books, which have been written of late years to prove the truth of the Christian religion, so far from edifying the reader, will be found so many stumbling blocks. Do these authors pretend to know more of this matter than Christ and his apostles? This is like propping up an oak with reeds to prevent it from falling, tho' the latter may very safely be rooted up without prejudicing the oak in any manner.

I have selected some of Pascal's thoughts at discretion, and annexed my remarks or answers to each of them.

And here it cannot be too often repeated, that it is the height of absurdity and malice, to make a party affair of this examination. I acknowledge no party but that of truth: I am of opinion that it is an undoubted truth, that it is not the business of Metaphysics to prove the truth of the Christian religion, and that reason is as much inferior to faith, as the finite is to the infinite. Here we are to consult only reason, and that is a thing of so little consequence, that it is not worth the trouble of contending about.

I. THOUGHT.

“ The greatness and misery of man are so visible, that true religion must necessarily have taught us, that these are inherently in him, so
 “ mighty a principle of greatness, and at the same
 “ time some mighty principle of misery, for true
 “ religion cannot but be perfectly acquainted with
 “ our

“our nature, by which I mean, that it must
 “know the utmost extent of its greatness and
 “misery, and the reason of both: from true re-
 “ligion likewise we must learn the reason of
 “those astonishing contrairieties which are found
 “on that occasion.”

I. This way of reasoning seems false and dangerous, for the fable of Prometheus and Pandora, the Androgyni of Plato, and the tenets of the antient Egyptians, and of Zoroaster, would account as well for those apparent contrairieties: the Christian religion would remain true, even tho’ no person should draw those ingenious conclusions from it, which can serve only to shew the brilliant imagination of those who favour them: to establish the truth of a religion, it is necessary it should be revealed, without explaining to us the reason of these supposed contrairieties, and we are no more to expect Metaphysical lights from it than Astronomical ones.

II.

“Let us examine on this head, all the known
 “religions in the world, and then we shall see
 “if there is any other since that of Christianity
 “capable of satisfying us herein. Will it be
 “taught by the philosophers, who propose to us
 “as the only good, the good inherent in our-
 “selves? But is this true good? Will this be
 “found a remedy to our evils?”

2. The philosophers never taught a religion, and their philosophy was not the subject to be combatted. No philosopher ever pretended to be inspired by the Almighty, for had he done this he would no longer have acted in the character of a philosopher, but that of a prophet. The

question is not to enquire, whether Jesus Christ ought to be preferr'd to Aristotle, but to prove that the religion of the former is the true one, and that those of Mahomet, Zoroaster, Confusius, Hermes, and every other are false. It is not true that the philosophers have propos'd to us as the only good, the good inherent within us. Read Plato, Marcus, Aulicius, and Epictetus, you will find they endeavour to inspire us with a desire of meriting a re-union with the divine Essence, from whence we originally sprung.

III.

“ And yet without this mystery, which is of all
 “ others the most incomprehensible, we are in-
 “ comprehensible to ourselves. The knot of our
 “ condition has all its turns, and plies in the
 “ abyss of original sins; insomuch that man is
 “ incomprehensible without this mystery, than
 “ this mystery is incomprehensible to man.”

3. What an unaccountable way of reasoning this! man is incomprehensible without this incomprehensible mystery? Certainly it is enough to be wholly ignorant of our origin; without going about to explain it by a thing we know nothing of: we are wholly in the dark, as to the manner in which man comes into the world, how he grows, how he performs the various functions of life, and how his members are made to act subservient to his will. How should I be looked upon if I went about to explain these obscurities by an unintelligible system? Would it not be better to confess I know nothing of the matter? A mystery never was the explanation of any thing, it is something divine and wholly inexplicable in itself.

What

What answer would Mr. Pascal have made to any who should have spoke to him in this manner? I know that the mystery of original sin is the object of faith, not of reason. I very well conceive without a mystery what man is; I perceive that he comes into the world like other animals; that women of the most delicate constitutions have the hardest labours; that women and the females among brutes sometimes lose their lives in bringing forth; that sometimes the organs of young children are so unhappily form'd, that they remain deprived of one or more of their senses, void of the enjoyment of the rational faculties; that those whose passions are most lively are found to have the least constructed organs; that the principle of self love is equally predominant in all men, and that they stand in no less need of them than of the free senses; that God inspired us with this principle of self love for the preservation of our being, and gave his religion to govern this self love; that our ideas are just or inconsistent, clear or dark, according to the strength or weakness of our organs, or in proportion to our prejudices; that we depend entirely on the air that surrounds us and the food we eat; and that there is nothing inconsistent nor contradictory in all this.

Man is not such a riddle as you may figure him to yourself to be, merely to have the pleasure of solving it. Man appears to hold his due place in the scale of beings, superior to brutes, whom he resembles with regard to the organs, but inferior to other beings, to whom he very possibly may bear a resemblance with respect to thought. Man is like every thing else we see round us, a composition in which good and evil, pleasures and pains, are found. He has passions to excite him

action, and reason to direct those actions. If man was perfect he would be God; and those contrarieties which you call contradictions, are so many necessary ingredients to the composition of man, who is like every thing else in nature, just what he ought to be. Thus might reason argue, it is therefore not reason that teaches man the face of human nature, and it is to faith only we ought to have recourse.

IV.

“ Let us follow our own impulses, turn our eyes
 “ inward, and see whether we do not therein
 “ find the living characteristicks of those two na-
 “ tures.

“ It is impossible for so great a number of con-
 “ tradictions to be found united in one and the
 “ same subject.

“ The duplicity in man is so evident, that some
 “ have thence been reduced to think that we are
 “ informed with two souls, imagining it impos-
 “ sible for one single subject to exhibit such
 “ strange and sudden varieties, and to
 “ change in an instant from the highest degree
 “ of presumption to the most abject state of de-
 “ pendency.”

4. This thought, as well as some others, is taken entirely from Montague, and is to be found in the chapter of the inconstancy of human actions. But the wise Montague argues like a man who has some doubt. This diversity in our wills is not so many contradictions in nature, and man is not a single subject. He consists of an innumerable multitude of organs. If only one of these be ever so little out of order, it must necessarily change all the impressions made on the
 the

the brain, and the animal must be informed with new thoughts, and a new will. 'Tis very certain that we are sometimes dejected with sorrow, and at others elated with pride, and this must necessarily be the case when we are in opposite situations. An animal who is fed and fondled by his master, and another who is put to a lingering death, for anatomical purposes feel very different sensations. 'Tis the same with regard to us, and that difference which is found in man is so far from being contradictory, that it would be contradictory were it not to be found. Those madmen who asserted we had two souls, might with equal reason have given us thirty or forty; for that man whose spirits are strongly agitated, has sometimes thirty or forty ideas of the same thing, and must necessarily have such ideas according to the different faces under which that object appears to him. This pretended duplicity in man is an idea equally absurd and metaphysical. And it might with as much justice be asserted, that the dog who fawns and bites is double; that the mirror which represent different objects is double; and that the tree which at one time is tufted with leaves, and at another presents only naked branches to the view, is also double. I own indeed that man is incomprehensible, but the whole of nature is so likewise; and we do not find a greater number of contradictions in man, than in the rest of the creation.

V.

“ The not laying a wager that God exists, is
 “ laying that he does not exist : which side will
 “ you take ? Let us weigh the loss and gain, in
 “ believing that God exists. If you win you win

“ all ; if you lose you lose nothing : lay therefore without the least hesitation that he exists. “ Yes, I must lay ; but I possibly hazard too great “ a stake. Let us see, since there is an equal “ chance whether you win or lose, if you were “ to stake one life against two, you surely might “ venture the wager.”

5. It is a very false assertion, that the not laying a wager that God exists, is laying that he does not exist : for certainly that man whose mind is in a state of doubt, and is desirous of being informed, assuredly does not lay on either side ; moreover this article is really indecent and childish : the idea of gaming, of losing and winning, is quite unsuitable to the dignity of the subject : farther, the interest I have to believe a thing is no proof that such a thing exists. If you should promise me the empire of the world, provided I would believe you was in the right, I should undoubtedly, upon that offer being made, very readily agree that you might be in the right, but I cannot believe this till you have proved it to me. The first step you should take (might one say to Mr. Pascal) would be to convince my reason ; 'tis doubtless my interest to believe that there is a God, but if, according to the system, God came but for so very few, if the number of the elect is so *alarmingly* small ; and if I am unable, from my own impulse, to do any thing, be so good as to tell me what interest I can have in believing you ? Is it not visibly my interest to believe the direct contrary ? With what face can you talk to me of infinite bliss, to which scarce one man among a million has the least claim ? Would you really convince me you must take a different course, and not at one time talk to me of gaming, staking

stake heads or tails; and at another terrify me by scattering thorns up and down the path which I ought and am determined to walk in; your reasoning serves only to make men atheists, did not all nature proclaim the existence of a God, in a manner as forcible as those subtilties are weak.

VI.

“When I reflect on the blindness and misery of man, and the astonishing contrarieties which discover themselves in his nature; and when I behold the whole universe dumb, and man left to himself destitute of lights, and wandering as it were in the work of the universe, without knowing who placed him there, what he is sent to do, or what will become of him after death, I start with horror, like a man, who having been carried in his sleep into a frightful desert island, awakes and knows not where he is, nor how he can get out of this strange place, to which he has been transported: on considering all this, I wonder that mankind are not seiz’d with despair every time they reflect on the wretchedness of their condition.”

6. Whilst I was perusing this reflection I read a letter from a friend, who lives in a far distant country, who writes me thus: *

“I am at this time exactly the same as when you left me, neither gayer nor more dejected; neither richer nor poorer; I enjoy a perfect state of health, and am blest with every thing that can

* He has since been ambassador, and is now raised to a very high rank in life. I have his original letter, which was written in 1728, still by me.

can make life agreeable ; undisturbed by love, by avarice, by ambition, or envy ; and I think so long as these things last, I may continue to pronounce myself a very happy man."

Many men are as happy as the writer of this letter. 'Tis with man as with the brute creature. One dog shall eat and lie with his mistress, another shall be destin'd to turn the spit and is equally happy, a third runs mad and is knock'd on the head. For my part, when I take a view of London or Paris, I see no cause for the violent despair mentioned by Mr Pascal. I see a city which bears not the least resemblance to a desert island, but on the contrary, a populous rich and well governed place, where mankind are as happy as it is consistent with their nature to be. What man in his senses would sink in despair because he does not know the nature of his own thoughts, that he is acquainted with only a few of the qualities of matter, or because that God has not revealed to him all his secrets ? He might as justly despond because he has not four feet and a pair of wings : why should any one go about to make us reflect on our being with horror ? Our existence is not so wretched as some persons would make us believe it to be. To consider the universe as a dreary dungeon, and all mankind as so many condemn'd wretches carrying to execution, is the idea of a mad enthusiast : to suppose the world to be a scene of delight, wherein nothing but pleasures are to be found, is the dream of a Sybarite : but to conclude that the world, mankind, and the brute creation, are just what they ought to be, is, in my opinion, thinking like a wise man.

VII.

“ The Jews imagine that God will not forever
 “ leave other nations involved in this darkness;
 “ that a deliverer for all mankind will come; that
 “ they are sent into the world to proclaim him;
 “ that they were created purposely to be the he-
 “ rald of that mighty event, and to call upon
 “ all nations to unite with them in expectin’g
 “ such a deliverer.”

7. The Jews have always been in expectation
 of a deliverer, but then he is a deliverer with re-
 gard to them, and not for us; they expected
 Messiah, who is to bring the Christians in sub-
 jection to the Jews; whereas we expect a Messiah,
 who is one day to unite the Jews with the Chris-
 tians. Their notions on this head are directly
 opposite to those entertained by us.

VIII.

“ The law by which this people is governed, is
 “ in all respects the most antient and most per-
 “ fect in the world, and the only one which has
 “ ever been observed in a society or state with-
 “ out interruption. This Philo Judæus shews
 “ in several places, as does Josephus admirably
 “ well in his writings against Appian, wherein
 “ he proves its antiquities to be so very remote,
 “ that even the word law was not known in the
 “ most antient governments till above a thou-
 “ sand years afterswards; so that Homer, who
 “ mentions so many nations, has never oncemen-
 “ tioned the word. We may easily judge of the
 “ perfection of this law from the bare perusal of
 “ it; it appearing that all things are there at-
 “ tended to with such a depth of wisdom, equity,
 “ and judgment, that the most antient Greek
 and

“ and Roman lawgivers, having some knowledge of the system in question, borrowed their principle laws from it, as appears from the laws of the 12 tables, and from the other evidences exhibited by Josephus on that occasion.”

8. Nothing can be more false than to assert, that the Jewish law is the most antient; since the Jews, before the time of Moses, their lawgiver, lived in Egypt, a country the most renown'd of any in the universe for its laws; which were so wise, that kings were said to be judged by them after death. It is no less false, that the word law was not known till after Homer's time, since this poet expressly mentions the laws of Minos in his *Odyssey*; and moreover the word law is found in *Hesiod*; but admitting this word not to have been specified in either of these authors, that would be nothing to the purpose. There were antient kingdoms, there were kings and judges, and consequently there were laws. Those of the Chinese are far prior, in point of antiquity, to those of Moses.

It is equally untrue, that the Greeks and Romans formed some laws from the Jews. This could not be in the infancy of the Roman commonwealth, it not being possible for them to be then acquainted with the Jews, nor could it be during its flourishing state; for at that time they held these Barbarians in the utmost contempt, as was well known to the whole world. Observe how Cicero treats them in speaking of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey. Philo himself acknowledges, that before the translation of the Septuagint their writings were wholly unknown to other nations.

IX.

"The sincerity of these people is admirable
 "they preserve with the utmost care and affec-
 "tion, the book wherein Moses tells themtha
 "they have always behaved ungratefully towards
 "God, and that he knows they will be still
 "more ungrateful after his death ; but that he
 "appeals to heaven and earth whether he had
 "not reproached them sufficiently for it. Finally,
 "that God, incensed at their transgressions, will
 "disperse and scatter them among all nations.
 "That as they had provoked him to jealousy by
 "serving Gods that are no Gods, he also will pro-
 "voke them by calling a people who were not
 "his people. Nevertheless the Jews preserve, at
 "the hazard of their lives, this book, which re-
 "flects so much dishonour on them in every
 "respect ; an instance of sincerity that is not to
 "be parallel'd nor can its root be in nature."

g. Instances of this sincerity are to be met
 with every where, and it has its root wholly in
 nature. The pride of every Jewish individual
 prompts him to believe that he does not owe his
 destruction to his detestable politicks, his igno-
 rance of the polite arts, and his unciviliz'd dispo-
 sition, but that it is the wrath of God that pun-
 nishes him. He feels a pleasure in the reflection,
 that no less then morality were necessary before
 he could be humbled, and that his nation, tho'
 punished by the Almighty, is still his darling
 people.

Should a preacher go up into the pulpit, and
 address his French congregation in the following
 manner: "You are a parcel of cowardly igno-
 rant fellows, and were beat at Hochstet and Ra-
 millies, merely because you did not know how

o make a proper defence." The preacher, I say, would get his brains beat out. But if, instead of so ill advised an harangue, he was to speak thus: "You are Catholicks, and as such beloved by heaven. The enormity of your sins had drawn down upon you the wrath of God, who therefore gave you up to the hereticks at the battles of Hochstet and Ramillies; but when you turned again to the Lord he blessed your courage at Demaen." Such a speech would win him the affections of his auditors.

X.

"If there is a God, he only is to be loved, and
"not the creatures."

10. It is the duty of man to love, and that with the utmost tenderness, the creatures: it is incumbent on him to love his country, his wife, and his children, and this love is so inherent that the Almighty forces a man in spite of himself to love them. To argue upon contrary principles, would answer no other purpose than to make men brutal and inhuman: a clear evidence of the truths of this assertion we have in Mr. Pascal himself, who, by making a bad use of this principle, treated his sister with great harshness, and rejected her tender offers of service, lest he should appear to love a creature: this anecdote is found in the history of his life. If such was the use to be made of this principle, what would become of human society?

XI.

"We are born unjust, every man thinking only
"how to gratify himself, a circumstance which
"clashes with order in general. Man should direct

“ rect his views to the general good, and self affection is the same of all the disorders which arise in war, polity, and oeconomy, &c.”

11. This is agreeable to order in general. It would be as impossible for a society to be founded and support itself without self-love, as for a person to attempt to get children without the desire of coition, or to nourish his body with food when he has no appetite. It is the love of ourselves that aids the love of others; it is by our mutual wants that we become useful to the rest of mankind. This is the foundation of all commerce, the bond which unites men eternally to each other, and without it not a single art would have been wanted, nor a society even of ten persons founded. This self-love, with which nature has inspired every animal, makes him pay a regard to that of others. The law directs this principal, and religion refines it. God might, indeed, if he had thought proper, have formed creatures whose only object should be the good of others. Had this been the case, merchants would have traded to the Indies merely from a charitable desire of supplying the wants of others, and the mason would have sawed stone with no other view but to serve his neighbour. But God has seen fit to order things after a different manner: therefore let us not accuse the instinct which he has given us, but apply it to the several uses which he has directed.

12. The hidden sense of the prophecy could not lead men into error, and none but a people, so entirely carnal minded could have mistaken the sense of them.

For

For where an abundance of blessings were promised, what besides their own lusts could have determined them to apply these to the good things of this world, instead of those more durable ones hereafter?

Would it have been possible for the most sagacious people in the world to have understood them otherwise? They were slaves to the Romans; they expected a redeemer, by whose help they were to become victorious, and who was to make Jerusalem formidable throughout the world. How was it possible for them, with the eye of reason only, to see that conqueror and that monarch in Christ, whom they beheld with their bodily eyes poor and crucified? How could they understand by the name of their chief city, a heavenly Jerusalem, since the immortality of the soul is not once mentioned in the decalogue? How could a people, who adhered so scrupulously to their law, discover, without the help of supernatural light, in the prophecies which were not their law, a God concealed beneath the form of a circumcised Jew, whose new religion destroyed and set in the most despicable light circumcision and the sabbath, the sacred foundations on which the Jewish law is built? Had Mr. Pascal himself been born a Jew, he would, he must have fallen into the same errors. Once again let me repeat it: It is our duty to worship God, without attempting to pierce through the veil which hide his mysteries from us.

XIII.

“The time of Christ’s first coming is foretold,
 “but that of his second coming is not, and for
 this

“ this reason, because the first was to be private,
 “ but the second was ordained to be so open and
 “ conspicuous, that even his enemies might be
 “ compelled to acknowledge him.

13. The time of Christ's second coming was foretold more clearly than even the first. I suppose Mr. Pascal forgot that Christ, in the twenty-first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, declares himself thus :

“ And when ye shall see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.—And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars ; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity, the seas and the waves roaring. For the powers of heaven will be shaken.—And then they shall see the son of man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory.”

What clearer prophecy can we have with regard to Christ's second coming ? But if this be an event that is yet to come, it would argue great presumption in us to enquire of Providence concerning it.

XIV.

“ The Messiah, in opinion of the carnal Jews,
 “ is to be a powerful temporal prince, whereas
 “ the carnal Christians think he is come to re-
 “ lease us from our *love to God*, and to give us
 “ sacraments which, without our concurrence,
 “ shall *operate all-powerfully* upon us ; but nei-
 “ ther of these is the Christian or Jewish re-
 “ ligion.”

14. This article is rather a satyrical sting than a Christian reflection. It is plain, that the Jesuits are levelled at here : but what Jesuit was
 over

ever known to assert, that Christ came into the world to release from our *love to God*? The controversy concerning the love of God is a mere contest about words, like most of these scuribifical quarrels, whence such strong animosities, such fatal calamities have sprung. There is also another defect in this article; I mean, the author's supposing, that the expectation of a Messiah was considered by the Jews as an article of their religion; whereas it was only a consolatory reflection, in which they indulge themselves. The Jews hoped for a deliverer to come, but then they were not obliged to believe this as an article of faith. Their whole religion was comprised in the book of the law, and the prophets were never considered by them as law-givers.

XV.

“ To examine the prophets with effect we
 “ must understand them : for if we believe they
 “ have but one meaning, it is certain the Mes-
 “ siah is not yet come; but if they have two
 “ meanings, he certainly came in Christ Jesus.”

15. The Christian religion, which is founded on truth itself, does not stand in need of doubtful proof or evidences; but if any circumstance is capable of shaking the foundation of that holy, that rational religion, it is this opinion of Mr. Pascal. He asserts, that every part of the scripture bears a double meaning; but a person who should be so unhappy to be an unbeliever, might argue this with him. A person who delivers himself in terms that bear a double interpretation, must have an intention to impose upon us, and such double dealing is punishable by the laws.

laws. How, therefore, can you, without blushing, admit those very things in God, for which mankind are adjudged infamous, and are punished. Nay, in how contemptible a light do you consider, with what indignation do you treat the oracles of the Heathens, merely on account of their being always susceptible of a double interpretation? If a prophecy is accomplished in its literal sense, will you take upon you to assert that such prophecy is false, because it is verified only as to the letter, and will not answer in the mystical sense that may be affixed to it? Certainly you could not, without being guilty of great absurdity. How then can a prophecy, which never has been really accomplished, become true in a mystical sense? Or will you say, that you cannot make it false if it is true, but that if it is false you can make it true? This is certainly very ænigmatical, and after all we shall find it best to abide by faith in these matters, as the surest way of ending the dispute.

XVI.

“ The infinite distance between the body and
“ spirit, points out the infinitely more infinite
“ distance between spirit and love, this latter be-
“ ing supernatural.”

16. We may reasonably suppose Mr. Pascal would never have introduced such confused stuff into his work, had he taken the pains or leisure necessary to compose it.

XVII.

“ Such particulars as are most apparently weak,
“ are found to have great strength by those who
“ consider things in a proper light: for in-
“ stance,

“ stance, the two genealogies given us by St. Matthew and St. Luke. It is evident this was not done by confederacy.”

17. The editors of Pascal's thoughts ought undoubtedly to have suppressed this reflection, the bare explanation of which will perhaps be of prejudice to religion. Of what use can it be to declare those genealogies, which are fundamental points of the Christian religion, clash with each other, unless a method be at the same time pointed out to reconcile them? An antidote should have been administered at the same time with the poison. What should we think of a lawyer who was to say, My client contradicts himself, but these apparent weaknesses will be found of great strength by those who consider things in their proper light? Or what opinion should we entertain of two witnesses, whose depositions contradict each other? Should we not be apt to say, You do not agree in your evidence, but certainly one of you is mistaken?

XVIII.

“ Let no one, therefore, reproach us with want of light, since we make profession of it; but let them acknowledge the truth of religion, even in the obscurity of it, and in that indifference which we shew with regard to gaining light into it.”

18. What odd characteristics of truth are here brought us by Mr. Pascal? What then are the characteristics of falsehood? Can it be enough for a man, desirous of being believed, to say, I am obscure, I am unintelligible? It would shew much more judgment to offer only

the light of faith to the eye, in the room of such abstruse strokes of erudition.

XIX.

“ If there was but one religion, God would
“ be too manifest.”

19. How! do you say, that if there was but one religion, God would be too manifest? You surely forget that you tell us in every page, that the time will come, when there will be but one religion. According to your reasoning, God will then be too manifest.

XX.

“ I affirm, that the Jewish religion did not
“ consist in any of these things, but only in the
“ law of God, and that God rejected and con-
“ demned all other things.”

20. What! did God reject and condemn all those things, the performance of which he himself had so strictly and particularly enjoined the Jews? Would it not be rather more just to assert, that the law of Moses consisted in love, and was life? The reducing all things to *the law of God*, argues not so much a love for God, as the hatred which every Jansenist bears to his Molinist neighbour.

XXI.

“ The most important act in life is the choice
“ of a trade, and yet chance generally deter-
“ mines on this occasion. Custom makes sol-
“ diers, bricklayers, and the like.”

21. How should soldiers, bricklayers, and mechanics in general be governed, but by the things we call chance or custom? It is only in the acts
of

of genius that we find a self-impulse, but as to those trades or professions which all men are capable of exercising, it is not only just but natural, that custom should determine on those occasions.

XXII.

“ Let every man examine his own thoughts,
 “ and he will find that they are always busied
 “ on things past, and on those to come. We
 “ scarce ever reflect on the present; and if we
 “ ever do reflect on it, it is only with a view to
 “ borrow light therefrom, in order for our disposal
 “ of futurity. The present is never our
 “ aim; past and present are our means, futurity
 “ only is our object.”

22. It is false to say, that we do not think of the present, we think of it while we are engaged in the study of nature, and while we are performing all the functions of life; we also think greatly of the future. Let us therefore thank the author of nature for informing us with that instinct which is for ever directing us to futurity. The most valuable treasure possessed by man, is that hope which softens our cares, and which, while we are enjoying present blessings, paints future ones in the imagination. Were mankind so unhappy as to employ their minds only on the time present, no person would sow, build, plant, or make the least provision in any respect, but would be in want of all things in the midst of this false enjoyment. How could so sublime a genius as Mr. Pascal insist on the truth of so false a proposition! Nature has so settled things, that every man is to enjoy the present by supporting himself with food, by getting children,
 by

by listening to agreeable sounds, by employing his faculty, of seeing and feeling; and that at the instant of his quelling these several conditions, and even in the midst of them, he reflects on the morrow, without which he would die for want to-day.

XXIII.

“ But on examining this matter more attentively, I found, that the total disregard which men shew to the procuring themselves repose and tranquility, and to the living inwardly, springs from a cause which is but too real; I mean from the natural infelicity of our weak, our mortal condition, which is so very wretched, that nothing is able to comfort us at the time that we are not prevented by any thing from reflecting on it, and that we behold nothing but ourselves.

23. The expression, *we behold nothing but ourselves*, conveys nothing intelligible to the mind. What would a man be, who should remain in a state of inactivity, and be supposed to contemplate himself? I affirm such a person would not only be an idiot, a useless member of society, but I will also as boldly affirm, that no such man can ever exist; for, what can he have to contemplate? His body, his feet, his hands, his five senses? He either must be an idiot, or he would make a proper use of these. Would there still remain his faculty of thinking for him to contemplate? But he cannot contemplate that faculty without exercising it. He will either think on nothing, or on those ideas that are already present to his imagination, or he will form new ones: now all his ideas must come from
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without. Thus is he necessarily employed, either about his senses, or about his ideas; consequently he, on this occasion, is either out of himself, or an idiot. Once again, it is impossible for human nature to continue in this supposed lethargy: it is absurd to imagine it, and foolish to pretend to it. Man is born for action as the fire tends upwards, and a stone downwards. Not to be employed, and not to exist, is one and the same thing with regard to man. The whole difference consists in his employments, as they are either calm or tumultuous, dangerous or useful.

XXIV.

“Mankind are informed with a secret instinct, which prompts them to seek after amusement and employment from without, arising from a sense of their perpetual misery; and they are informed with another instinct, arising from the greatness of their first nature, which teaches them that happiness is found no where but in repose.”

24. As this secret instinct is the first principle and the necessary foundation of society, it proceeds from the kindness of our Creator, and is an instrument of our felicity rather than a sense of our misery. I know not how our first parents passed their time in paradise, but if each of them had made their own person the sole object of their respective thoughts, the propagation of mankind would have been extremely dubious. Can any thing be more absurd than to suppose, they were endued with perfect senses, that is, with perfect instruments for action, only to pass their whole lives in contemplation? And how
whim-

whimsical is it so suppose, that thinking men should imagine, that idleness enobles, and that action degrades human nature !

XXV.

“ When therefore Cineas told Pyrrhus, who
 “ proposed to repose himself and enjoy his friends,
 “ after he should have conquered a great part of
 “ the world, that he had better hasten his felicity,
 “ by enjoying that repose for the present,
 “ rather than undergo such a series of fatigues,
 “ in order to obtain it in future, it would (I say)
 “ have been very difficult for Pyrrhus to put
 “ this advice in execution ; nor was it much
 “ more just and rational, than the design of this
 “ ambitious youth. They both imagined that
 “ it was possible for man to draw contentment
 “ solely from himself, and from present blessings,
 “ without filling the void of his heart with imaginary
 “ hopes, which is false, for Pyrrhus
 “ could not be happy, neither before nor after
 “ he had conquered the world.”

25. This example of Cineas does well enough in Boileau's satyrs, but not in a philosophical treatise. A wise king may be happy at home, and the instance of Pyrrhus' madness or folly has nothing to do with the rest of mankind.

XXVI.

“ We ought therefore to confess, that man is so
 “ very unhappy, that he would grow tired of himself,
 “ without any external cause to render him
 “ so, merely from the state of his condition.”

26. On the contrary, man is so happy in this particular, and we are so much obliged to the author of nature, that he has made uneasiness

inseparable from inactivity, in order to compel us by that means to be useful both to our neighbours and ourselves.

XXVII.

“ See yonder man ! how comes it to pass, that
 “ he who has lately lost his only son, who involved him in a vexatious law-suit, and was
 “ but this morning in a state of despair, seems
 “ now so perfectly easy and unembarrassed ?
 “ There is nothing wonderful in all this. His
 “ eye is at this instant curiously examining
 “ which way it will be possible for that stag,
 “ which the hounds have been closely pursuing
 “ these six hours, to escape. Man, however
 “ oppressed with grief, if he can but be persuaded to engage in some diversion, is happy
 “ during that time.”

27. This man acts wisely, diversions being a more infallible remedy against Grief, than the Jesuit's bark in fevers. Let us not censure Nature, for she is ever ready to indulge us with any assistance.

XXVIII.

“ Let us suppose a number of men chained
 “ together, and all sentenced to die, some of
 “ them being daily executed in presence of the
 “ rest, the wretched survivors behold their own
 “ condition in that of their fellow prisoners,
 “ and gazing upon each other, overwhelmed
 “ with sorrow, and lost to all hope, expect their
 “ turn to be next; this is an exact image of
 “ mankind”

28. This comparison is most certainly false.
 A number of miserable creatures bound in chains

and successively called forth to execution, are unhappy not only because they suffer, but because they suffer what other men do not. The natural condition of man is not to be either chained or murdered; but all men, like animals and plants, are sent into the world to grow, and live a certain period, to beget their like and die. Satirists may, if they please, take all opportunities of exhibiting man in his worst light; but if we will make the smallest use of our reason, we shall find ourselves constrained to own, that of all animals, man is the most perfect, the happiest, and (comparatively speaking) the longest lived.

Therefore, far from wondering at, or complaining of, the infelicity or shortness of life, we ought, on the contrary, to wonder that our happiness should be so great, and of so long duration, and felicitate ourselves on that prerogative. To reason only philosophically, I will venture to observe, that he who shall assert, that we ought, from our nature, to be in a better condition than we actually are, shews a great share of pride, and no less temerity of judgment.

XXIX.

“ For, in a word, if mankind had not been
 “ corrupted, he would enjoy the knowledge of
 “ truth and felicity in an assured manner, &c.
 “ so evident is it that we have once been in a
 “ state of perfection, from whence we are
 “ fallen.”

29. It is certain, both from faith and revelation, which are far superior to human comprehension, that we are fallen; but it is by no means manifest from reason. For I would de-

fire to know, whether God could not, without derogating from his justice, have created man such as he now is, and even whether he did not create him to be what he now is? May not the present state in which man is, be considered as a blessing? What reason have we to expect any thing more from God? Who told us, that our being required greater knowledge or happiness? Who told us we could bear with more? Are you surprized that God made man so weak, so ignorant, and so wretched, and not astonished, that he did not make us more so? You complain of a short life, full of misfortunes. Return thanks to the Creator who did not make it more circumscribed and miserable. By your reasoning it should seem, that every man has reason to accept the duty the metaphysicians excepted, who reason on original sin.

XXX.

“ Original sin is a ridiculous notion in the eyes of mankind, and it is accounted such.”

30. How contradictory! a little before you have said, that the reality of original sin is evident, because (to use your own words) every thing declares it to us. But how can it at one and the same time be ridiculous, and yet demonstrable by reason?

XXXI.

“ The sages amongst the heathens, who declared there was but one God, were persecuted; the Jews were hated, and the Christians held in detestation.”

31. They were sometimes persecuted just as a man would be who, in this age, should teach the
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the worship of God independently from the established worship. Socrates was not condemned for saying, *there was but one God*, but for censuring the exterior worship of his country, and for having raised against himself, very unseasonably, a set of powerful enemies. With regard to the Jews, they were hated, not because they believed only in one God, but because they bore a ridiculous hatred to other nations; because they were barbarians, who cruelly butchered their vanquished enemies; and because this swelling, this superstitious and ignorant people, who were utter strangers to the polite arts and trades, had a contempt for the most civilized and refined nations. As to the Christians, the Heathens have an aversion to them, because they endeavoured to destroy their religion and government; in which they succeeded at last, in like manner as the Protestants have got possession of these very countries, where they were for many years persecuted and butchered.

XXXII.

“What a number of stars have been discovered by telescopes, which were hid from the philosophers of antiquity! some have boldly impeached the scriptures, on account of what is said in so many places of the vast number of stars; because, say they, (very modestly) we know there are but one thousand and twenty-two.”

32. It is certain, that the sacred writers, in matters relating to physics, always adapted themselves to the received notions. Thus they supposed the earth to be fixed, the sun to move, &c.

It is not in any manner from astronomical de-

finement, that they assert the stars to be numberless, but merely to suit themselves to vulgar capacities. And, indeed, though our sight discovers but one thousand and twenty-two stars, nevertheless, when we look attentively upon the sky, the dazzled eye imagines it beholds a numberless multitude. The sacred penmen, therefore, express themselves agreeably to this vulgar notion, their compositions not being transmitted to mankind with a view to make them naturalists. And it is more than probable, that God never revealed to Habakkuck, to Baruch, or to Micah, that an Englishman, named Flamsteed, would one day insert in his catalogue upwards of seven thousand stars, discovered by the assistance of telescopes. Observe, I beseech you, what an inference might be drawn from Pascal's thought. If the sacred writers have really spoken of such a great number of stars, from a knowledge of their cause, they must then have been physically inspired: But how then could such great naturalists say, that the moon shone at noon-day upon Ascalon, and the sun stood still upon Gabaon in Palestine? Could they have asserted that the grain must rot in the ground, before it produces corn, and an hundred other like absurdities? Hence then we are to conclude, that moralists, and not natural philosophers, ought to be the object of our scriptural researches; and that the Bible is intended to make Christians, and not philosophers.

XXXIII.

“ Can it be called courage in a dying man,
 “ to defy, in his last moments, an omnipotent
 “ and everlasting God?

33. This

33. This never happened, and no man, but in the height of a delirium, could say, I believe in God, and I defy him.

XXXIV.

“ I willingly credit those histories, the witnesses to which gave themselves up to death.”

34. The difficulty is not only to know whether we ought to give credit to witnesses, who suffer death in defence of their sentiments, (as so many enthusiasts have done) but likewise whether such witnesses really laid down their lives on such account; whether the testimony for which they suffered, has been really transmitted to us; and whether they actually lived in the countries where they are said to have died. Whence comes it that Josephus, who was born about the time of Christ's death; Josephus, who hated Herod; Josephus, who was but faintly attached to the Jewish principles, does not once mention any of these particulars? This is what Mr. Pascal would have unravelled with success.

XXXV.

“ There are two extremes in the sciences which border close upon each other. The first is the natural ignorance in which all men is born. The other extreme is that to which great souls attain, who, after having acquired all that is possible for man to know, find they know nothing, and meet in the very point of ignorance from whence they set out.”

35. This thought has all the air of sophistry, and its falsity consists in the word ignorance, which is taken in two different senses. One who can neither read nor write is ignorant; but

mathematician, though he be unacquainted with the occult principles of nature, is not so ignorant as when he first began to learn to read. Though Sir Isaac Newton could not tell why a man can move his arm at pleasure, this did not make him less knowing in other particulars. A person who is ignorant of the Hebrew language, but skilled in the Latin, is learned in comparison of one who understands no tongue but his own.

XXXVI.

“ A man cannot be called happy because diversions give him pleasure ; these coming from without, and consequently being dependent, and as such are liable to be disturbed by a thousand accidents, which each form as many unavoidable afflictions.”

36. He might with equal truth have said, that a man is not unhappy, because he is overwhelmed with grief, for grief comes from without.” That man is actually happy who enjoys pleasure, and this pleasure can arise no otherwise than from without. All our sensations and ideas can result only from external objects ; in like manner as our bodies can receive nourishment no otherwise than by taking in foreign substances, in order for their being changed into, or assimilated with our own.

XXXVII.

“ Extreme wit is said to border as near upon folly as extreme imperfection. Mediocrity only is accounted good.”

37. It is not the extremes of wit or genius, but their extreme vivacity and volubility, which are said to border upon folly. The extremes of
wit

wit or genius, are extreme justness, extreme delicacy, extreme extent of conception, all which are diametrically opposite to folly. An extreme defect of genius is the want of conception, an absolute vacuity, with regard, it is not folly but stupidity. Folly is a disorder in the organs, which makes us perceive several objects too quick, fixes the imagination upon one in particular with too great intenseness and violence. Neither is it mediocrity which is only accounted good, but it is the keeping clear of the two opposite vices is what we call the just mean, not mediocrity. I have made this remark, as well as some others of the same kind, only to convey clear and precise ideas of things, and with a view rather to enlighten than cavil.

XXXVIII.

“ If our condition was truly happy, it would
“ not be proper to divert us from thinking
“ on it.”

38. The state of our condition is directly this, to reflect on those outward objects to which we bear a necessary relation. It is false to say, that it is possible for a man to be diverted from thinking on the condition of human nature; for to what object soever he applies his thoughts, he applies them to something which is necessarily united to human nature. And once again, for a man to reflect, or think on himself abstractedly from natural surveys, is to think on nothing; I say, on nothing at all, and let this be well observed.

People, so far from preventing a man from thinking on his condition, are ever entertaining him with the pleasures of it. To a scholar we
talk

talk of learning and fame ; to a prince, of matters relating to his grandeur ; and with all men we make pleasure the subject of conversation.

XXXIX.

“ The high and the low, the mighty and the mean, are all subject to the same uneasinesses and passions. But some are at the top of the wheel, and others near the centre ; these are consequently less agitated by the same motions.”

39. It is false to assert, that those in a low condition are less agitated than such as are in a higher sphere of life ; on the contrary, their grief is the more poignant as they are less provided with remedies against it. Of an hundred persons who lay violent hands on themselves in the City of London, seventy will be found to be mean persons, and scarce one of high rank. The comparison of the wheel, though ingenious, is false.

XL.

“ Mankind are not taught to be honest, though they are taught every thing else ; and yet there is nothing in which they pride themselves so much, as in a knowledge of that which they are not taught.”

40. Persons are taught to become honest men, otherwise few would be so. Should a father permit his child, during his infancy, to pocket every thing that came in his way, at fifteen he would take to the road. Should he be proud for his dexterity in telling a lie, he would turn out a knight of the post ; and was he to be indulged in the free exercise of his lustful appetites, he would

would certainly become an abandoned debauchee. Mankind are taught all things, even virtue and religion.

XLI.

“How stupid was it in Montaigne to draw his own picture; and this not occasionally, and in opposition to his own maxims, (as every man may make a slip) but agreeable to his own maxims, and as his first and principal object; for to vent trifles merely by chance, and thro’ frailty, is a common evil; but to vent them designedly, and such as those we are speaking of, is insufferable.”

41. Say rather how charming a thought it was in Montaigne, in drawing so natural a picture of himself! for mankind was the original he copied. Had Nicole and Malebranche always made themselves their subject, they would not have succeeded. But the private gentleman, in the reign of Henry III. who is learned in an age of ignorance, and a philosopher amidst a herd of enthusiasts, and who presents to us our follies and weakness under his own character, will never continue to be beloved by us.

XLII.

“When I considered whence it should come to pass, that people give so much credit to such number of quacks, who boast their being possessed of infallible nostrums, so as frequently to trust their lives in their hands, I imagined the true cause of this to be, that there were such things as true medicines in the world; for it would be impossible that there should be so many spurious ones, or so much credit given
“to

“ to them, if there were none genuine. Had
 “ there never been any such, and that all diseases
 “ in general had been incurable, it is impossible
 “ mankind could have imagined there were any
 “ in nature ; and still more that so many multi-
 “ tudes of people should have given credit to
 “ those who boasted their being possessed of such
 “ medicines. Was a person to pretend that he
 “ had got a secret which would preserve people
 “ from the grave, no one would believe him,
 “ because there have been no examples of this.
 “ But as a great number of medicines have been
 “ found genuine, from the experience of the
 “ greatest men, this circumstance was the belief
 “ of mankind. For as the thing could not be
 “ denied in general, because some particular ef-
 “ fects have been found true, the vulgar, who
 “ have not the capacity to discern among those
 “ which are the true ones, therefore give credit
 “ to them all indiscriminately. In like manner,
 “ the reason why so many false effects of the
 “ moon are believed is, because there are some
 “ true ones, such as the ebbing and flowing of
 “ the sea.

“ Thus it seems evident to me, that the sole
 “ reason why there are so many false miracles,
 “ false revelations and witchcrafts, is, because
 “ there are true ones.”

42. The solution of this problem is very easy :
 some extraordinary effects in nature having ap-
 peared, they were by artful imposters made to
 pass for miracles : some maladies being observed
 to be worse while the moon was in the full, hence
 a parcel of silly people imagined, that the moon
 being in the full was the cause of those disorders
 growing worse. A sick person, who was already
 in

in a fair way of recovery, eats some craw-fish for supper, the next day he is better ; therefore it was concluded, that craw-fish were purifiers of the blood, and especially because they are red when boiled.

In my opinion mankind are not obliged necessarily, in order for their auditing what is fact, to be acquainted with what is true : a thousand false influences were ascribed to the moon, before we had the least conception of the true reason of the ebbing and flowing of the sea. The first man who found himself sick, easily gave credit to the first quack he met with. No one ever saw a hobgoblin or a wizard, and yet many believed there were such beings : no man was ever an eye witness to the transmutation of metals, and yet thousands have been ruined by their believing in what is called the philosopher's stone. Did the Greeks, the Romans, or other heathen nations, give credit to the numberless false miracles which was exhibited to them, for no other reason but because they had been spectators of true ones ?

XLIII.

“ The land serves as a mark to the mariners,
“ but were shall we find such a rule in morality.”

43. In this single maxim, admitted by all nations, “ Do as you would be done by.”

XLIV.

“ These prefer death to the living in peace,
“ others prefer death to war. Every opinion
“ may be preferred to life, the love of which
“ appears so strong and natural.”

44. Ferox

44. *Ferox gens nullam esse vitam sine armis putant, says Tacitus, in speaking of the Catalans. This fierce people think their life thrown away if not spent in arms. But there is no people of whom it has been and may be said, They prefer death to war.*

XLV.

“ The more discernment any person has, the
“ greater number of persons will be found who
“ are originals in their way. The vulgar cannot
“ perceive difference between man and man.”

45. Very few men can justly boast an original character, as most people square their conduct, their thinking, and their feeling, according as they have been influenced by education : nothing is more rare than a genius who strikes out a new path for himself. But among the croud of men who travel in company, each of them has some little difference in his gait, which is perceived by those only who have a piercing eye.

XLVI.

“ Death is more easy to be supported without
“ thinking of it, then the reflection on death
“ when out of danger..”

46. We cannot say that man bears death very easily or uneasily when he does not reflect at all upon it. He who feels nothing bears nothing.

XLVII.

“ All our reasoning terminates in yielding to
“ sensation.”

47. Our reasoning must yield to sensation, in matters of taste, not in those of knowledge.

XLVIII

XLVIII.

"Those who judge of work by rule, are, with respect to other men, like those who have a watch, in comparison with those who have none. The one shall say we have been here these two hours; the other, we have been here but $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour. I look upon my watch, and says to the former, you are tired; and to the latter, you think the time very short."

48. In works of taste, in musick, poetry, and painting, taste serves as a watch, and that man who judges of them only by rule judges wrong.

XLIX.

"Cæsar, in my opinion, was too old to set about the conquest of the world. This was an amusement that suited well enough with Alexander, who was a young man, whose impetuosity it was difficult to check; but Julius Cæsar should have been more composed."

49. 'Tis vulgarly supposed, that Alexander and Julius Cæsar left their respective countries with a design to make the conquest of the world, but this was far from being the case. Alexander succeeded his father Philip as generalissimo of the united forces of Greece, and was appointed chief of the just enterprize which the Greeks formed to revenge the injurious treatment they had met with from the Persian's monarch. He defeated the common enemy, and pushed his conquests as far as India, because Darius kingdom extended so far; in like manner as the duke of Marlborough, had he not been stopped by marshal Villar's, would have marched to Lyons. With regard to

Julius

Julius Cæsar, he was one of the chief personages of the Roman commonwealth. He quarrelled with Pompey as the Jansenists do with the Molinists; on which occasion they endeavoured to cut one anothers throats. But a single battle, in which less than ten thousand men fell, decided the contest at once. Besides, Mr. Pascal's reflection may possibly be false in many respects. It was necessary that Julius Cæsar should have lived to the age he did, in order for him to get the better of all the intrigues which were formed against him; and 'tis surprizing that Alexander, when so young, should have conceived pleasures for the sake of engaging in so laborious and painful a war.

L.

“ Man is neither an angel nor a brute; and
 “ the misfortune is, that he who attempts to act
 “ the angel plays the brute.”

50. The man who endeavours to destroy the passions, instead of regulating them, attempts to act the angel.

LI.

“ 'Tis whimsical enough to consider, that there
 “ should be men in the world (thieves for in-
 “ stance) who having bid defiance to all the laws
 “ of God and man, form to themselves a set of
 “ laws, to which they pay the most implicit
 “ obedience.”

51. This reflection is more useful than whimsical, as it proves, that no society of men can subsist a single day without rules or laws. It is with societies of men as with games, there is no one without its rules.

LII.

LII.

“ A horse does not endeavour to make himself admired by his companion. We indeed perceive those beasts fired with some kind of emulation when running a race ; but this is of no farther consequence, for when they are got together in the stable, that horse which is less agreeable shaped than the other, will not on that account yield his oats to him. But it is different with mankind ; their virtue is not satisfied with itself, and they are not contented unless they can reap such a benefit from it as may be disadvantageous to others.”

52. The man who is less well shaped than another, will not give up his bread to him for that reason, but the stronger dispossesses the weaker of it. Among brutes and among men, the strong prey upon the feeble. Mr. Pascal is doubtless very right in saying, that what particularly distinguishes men from brutes is, that he seeks the approbation of those of his own species, and that this talent is the source of every talent and virtues.

LIII.

“ If man was to begin by studying himself, he would find how difficult it is for him to proceed farther. How can it be possible for a part to know the whole ? He will perhaps inspire to acquaint himself at least with those parts, to whom he himself bears a proportion. But all the parts of the world bear such a relation one to the other, and are so connected that I am of opinion 'tis impossible to know one without the other, and without the whole.”

53. It would not be proper to divert man from searching after those things which may be
of

of advantage to him from this reflection, that it is impossible for him to know all things.

Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi.

HOR. Ep. I. Lib. I.

We are acquainted with a great number of truths, and have discovered a multitude of useful inventions. Let us be easy, tho' we may not know the relation which may be between a Spider and Saturns ring; and let us confine our researches within the sphere of our comprehension.

LIV.

“ If thunder always fell in vallies, poets, and
“ those who are able to reason only on things of
“ this nature, would be at a loss for proofs.”

54. A simile is our proof, either in verse or prose: in poetry it serves as an embellishment, and in prose it illustrates things and renders them more forcibly striking. Those poets who have compared the misfortunes that befell heroes and great men to the thunder, that strikes and rends the mountains, would make quite opposite comparisons if the opposite happened in nature.

LV.

“ It is owing to a particular cast of mind and
“ composition of body, that philosophers have
“ confounded the ideas of things, and ascribed to
“ the body things which relate only to the mind;
“ and to mind such as suit the body only.”

55. Did we truly know what the mind is, we might then justly complain of philosophers, for ascribing such things to it as are quite foreign thereto; but we are not acquainted either with
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the mind or body ; we have not the least idea of the one, and but very imperfect notions concerning the other ; consequently we are not able to settle their respective limits.

LVI.

“ As we say *poetical beauty*, we likewise ought to say *geometrical* and *medecinal* beauty, and yet we do not say so ; the reason is, we know very well what is the object of geometry, and what is the object of physick ; but we do not know what that is, in which the charm of beauty consists, which is the object of feeling. We do not know what this natural model is, which we ought to imitate, and for want of this knowledge, we have invented and adopted certain odd terms, such as *golden age*, *miracle of our fine fatal laurel*, *beautiful stars*, &c. and this jargon is called poetical beauty ; but was any person to figure to himself a woman, dressed after this model, will see a handsome young lady covei'd with looking-glasses, and bound in tinsel chains.”

56. This is very false. We ought not to say geometrical beauty, nor medicinal beauty, because a theorem and a purge do not affect the senses in an agreeable manner ; because we give the name of beauty to those things only which charm the senses, as music, painting, eloquence, poetry, regular architecture, &c. The reason given by Mr. Pascal is equally false with his reflection. He very well knows which it is that forms the object of poetry. It consists in painting with strength, clearness, delicacy and harmony. Poetry is harmonious eloquence. Mr. Pascal
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must have had very little taste, to say that *fatal laurel*, *beautiful star*, and such like stuff, are practical beauties ; and the editors of his *Thoughts* must have been very little versed in polite literature, otherwise they would not have printed a reflection so unworthy of its illustrious author.

LVII.

“ No one is thought to understand poetry, who does not put on the badge of a poet ; nor to be expert in the mathematicks, who has not the stamp of a mathematician : but the real honest man wears no badge.”

57. By thus reasoning, it would be as bad to have a profession, or a distinguished talent, to excel in it. Virgil, Homer, Corneille, Newton, and the marquis d'Hospital, wore badges of the studies they followed with such success. Happy is he who succeeds in any particular art, and at the same time is acquainted with others.

LVIII.

“ The common people have in general a very just taste, an instance of which is in their preferring public sports, hunting, &c. before poetry, and the politer arts.”

58. It would seem as if it had been proposed to the people to chuse a game at bowls, or to make verses. But this is not the case. Those whose organs are more grossly formed, seek after those pleasures in which sentiment has the least share ; while, on the other hand, those of delicate sensations wish for the more refined pleasures, were we must live.

LIX.

“ Tho' the universe should fall upon man
and

“ and crush him to death, yet would man be still
 “ more noble than that which destroyed him ; be-
 “ cause he is conscious of the advantage the uni-
 “ verse has over him, and that he is about to die,
 “ whereas the universe knows nothing of this.”

59. What is here meant by the word noble ?
 It is true indeed, that Thought is a different
 kind of thing from the sun ; but can it be prov-
 ed, that an animal, because he is endowed with
 a few thoughts, is more noble than the sun,
 which animates all that we behold in nature ? Is
 it for man to decide, who is both judge and cul-
 prit ? We say that one performance is superior to
 another, when it cost the workman more pains,
 and is more evidently useful ; but did it cost the
 creator less pains to make the sun than to mould
 a little animal about 5 feet high, who reasons some-
 times well and sometimes ill ? Which of the two is
 most useful in the universe, this animal, or the
 planet that bestows light and heat, and so
 many surrounding worlds ? Or again, how comes
 it that a few ideas received into the brains should
 be preferable to the material universe ?

LX.

“ Fix upon what condition of life you please,
 “ and add to it all the conveniencies the blessings,
 “ and the pleasures of life, all that can seem most
 “ likely to satisfy a human being, yet, if the per-
 “ son who is placed in this state is without occu-
 “ pation or amusement, and left to reflection,
 “ what he really is, this insipid felicity will soon
 “ grow irksome.

60. How can we place a man in the midst of
 all the conveniencies, the blessings and pleasures
 of life, and at the same time leave him destitute

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 all the conveniencies, the blessings and pleasures
 of life, and at the same time leave him destitute

of occupation and amusement? Is not this a palpable contradiction?

LXI.

“ Let a king be left alone without any thing
“ to satisfy his senses, without any care in his
“ mind, and retired from company, to think at
“ leisure on himself, and you will find that
“ king who entirely unto himself will appear a
“ creature full of miseries, and who feels them
“ like others.”

61. Still the same sophistical way of reasoning. A king who retires to indulge thoughts, is then fully occupied; but he has confined his thoughts wholly to himself, by saying, I reign, I am a king, and nothing more, he would be an idiot,

LXII.

“ Every religion which does not acknowledge
“ Christ Jesus is notoriously false, and miracles
“ can avail it nothing.”

62. What is a miracle? Let us form what idea we please of it, it is a thing which the Almighty alone has the power of performing. Now here we have a supposition that God can work miracles in support of a false religion: this is deserving of a more serious consideration, each of these questions would furnish matter for a volume.

LXIII.

“ We are told to believe in the church, but
“ we are not told to believe in miracles, because
“ the latter is natural, and the former is not:
“ we stood in need of a precept for the one, and
“ not for the other.”

63. Here

63. Here I think is a contradiction. First we are told that miracles would avail nothing on certain occasions, and then, that we ought necessarily to believe in miracles, which is saying, that they were such convincing proofs that there was no reason of recommending such proofs. This assuredly is answer pro and con, and in a very dangerous manner.

LXIV.

“ I do not see that there is a greater difficulty
 “ in believing in the resurrection of the body and
 “ the conception of the blessed virgin, then the
 “ story of creation. For it is more difficult to
 “ reproduce a man than to produce him at first ?”

64. Simple reasoning will afford us proofs of the truth of the creation ; for when we perceive that matter cannot exist, move, &c. of itself, we readily come to know that it must have been assisted ; but we can never discover by the bare help of reason, how a body which we see continually subject to change, is to be restored again to the same state as it was in at the time it put on that change : neither will reasoning satisfy us how a man could be produced without the seed peculiar to his species. Hence it follows, that the creation is an object of reason, but the other two miracles an object of faith only.

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May 10, 1747.

I HAVE lately read some thoughts of Mr. Pascal, which had not before appeared in public. They were copied by father Mollets from the hand-writing of that illustrious author, and have been lately printed. They seem to confirm what I have formerly said, that this great genius had scattered his ideas loosely upon paper, with an intention of correcting some, making use of others, &c.

Among these latter thoughts, which the editors of Mr. Pascal's works had denied a place in the collection, there are several which were worthy of being preserved. The following are some of those, which, in my opinion, this great man should have corrected.

I.

“ Though a proposition may appear incomprehensible, yet we must not absolutely deny it on that account, but well examine its opposite; and if we find this manifestly false, then we may affirm the first, however inconceivable it may appear.”

I. To me it appears evident, that two opposites may be equally false. An ox flies towards the south with wings. An ox flies towards the north without wings. Twenty thousand angels killed yesterday the same number of men. Twenty thousand men killed yesterday twenty thousand angels. Now these propositions are both of them evidently false.

“ How

II.

“ How vain an art is that of painting, which attracts our admiration by the resemblance of things, whose originals we do not admire.”

2. Certainly the merit of a portrait does not consist in the goodness of heart of the person it resembles, but in the likeness it bears to him. We admire Cæsar in one sense, and his statue, or his image on canvas, in another.

III.

“ If physicians had not wore cassocks and rode upon mules, and doctors of divinity appeared in square caps and flowing robes, they never would have acquired that consideration in the world which they now possess.

3. And yet physicians never ceased to be the objects of ridicule, never acquired real consideration, till they had cast aside those liveries of pedantry: and the head of a university must leave behind him his square cap and his arguments, if he would be received among the genteel world. There are even some countries where the magistrates make themselves respected without pomp or parade. There are some kings in Christendom, who neglect the ceremonies of consecration and coronation. In proportion as mankind encreased in knowledge, they set less value upon particular garbs. Dress is now only used to captivate the vulgar, for whom it is still sometimes necessary *ad populum phaleras*.

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IV.

“ According to the lights of nature, if there
 “ is a God, he is infinitely incomprehensible;
 “ because as he is without parts or limits, he
 “ can have no relation to us; therefore we are
 “ incapable of knowing either what he is, or if
 “ he exists.”

4. It is very strange, that Pascal should have thought we could guess at original sin from reason, and that he should say we cannot know from reason that God exists. It was probably the reading this thought that made father Hardouin place Pascal in his ridiculous list of atheists. Pascal had most evidently renounced this notion, since he has combated it in several other places. In fact we are under a necessity of admitting several things, which we cannot conceive; “ I exist, therefore something exists from all eternity.” This is an evident proposition; and yet can we say, that we conceive what eternity is?

V.

“ Do you think it impossible that God should
 “ be infinite and without parts? I do. Well
 “ then, I will shew you what an infinite and
 “ indivisible thing is. It is a point which
 “ moves itself on every side with infinite quick-
 “ ness, for it is in all places, and entire in every
 “ place.”

5. Here are four palpable falsities. 1. That a mathematical point can exist by itself. 2. That it can move from right to left at the same time. 3. That it can move with infinite quickness; whereas there is no quickness, however great,
 but

but what may be augmented. 4. That it can be whole and entire in all places at once.

VI.

“Homer wrote a romance, and has given it to us as such. No one ever believed the existence of Troy or Agamemnon, any more than that of the golden apple.”

6. No writer has ever so much as hinted a doubt of the reality of the Trojan war. The fabulous part of the story of the golden apple does not destroy the foundation of the subject, any more than the fiction of the Ampuella brought by a dove, and the Oriflamme by an angel, impeach the truth of Clovis having reigned in France.

VII.

“I shall not pretend in this place to prove by either the existence of God, the trinity, or the immortality of the soul, from natural reasons; because I should want abilities to find arguments in nature sufficient to convince an atheist.”

7. Is it possible Mr. Pascal should want abilities to prove the existence of God?

VIII.

“Mankind are, in general, so fond of free opinions, that it is surprizing such should ever displease them.”

8. But does not every day's experience shew us, that there is not so effectual a method of gaining a power over the minds of the vulgar, as by proposing them the most difficult, nay, even the most impossible things, to perform or

believe? What gained the Stoicks so much credit, but only that they reduced human nature to the lowest ebb? Propose only what is reasonable, and every one will cry out, we knew this before. It requires no inspiration to become popular. Only enjoin the performance of austerities or impracticabilities; paint the deity as perpetually armed with thunders, and delighting in rivers of blood, the multitude will greedily hearken after you, and every one will say, this man must certainly have reason on his side, otherwise he would never publish such extraordinary things with so much boldness.

I shall not send you the rest of my remarks on Mr. Pascal's thoughts, as this would lead me into too tedious enquiries. But as some have endeavoured to set up as laws those thoughts, which Mr. Pascal probably scattered upon paper only as doubts, I thought it necessary to shew, that we ought not to look upon those things as demonstrations, that he himself would probably have refuted.

A

D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN

ARISTUS and ACROTAL.

ACROTAL.

O Happy times, when the scholars of the university, who had all beards on their chins, knocked on the head that vile mathematician Ramus, and dragged his body, naked and smeared with blood, to the doors of all the colleges, there to do penance!

ARISTUS.

This Ramus, I suppose, was an abominable wretch; surely he must have committed the most enormous crimes?

ACROTAL.

Nothing less. He wrote against Aristotle, and was suspected of something still worse. It is a thousand pities they had not knocked out the brains of that fellow Charon, who took it into his head to write a treatise on wisdom: and Montagne too with his impudent reasoning and pleasantries. Oh! those cursed reasoners are the pests of a state.

ARISTUS.

Bad reasoners indeed may be insufferable; but I cannot see any occasion to hang a poor man for a few false syllogisms: besides, in my

D 4

opinion,

opinion, the men you are exclaiming against, reasons tolerably well.

ACROTAL.

So much the worse ; that makes them the more dangerous.

ARISTUS.

In what respect pray? Did you ever know philosophers occasion famine, war, or pestilence, into a country? Did Bayle, for example, against whom you so bitterly inveigh; did he ever attempt to break down the dykes in Holland, to drown the inhabitants, as a certain great statesman, who was no philosopher, is said to have proposed?

ACROTAL.

Would to God that Bayle had been drowned and all the rest of the Dutch heretics! Why was there ever such an abominable fellow in the world? He sets things forth with such an odious fidelity, and places the arguments on both sides before our eyes with so mean an impartiality, and is so insupportably intelligible, that he puts even those of the most common understanding in a condition to judge, and even to doubt, of what is told them. There is no bearing this; and for my part I confess, that whenever I hear the name of this man, and some others like him, mentioned, it throws me into a fit of holy rage.

ARISTUS.

ARISTUS.

I do not believe that either he or his followers ever intended to put you in a rage—but whither are you running in such a hurry?

ACROTAL.

To pay my respects to Monsieur *Bardo bardi*. I have waited these two days for an audience from him; but he has been always engaged either with his page or his mistress, so that I have not been able to get at the speech of him.

ARISTUS.

He is now at the opera. But pray what urgent business may you have with him?

ACROTAL.

Why I want to engage him to use his interest to have a little rascally abbé burnt, who has lately introduced amongst us the opinions of one Locke, an English philosopher. Only think of that! What abominable impiety!

ARISTUS.

Well, but pray what are these very abominable opinions of this Englishman?

ACROTAL.

What do I know? Why, for example, he says, that we do not give ourselves our ideas; that God is the master of all things, and can bestow sensations and ideas on any being he shall be pleased to chuse; that we are not acquainted either with the essence or elements of matter; that men do not always think; that a drunken man, when asleep, has not his ideas so clear as

when awake and sober; with a thousand other impertinences of equal weight.

ARISTUS.

Very well, and supposing this same rascally abbé the pupil of Locke is so wrong-headed, as not to believe that a drunken man in his sleep meditates a great deal, must you for that reason persecute him? What ill has he done? Has he conspired against the state? Has he mounted the pulpit to hold forth in the praise of theft, calumny, or murder? And pray tell me, between you and I, do you know one single instance of a philosopher's having caused the least disorder in society?

ACROTAL.

Never, I must acknowledge.

ARISTUS.

Are they not, for the most part, persons of retired lives? Are they not generally poor, without protection or support? and is it not partly on this very account that you persecute them, as thinking them the more easy to be oppressed?

ACROTAL.

Formerly indeed those of this sect were persons of very little credit or consideration in the community, mere private citizens, such as Socrates, Pomponatius, Erasmus, a Bayle, or a Descartes; but now philosophy has ascended to the very seats of judicature, and even ascended the throne; every one prides himself in making use of his reason, except in some countries indeed where we had taken care to put matters
upon

upon a different footing. Now this is of a most fatal tendency, and calls upon us to use our utmost endeavours to extirpate those philosophers at least, who have neither fortunes, possessions, rank, nor power, in this world, as we cannot wreak our revenge upon those that have.

ARISTUS.

Your revenge! and for what pray? Have these poor people ever disputed with you your posts, your privileges, or your wealth?

ACROTAL.

No, they hold us in contempt, if I must speak the truth, and sometimes make us the subjects of their raillery. Now that you know we never forgive.

ARISTUS.

If they make a jest of you they do wrong; we should make a jest of no one: but tell me, I beseech you, how it comes about, that they have never made a jest of the laws or the magistrates of any country, and at the same time ridicule your body so unmercifully as you say they do.

ACROTAL.

Why that is the very thing that raises our choler, for we are far superior to the laws.

ARISTUS.

And this is precisely the reason why so many worthy men have turned you into ridicule. You would have the laws, that are founded on universal reason, and by the Greeks called the daughters

daughters of heaven, give way to certain opinions, which are alike begotten and destroyed by caprice. Can you do otherwise than know, that what is just, clear and evident, is eternally held in veneration by the world, while chimeras and idle dreams scarce challenge its attention?

ACROTAL.

Let us have done with the laws and the judges and stick to the philosophers: it cannot be denied, that they formerly said and did as many ridiculous things as ourselves; therefore we are bound to stand up against them, if it is only through jealousy, like two of a trade.

ARISTUS.

Numbers of them have undoubtedly broached foolish opinions, because they were men; but their fancies, however idle, never kindled civil war, whereas yours have been the cause of several.

ACROTAL.

And in this are we truly admirable. Can there be any thing more glorious, than to have put the whole world into commotion by a few arguments? Do we not in this resemble those magicians and enchanterers of old, who could raise storms and tempests by a few words? Were it not for these rascally fellows with their understandings, we should be lords of the universe.

ARISTUS.

Well then, tell them they have no understanding; prove to them that they reason badly: they have rally'd you, why do you not ridicule them

them in their turn? But, my dear Doctor, I must intercede with you for that poor disciple of Locke, that you are in such haste to have burnt. Consider those sort of proceedings are now quite out of fashion.

ACROTAL.

I believe you are in the right; we must fall upon some other method of silencing these insignificant philosophers.

ARISTUS.

Take my advice, be silent yourself. Do you and your fraternity lay under the rage of disputation: be compassionate and benevolent: seek not for evil where it is not, and it will cease to be where it is.

HISTORY

H I S T O R Y OF A GOOD B R A M I N.

IN my travels I happened to meet with an old Bramin. This man had a great share of prudence and understanding, and was very learned. He was also rich, and his riches added to his wisdom; for, wanting nothing, he had no temptation to defraud any one. His family was admirably well managed by three handsome wives, who studied to please him; and when he was weary of amusing himself with women, he had recourse to philosophy.

Not far from his house, which was handsome, well-furnished, and embellished with most delightful gardens, dwelt an old Indian woman, who was a great bigot, ignorant, and withall very poor.

I wish, said the Bramin to me one day, I had never been born! Why so? said I. Because, replied he, I have been studying these forty years, and I find it has been so much time lost. While I teach others I know nothing myself. The sense of my condition is so humiliating, it makes all things so distasteful to me, that life is become a burthen. I have been born, and I exist in time, without knowing what time is: I am placed in the confines between two eternities, as our wise men say, and yet I have no idea of eternity: I am composed of matter, I think, but have never been able to satisfy myself what it is that produces thought: I even
am

am ignorant, whether my understanding is a simple faculty I possess, like that of walking and digesting; or if I think with my head in the same manner as I take hold of a thing with my hands. I am not only thus in the dark with relation to the principles of thought, but the principles of my motions are entirely unknown to me: I do not know why I exist, and yet I am applied to every day for a solution of these matters, and I must return an answer: I can say nothing satisfactory on the head: I talk a great deal, and when I have done speaking, remain confounded and ashamed of what I have said.

I am in still greater perplexity when I am asked, if Bramin was produced by Witsnou, or if they have both existed from eternity. God is my judge, that I know nothing of the matter, as plainly appears by my answers. Reverend father, says one, be pleased to inform me, how evil is spread over the face of the earth. I am as much at a loss as those who ask the question. Sometimes I tell them, that every thing is for the best; but those who have the gout or the stone, those who have lost their fortunes and their limbs in the wars, believe nothing of it any more than myself. I retire to my own house full of curiosity and ignorance. I consult the writings of our ancient sages, and they serve only to bewilder me the more. I talk with my brethren upon the subject: some tell me we ought to make the most of life, and laugh at the world; others think they know something, and lose themselves in vain and chimerical hypotheses: every thing adds to the load I feel. Sometimes I am ready to fall into despair, when I reflect, that, after all my researches, I neither know

know from whence I came, what I am, whither I shall go, or what is to become of me.

The condition in which I saw this good man gave me real concern. No one could be more rational, no one more open and honest. It appeared to me, that the force of his understanding, and the sensibility of his heart, were the causes of his misery.

The same day I had a conversation with the old woman, his neighbour. I asked her if she had ever been afflicted at not knowing how her soul was made? She did not so much as understand my question: she had not, even for a moment in her life, a thought about these two subjects, concerning which the Bramin had so tormented himself: she believed, from the bottom of her heart, in the metamorphoses of her god Wittnou, and provided she could get some of the waters of the Ganges to make her ablutions, she thought herself the happiest of women.

Struck with the happiness of this poor creature, I returned to my philosopher, whom I thus addressed: are you not ashamed to be thus miserable, when, not fifty yards from you, there is an old automaton, who thinks of nothing and lives contented? You are right, replied he; I have said to myself a thousand times, that I should be happy, if I was but as ignorant as my old neighbour; and yet it is a happiness I would not wish for.

This reply of the Bramin made a greater impression on me than any thing that had passed. I examined my own heart, and found, of a truth, that I myself should not wish to be happy, on condition of being ignorant.

I proposed this matter to some philosophers, and they were all of my opinion: and yet, said I, there is something very contradictory in this manner of thinking; for, after all, what is the question? Is it not to be happy? What signifies it then, whether we have understandings or whether we are fools? Besides there is this to be said: those who are contented with their condition are sure of that content; whereas those, who have the faculty of reasoning, are not always sure of reasoning right. It is evident then, added I, that we ought rather to wish not to have common sense, if that common sense contributes to our being either miserable or wicked. They were all of my opinion, and yet not one of them could be found to accept of happiness on the terms of being ignorant. From hence I concluded, that though we may set a great value upon happiness, we set a still greater upon reason.

But after having maturely reflected upon this affair, I thought there was great madness in preferring reason to happiness. How is this contradiction to be explained? Like all others. A great deal may be said about it.

ON ALLEGORIES.

ONE day Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury, being upon their travels in Thrace, took up their lodgings with a king named Hyrieus, who gave them a cordial reception. The three deities, after having made a plentiful meal, asked their host, what they should do for him in return for his civility. The good man, who was past having children, told them, that he should be very much obliged to them if they would give him a son. The gods immediately ordered the head of a bullock newly killed to be brought them, and pissing therein all three, Orion was born from the mixture, who was afterwards made a constellation, and known in the earliest times of antiquity. This constellation had the name of Orion given it by the ancient Chaldeans, and we find it mentioned in the book of Job. But after all it is not easy to conceive, how the urine of three gods could produce a boy. It will be a difficult matter for the Daciers or Saumars to find a reasonable allegory in this curious tale, unless they have a mind to infer from hence, that nothing is impossible to the gods, seeing they can get children by pissing.

There were two rakehelly young blades in Greece, who were told by an oracle to beware of Melampigus: one day Hercules happened to meet with them, and tying them together by the feet to the end of his club, flung them in that manner across his back with their heads downwards like a brace of rabbits. Melampegos in Greek signifies black arse. Upon seeing Hercules's breech they immediately cried out to one another,

another, the oracle is fulfilled, this is *black arse*. Hercules fell a laughing, and let them go about their business. Now, I say once again, were the Daciers and the Saumars to study till they cracked their brains, they would never be able to draw a moral sense from these fables.

Among the fathers of mythology, there were some few who had the gift of a fruitful imagination; but far the greatest part of them joined to this imagination a great deal of wit. Not all our academies or makers of devices, even those who compose the legends for the counters of the royal treasury, will be able to hit upon more just, more pleasing, or more ingenious allegories, than those of the nine Muses, of Venus, the Graces, the God of Love, and several others, that will continue to be the delight and instruction of all ages, as I have already observed in another place.

It must be acknowledged, that the ancients almost always explained themselves by allegories. The primitive fathers of the church, who were for the most part Platonists, copied this method from their master Plato. They have been censured indeed for having carried this passion for allegories and allusions too far.

St. Justin in his apology says, that the sign of the cross is impressed upon the members of the human body; that when a man stretches out his arms, he is the perfect figure of a cross, and that the nose forms an exact cross with the face.

According to Origen, in his explanation of Leviticus, the fat of the victims signifies the church, and the tail is a symbol of perseverance.

St. Au-

St. Augustin, in his sermon on the difference and agreement of the two genealogies, thus explains to his auditors why St. Matthew, though he reckons forty-two generations, gives us an account of forty-one only. The reason is, says he, we ought to reckon Jeconias twice, because he went from Jerusalem to Babylon. Now this journey is the corner-stone, and as the corner-stone is one foot in the side of one wall, so it is likewise on the side of the other wall. This stone therefore may be counted twice, and in like manner we may reckon Jeconias twice. He adds, moreover, that we should stop at the number forty in the forty-two generations, because that number signifies life. Ten is the figure of beatitude, and ten multiplied by four, which represents the four elements and the four seasons, produces forty.

In his fifty-three sermons he has ascribed most amazing emblematical properties to the dimensions of matter. Breadth is the dilatation of the heart. Length long suffering and patience. Height is hope and depth of faith. So that, exclusive of the allegory, matter is here made to have four dimensions instead of three.

It is clear and indubitable, says he in his sermon on the 6th psalm, that the number forty is an emblem of man's body, on account of the four elements, and the four qualities, heat, cold, dryness and moisture; and as the number four relates to the body, the number three belongs to the soul; because we are to love God with a threefold love with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind. The number *four* has affinity to the Old Testament, and that of
three

three to the New. Four and three make the number of seven days compleat, and the eighth is the day of judgment.

There is no denying that most of these allegories have an air of misplaced affectation, little suitable to real eloquence : but then it should be considered whom we find. Those fathers sometimes make use of these figures, wrote in an age and in a country, where almost all the arts were degenerated ; they suffered their sublime genius and deep erudition to stoop to the weakness and imperfections of the times ; and St. Augustin is no less worthy of our veneration, for having paid this tribute to the bad taste of Africa in the 4th century.

The discourses of our modern preachers are free from these blemishes ; not that we presume to prefer them to the fathers, only the present age is preferable to those in which they wrote. Eloquence after them became every day more and more corrupted, nor did it recover itself till of late years. It ran into many excesses still greater than those we have mentioned ; and among the barbarous nations it was even ridiculous till the age of Lewis XIV. If we look into the old sermons, we shall find most of them even far below the dramatic pieces of passion, which were played at the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*. But in these barbarous sermons we may still find a taste for allegory, which has never been wholly laid aside. The famous Menot, who lived in the reign of Francis I. was the writer who did most honour to the allegorical style. The gentlemen of our courts of justice, says he, are like a cat, to whose care a cheese is committed, least the mice should gnaw it ; a single bite of the cat would

would do the cheese more damage, than the nibbling of twenty mice.

The following passage is no less curious :
 “ The woodcutter in a forest lops off both great
 “ and small branches, and makes them up into
 “ fagots together. In the same manner do our
 “ churchmen, by virtue of dispensations from
 “ Rome, accumulate to themselves both great
 “ and small benefices. The Cardinal’s hat is
 “ garnished with bishopricks ; the Bishops with
 “ abbeys and priories ; and all together are gar-
 “ nished with devils. All the wealth of the
 “ church must pass through the hands of three
 “ Cordeliers of the Ave Maria. The *Benedicta*
 “ *tu* are fat abbies of Benedictines ; in *mulieribus*.
 “ Is the patron and his lady ; and *fructus ventris*
 “ feasting and merry making.”

The sermons of Barbet and Maillard are exactly in the same style ; they were delivered partly in bad Latin and partly in bad French. The sermons in Italy were in the same taste. In Germany it was still worse. This monstrous medley gave birth to the Maceronic style, which is the master-piece of barbarism. This kind of eloquence, fit only for Huns and Hottentots, kept its ground the time of Lewis XIII. The Jesuit Gorassa, one who signalized himself amongst the opponents of common sense, never preached in any other. He compared the celebrated Theophilus to a calf, because Theophilus’ former name happened to be *Viaud*. Now the flesh of a calf, says he, is good to roast or boil, but thine is fit only to be burnt.

What a difference between the allegories made use of by our barbarous writers, and those

ON ALLEGORIES. 71

we meet with in Homer, Virgil, and Ovid !
And therefore if we have amongst us any re-
mains of those Goths and Vandals, who affect
a contempt for the fables of antiquity, it is
plain they have not much reason on their
side.

ON

ON POLYTHEISM.

THE belief of a plurality of gods is one of the great errors with which the moderns reproach the Greeks and Romans: but let any one shew me, in one word, from whence it may reasonably be inferred, that they had more than one supreme God, and I will allow the censure to be just: but if no such feat, no such expression, can be found; but, on the contrary, they every where abound with monuments and passages, which bear testimony to one supreme God, superior to all the other gods; we are bound to acknowledge, that the judgments passed on the ancients is as rash, as those we frequently pass upon our cotemporaries.

We may read in a thousand different places in their writings, that Zeus, Jupiter, is the master of gods and men. *Jovis omnia plena.* And St. Paul himself gives the following testimony with regard to the antients. "In God we live and move, and have our being, as one of your poets expresses it." After this testimony shall we presume to accuse our masters of not acknowledging a supreme God?

We are not here to examine, whether there was in former times a Jupiter, king of Crete; whether he was made a God; or whether the Egyptians had twelve great Gods, or eight; or whether the Jupiter of the Latins was one of this number? The present object of enquiry is only to know, whether the Greeks and Romans acknowledged a divine being, supreme over the rest of the heavenly beings. This they are

are for ever repeating, and therefore we cannot but believe them.

Let us only look into the admirable epistle of the philosopher Maximus of Medavra to St. Augustin: "There is one God," says he, "without beginning, the common parent of all things, who has never begotten any one like himself. Who is the man so brutish or stupid, as to entertain a doubt thereof?" Thus does this heathen, who wrote in the fourth century, declare the sentiments of all antiquity.

If I was to draw the veil of the Egyptian mysteries, I should there find the *knit* by whom all things were produced, and who presides over all the other deities; I should find *Methra* among the Persians, *Brama* among the Indians; and it is more than probable, that I should be able to demonstrate, that every well-governed nation acknowledged a supreme being, who had other inferior Gods subordinate to him. I shall not instance the Chinese, whose government, the most respectable on the earth, have never acknowledged any more than one sole God for upwards of 4000 years. But to confine myself to the Greeks and Romans, who are the principal subjects of this enquiry. It is allowed, they admitted numberless superstitions. There is no doubt of it. Every one knows they adopted the most ridiculous fables, and to this I add, that they themselves laughed at them. The basis of their mythology, however, was founded in reason.

In the first place, allowing that the Greeks gave their heroes a place in heaven, as a reward for their virtues. This was a most prudent and useful act of religion. What more glorious re-

E compence

compence could they have given them? What nobler incentive could have been proposed? Are we to censure this? We who, blessed with the light of truth, have religiously preserved this custom which the ancients first thought of? The number of saints, to whom we have raised temples and altars, infinitely exceed those of the Greek and Roman demi-gods and heroes: the only difference is, that they granted the honour of an apotheosis to the most illustrious and conspicuous actions; we to the more mild modest virtues. But their deified heroes, though they were admitted into the court, or partook of the favors of Zeus, the *Demiurgos*, the eternal Lord, they did not share his throne or power: and what is there so very irrational in all this? Is it not a faint type of our heavenly hierarchy? Nothing can convey a more salutary moral; and besides it is not physically impossible in itself. Here is no reason to turn into ridicule a nation, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of our alphabet.

The second subject of reproach we have against them is for admitting such a number of Gods into the government of the world. Neptune presides over the sea; Juno over the air; Eolus over the winds; Pluto or Vesta over the earth, and Mars over the field of battle. Let us reject these genealogies, which were as false as many of those modern ones that are every day bestowed upon men; let us condemn all their adventures, which are fit only for the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and which never made any part of the basis of the Greek or Roman religion: but, in the name of goodness, where would be the stupidity of adopting beings
of

of the second order, to whom some degree of power is given over us ; mortals who are, perhaps, only of the hundred thousandth. Is there any bad philosophy in this, any physical falsity ? Do we not acknowledge nine orders of celestial spirits superior to men ? Have not these nine orders each a different name, and did not the Jews borrow most of these names from the Persians ? Do we not assign particular functions to several angels ? There was a destroying angel who fought for the Jews. There was the angel of travellers, who served as a guide to Tobias. Michael was the tutelary angel of the Hebrew people. We are told in Daniel, that he fought with the angel of the Persians, and disputed with the angel of the Greeks. In the prophet Zachery we read of an angel of an inferior order, who gives an account to Michael of the state in which he found things upon earth. Every nation has its particular angel. The septuagint version tells us in Deuteronomy, that the Lord divided the nations according to the number of the angels. St. Paul in the Acts addresses himself to the angel of Macedonia. These celestial spirits are often called by the name of Gods, *Eloim*, in scripture ; and the word that answers to *Theos*, *Deus*, God, in all nations, does not constantly signify the supreme master of heaven and earth, but frequently a heavenly being ; a being superior to man, though dependant upon the sovereign Lord of nature. The title is even given at times to princes and rulers.

Since then it is held as a real truth with us, that there are heavenly substances charged with the care of men and empires, those nations, who have admitted this truth, without the light

of revelation, are certainly more worthy of our esteem than contempt.

The ridicule or error then does not lie in polytheism itself, but in the abuse made of that belief in the vulgar fables, and in the multitude of ridiculous deities, which every one set up after his own fancy.

The goddess of the breasts *Dea Rumilia*, the goddess of the conjugal art *Dea Pecunda*, the god of close stools *Deus Stercutius*, and the god of f—t—g *Deus Crepitus*, are certainly no very respectable deities. These puerilities, which served as the amusements of the old women and children of Rome, only proves that the word *Deus* had very different acceptations. It is certain, that the *Deus Crepitus* did not cause the same idea as *Deus Divum et Hominum Pater*, the Father of Gods and Men. The Roman pontiffs never gave a place in their temples to those little puppets, with which the good women used to fill their chambers and closets. The religion of the Romans was in the main extremely grave and rigid. Oaths were held inviolable. They could not begin a war till the College of the *Feciales* had declared it just. A vestal, that was convicted of having broke her vow of virginity, was condemned to die. All which bespeaks a people rather rigid than ridiculous in their morals.

I shall confine myself here to prove, that the Roman senate shewed no marks of weakness in adopting polytheism. It may be asked me, how a senate, who by two or three of their deputies only imposed chains and laws upon us, could suffer so many extravagances, and countenance such a heap of absurd fables among their pontiffs?

tiffs? I shall find no great difficulty in answering this question. Wise men in all ages have made use of fools. They willingly left the people in possession of their favorite feasts the Lupercalia and Saturnalia, so long as they continued obedient to authority. The holy chickens, who foretold victory to their armies, were exempted from the spit and the pot. Never let us be surprized, that the wisest governments have permitted the most ridiculous customs or improbable fables. These customs, these fables, existed before those governments were formed; and we do not pull down an extensive and irregular city, merely for the sake of building it again by rule and compass.

But how happens it, some one will say, that, on the one hand, we perceive so much philosophy and science, and on the other so much fanaticism? It is because science and philosophy came to the world a little before Cicero, and fanaticism had already been in being for many ages. Policy then said to folly and fanaticism, let us live all three together as comfortably as we can.

PHILOSOPHICAL MISCELLANIES

E P I S T L E.

ON THE

NEWTONIAN PHILOSOPHY.*

TO THE

Marchioness of CHASTELET.

IMMORTAL Emily, most powerful mind,
 Pallas of France, and glory of thy kind;
 Surpassing age, even in the bloom of youth,
 The pupil, friend, of Newton and of truth.
 Thy fires pierce me, and thy charms con-
 troul;

I feel the force, the brightness of thy soul!
 To thee attracted, I renounce the bays
 Sought on the stage, while yet I liv'd on praise.
 My wit, corrected, roves not as before,
 Of vain applause idolatrous no more!
 Let earth born Rufus with resentment rave,
 And drag his senseless fury to the grave.
 In rhyme still straining coldly to enclose
 Some trivial thoughts, that would depreciate
 prose,

That harmless thunder let him hurl at me,
 Which first his rage for others might decree.
 To blast my fame let pedant Zoilus seek,
 And spread unmeaning malice once a week;
 With me their envy withers in the bud;
 I see no tracts imprinted in the mud.
 Philosophy, all charming powerful queen,
 Lifts the wise mind above corroding spleen.

Happy

*This Epistle was prefixed to the Elements of Newton's Philosophy, published M. de Voltaire, in 1738 and 1741.

Happy on high where Newton now remains,
 Knows he on earth if enmity yet reigns ?
 Not more than he my enemies I know,
 While truth august invites me from below.
 Already see she opes the gate the day !
 The lifts I enter, and pursue my way !
 The massy whirlpools heaving still for place,
 Heap'd without rule, and moving without space,
 Those learned phantoms vanish from my sight,
 And day comes on me with her genuine light !
 That vast expanse, of being the abode,
 Space that contains the immensity of God ;
 Sees in her breast this bounded system move,
 Of planets, worlds beneath us and above.
 Whose whole extent so wondrous to our sense,
 Is but a point, an atom in th' immense.

God speaks, and chaos at his voice subsides,
 In various orbs the mighty mass divides ;
 At once they gravitate, they strive to fall,
 One center seeking which attracts them all.
 That soul of nature, that all moving spring,
 Lay long conceal'd, an unregarded thing ;
 Till Newton's compass moving through the space
 Measures all nature, and discovers place.
 The famous laws of motion are survey'd,
 Drawn back the veil, the heav'ns are all display'd.

His learned hand unfolds the glitt'ring robe
 That clothes yon lucid animated globe,
 Who guides the seasons and who rules the day,
 Mine eyes distinguish each emitted ray.
 With purple, azure, emerald and rose,
 Th' immortal tissue of his habit glows.
 Each emanation in pure substance bears
 The various colours that all nature wears :
 Those blended tints illuminate our eyes,
 Give life to matter, fill th' expanded skies.

Eternal

Eternal pow'rs, who, near the king of kings,
Burn with his fires, and cover with your wings
His throne ; O say ! when viewing Newton's
plan,

Were you not jealous of that wond'rous man ?

The sea too hears him ! with stupendous dance
I see the hum id element advance !

Tow'rd's heav'n it rises ; heav'n attracts it high :
But central power, more potent, as more nigh,
Each effort stops : the sea recoils ; it roars ;
Sinks in its bed, and rolls against the shores.

Ye comets, dreaded like the bolts of Jove,
In vast ellipses regularly move !

Cease with your motions mortals to affright :
Remount, descend near the great orb of light :
E lance your fires ; fly, and as each appears,
Restore the vigour of exausted spheres.

Thou, sister of the sun, who in the skies,
Of dazzled sages mock'd the feeble eyes ;
Newton has mark'd the limits of thy race,
March on, illumine night, we know thy place.
Earth change thy form ; let the great law of
matter,

Depress thy poles, and lighten th' Equator.
Avoid, thou pole, that fix'd to sight appears,
The frozen chariot of the northern bears :
Embrace in each of thy immense careers,
Almost three hundred centuries of years.†

How beautiful these objects ! how the mind
Flies to those truths enlighten'd and refin'd !
Yes, in the breast of God, it may rejoice,
And, far from matter, hear the eternal's voice.

Thou

† The period of the proceſſion of the equinoxes, which is finished in twenty ſix thouſand nine hundred and twenty years.

Thou whom that voice familiarly invites,
 Say, ev'n in youth, the season of delights,
 How hast thou dar'd, in spite of custom's force,
 To move so boldly thro' so vast a course?
 To follow Newton in that boundless road,
 Where nature's lost, and ev'ry thing but God?
 Pursuing thee I venture to advance,
 And bring home truth, that wanderer, to France.
 While Algarotti † sure to please and teach,
 Conducts the stranger to the Latian beach,
 With native flow'rs adorns the beautiful maid,
 And Tyber wonders at such worth display'd;
 I grasp the compass, and the out-lines trace,
 And with coarse crayons imitate her face.
 Th' immortal fair all simple, noble, grand,
 Should I attempt it, my unskilful hand,
 To her, as thee, no lustre could impart,
 Above all praise, and far above my art.

† M. Algarotti, a young Venetian, was then printing at Venice a treatise of light, in which he explains attraction. M. de Voltaire was the first in France that explained the discoveries of the great Newton.

A N E W
D E D I C A T I O N
T O T H E
Marchioness of CHASTELET,
Of the Edition of 1745.

Madam,

THE first time I placed your respectable name at the head of these elements of philosophy, we studied together ; but you have since taken a flight I am no longer able to follow. My case, therefore, is now like that of a grammarian, dedicating a treatise of rhetoric to a Demosthenes or a Cicero. I am offering simple elements to a person, who has penetrated all the depths of the higher geometry, and who alone among us has translated, and written comments on, the great Newton.

That philosopher in his life-time reaped all the glory he deserved. He excited no envy, as he could have no rival. The learned world were his disciples ; and others admired, without presuming to understand him. But the honour done him by you, is certainly the greatest he ever received. I am at a loss which to admire most, Newton, the inventor of the Fluxionary calculus, who discovered new laws in nature, and anatomized light ; or you, madam, who amidst the dissipations annexed to your condition, are so well acquainted with all his discoveries. Those who see you at court will hardly look upon you
as

as a comentator on philosophy ; and the learned, who are learned enough to read your writings, will still less conceive, that you can stoop to transitory amusements, with the same ease you soar to the most sublime truths. This easiness and simplicity, ever highly valuable, but so rarely joined with talents and science, will at least procure pardon for your merit. This is, in general, all that can be hoped from persons with whom we converse ; but the small number of superior geniuses, who have applied themselves to the same studies, will conceive the highest veneration for you, and posterity will look on you with astonishment. That persons of your sex have reigned gloriously over large empires does not surprise me. A woman, with a wise council, may rule like an Augustus : but to penetrate, with indefatigable labour, truths which intimidate most persons to approach, to display, in hours of leisure, what the greatest philosophers are incessantly studying ; is a gift, Madam, peculiar to yourself, and exhibits a pattern that will be very rarely imitated, &c.





E L E M E N T S
O F
NEWTON'S PHILOSOPHY.
IN THREE PARTS.



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E L E M E N T S

O F

NEWTON'S PHILOSOPHY.

IN THREE PARTS.

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PART. I.

CHAP. I.

OF GOD.

Reasons which every person does not approve. Reasons of the Materialists.

NEWTON was fully persuaded of the existence of a God, and by that term understood not only an infinite, almighty, eternal, creative being ; but a master, who had established a relation between himself and his creatures ; as without this relation, the knowledge of God is only a barren idea, which would seem to invite every reasoner of a perverse nature, to the practice of vice, by the hopes of impunity.

Accordingly, that great philosopher, at the ends of his Principia, makes a singular remark, namely, that we do not say my eternal, my infinite, because these attributes do not at all relate to our nature ; but we say, and it is our duty to say, my *God* ; and are thereby to understand the master and preserver of our life, the object of our thoughts. I remember, that in several conversations I had in 1726, with Dr. Clarke, that philosopher never mentioned the name of God, but with a remarkable air of recollection and respect ; and when I owned to him, how much it affected me, he said he had insensibly from Newton acquired that custom, which should indeed be the custom of every man. Newton's whole philosophy necessarily leads to the knowledge of a supreme being, who has freely created, and arranged all things. For if the world be finite ; if there be a vacuum, the existence of matter is
not

not necessary ; and therefore has received existence from a free cause. If matter gravitates, as we know it does from demonstration, it does not appear to gravitate from its nature, as it is extended by its nature ; it has therefore received its gravitation from God. If the planets, in a space void of resistance, revolve one way rather than another, the hand of their creator must have directed their course that way, with an absolute freedom.

The imaginary physical principles of Descartes are very far from leading the mind in this manner to the knowledge of its creator. God forbid that I should be guilty of so horrid a slander, as to charge that great man with disowning the supreme intelligence to which he was so highly indebted, and which had raised him above almost all the men of his age. I only say, that the abuse he has sometimes made of his genius, has led his followers to precipices, from which their master kept himself at a great distance. I say, the Cartesian system has produced that of Spinoza : I say, I have known many persons led by Cartesianism to admit of no other God than the immensity of things ; while, on the contrary, I never knew one Newtonian, who was not a Theist, in the strictest sense. He who with Descartes, is once persuaded, that it is impossible for the world to be finite ; that motion is ever the same ; when any one can presume to say, give me motion and matter, and I will make you a world : then such ideas, it must be owned by consequences too just, seem to exclude the idea of a being alone infinite, alone author of motion, alone author of the organizations of substances.

It may perhaps appear strange to many, that
among

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among all the proofs of the existence of a God, the strongest in Newton's opinion, is that of final causes. The design, or rather the designs, various *ad infinitum*, displayed in the most enormous and most minute parts of the universe, form a demonstration, which, from its being so manifestly sensible, is little regarded by some philosophers; but Newton thought, that these infinite relations, which he, more than any other man, discerned, could only be the work of an artist infinitely wise.

He made little account of the proof drawn from the succession of beings. It is commonly said, that if men, animals, vegetables, and whatever compose this world, were eternal, a series of generations, without cause, must of consequence be admitted. The existence of these beings, it is said, would have no origin; no external can be supposed to rise again from generation to generation, without a beginning; no external, because no one can exist of itself. Thus every thing would be affected, and nothing cause.

This argument appeared to him founded only on the ambiguity of *generations*, and of beings *formed one by the other*. For atheists, who admit a plenum, answer, that there are, properly speaking, no generations: there are not several substances: the universe is a whole necessarily existing, incessantly displaying itself. It is one and the same being, whose nature is immutable in its substance, and eternally varied in its modifications. Thus the argument drawn from the succession of beings, would perhaps prove very little against an atheist, who should deny the plurality of beings. He would have recourse to those ancient axioms, that nothing is produced by
nothing

nothing ; that one substance cannot produce another ; that every thing is eternal and necessary.

Matter, say the atheists, is necessary, because it exists ; motion is necessary, because nothing is at rest ; and motion is so necessary, that in nature never any motive forces are lost.

What is to day was yesterday ; therefore it was before yesterday, and thus recurring without end. No person will dare to say, that things shall return to nothing ; how then dare to say that they came from nothing ?

Dr. Clarke's whole book is not more than sufficient to answer those objections.

In a word, I know not whether there be a metaphysical proof more striking, and which speaks more strongly to man, than the admirable order reigning in the world ; and whether there has ever been a finer argument than the following : *The heavens declare the glory of God.* Accordingly you see that Newton, at the end of his *Optics* and *Principia*, uses no other. No reasoning appeared to him more grand and convincing, in favour of a diety, than that of Plato, who makes one of his interlocutors say, you think I have an intelligent soul, because you perceive order in my words and actions ; surely then, from the order you see in this world, there must be in it a spirit supremely intelligent.

But if the existence of an eternally almighty being be proved, it is not equally proved, that this being is infinitely good in the general sense of the word.

This is the grand refuge of the atheist. If I admit a God, says he, this God must be goodness itself. He who has given me being, should also give me happiness : but I see only disorder
and

and calamity among mankind. The necessity of an eternal matter offends me less than a creator dealing so harshly with his creatures. My just complaints, my torturing doubts, continues he, are not to be removed by being told, that a first man, composed of a body and soul, offended his creator, and that mankind suffers for his offence. For 1st, if our bodies are derived from this first man, our souls are not ; and even, if they are, it seems the most horrid injustice, for the punishment to descend from the fathers to the children. 2d. It seems evident that the Americans, and the people of the old world, the Negroes and the Laplanders, are not all descended from that first man. The interior constitution of the organs of the Negroes is a palpable demonstration of this. No argument therefore can calm the murmurs arising in my heart against the evils that have overrun this globe. Thus I am forced to reject the idea of a supreme being ; of a creator infinitely good, who has made infinite evils : and had rather admit the necessity of matter, generations, and eternal vicissitudes, than a God, the free author of miserable creatures.

To this atheist it is answered, the words *good*, *comfort*, and *happiness* are equivocal : what is evil with regard to you, is good in the general plan. The idea of an infinite being, almighty, all-wise, and omnipresent, does not offend your reason. Will you deny a God because you have been afflicted with a fever ? You say, he owed you happiness : but what reason have you to think so ? Why did he owe you this happiness ? Was you in any treaty with him ? Therefore to be always happy in this life, you need only acknowledge a God. You who cannot pretend
to

to be perfect in any one thing, how can you expect to be perfectly happy? But suppose that in a continual happiness of a hundred years, you may have a fit of head-ach; shall this short interval of pain induce you to deny a creator? Surely no. If therefore you do not startle at a quarter of an hour's suffering, why at two hours, why at a day? Why should a year of torment prevail on you to reject the belief of a supreme and universal artisan?

It is proved, that there is, in this world, more good than evil; for, after all, few men are to be found who really wish for death. You then unjustly prefer complaints in the name of mankind, and still more so to deny your sovereign, under pretence that some of his subjects are unhappy.

Men are fond of murmuring; there is a pleasure in complaining, but more in living. We delight in viewing only evil and exaggerating it. Read history, it is replied; what is it more than a continual series of crimes and misfortunes? Agreed; but histories are only the repositories of great events: tempests only are recorded; calms are overlooked. We do not remember that, for this hundred years, there have not been a sedition in Pequin, in Rome, in Venice, in Paris, in London; and that, in general there are in all great cities more quiet than tempestuous years, more harmless and serene days, than days distinguished by great crimes and great misfortunes.

After examining the relations between the springs and organs of an animal, and the designs which display themselves in every part, the manner by which this animal receives life, by which he sustains it, and by which he gives it;
you

you readily acknowledge with admiration the supreme artist. Will you then change your opinion, because wolves eat the sheep, and spiders catch flies? Do not you, on the contrary, perceive, that these continual generations, ever devoured, and ever reproduced, are a part of the plan of the universe? Wisdom and power, you answer, are perceivable in them; but goodness is still wanting. How! You breed creatures in a menagery and at a proper season slay them; but must not be censured: while you accuse the master of all animals of cruelty, because he has made them to be eaten. In fine, if you may be happy to all eternity, can any pains and afflictions in this fleeting instant, called life, be worth mentioning? And if this eternity be not your portion, make yourself easy with this life which you so highly value.

You cannot think the creator *good*, because there is some *evil* in the world. But if necessity supply the place of a supreme being; will affairs be mended? In the system which admits a God some difficulties only are to be removed; in all the other systems we must encounter absurdities.

Philosophy indeed plainly shews us, that there is a God; but it cannot teach us what he is, what he is doing, how and wherefore he does it; whether he exists in time, or in space; whether he has commanded once, or whether he is always acting, whether he be in matter, or whether he be not there; &c. &c. To himself only these things are known.

CHAP. II.

Of SPACE and DURATION, as PROPERTIES
of GOD.

Opinions of Leibnitz. Opinions and reasoning of Newton. Infinite matter impossible. Epicurus should have admitted a God, creator and governor. Properties of pure space and duration.

SPACE and duration are considered by Newton as two beings, whose existence necessarily flows from God himself; for the infinite being is in every place; therefore every place exists: the eternal being lasts from all eternity, therefore an eternal duration is real.

Newton, in his questions at the end of his Optics, happened to ask, "Do not these phenomena of nature prove, that there is a being incorporeal, living, intelligent, and omnipresent; who, in infinite space, as in his sensorium, sees, discerns, and comprehends every thing in the most intimate, and most perfect manner?"

The celebrated philosopher, Leibnitz, who at first agreed with Newton, in regard to the reality of pure space and duration, but some time after opposed him in every thing, and placed himself at the head of a different sect in Germany, attacked these expressions of the English philosopher, in a letter, written in 1715, to the late queen of England, consort to George II. That princess, truly worthy of the correspondence of Leibnitz and Newton, set on foot a regular dispute by letters between the two parties; but Newton, being entirely averse to all controversy, and a very great œconomist of his time, permitted Dr. Clarke, his disciple in philosophy,

losophy, and at least his equal in metaphysics, to enter the lists for him. The dispute turned upon almost all the metaphysical ideas of Newton, and is perhaps the finest monument of literary contests existing.

Clarke began by justifying the comparison taken from the *sensorium*, used by Newton. He lays it down as a principle, that no being can act, know, or perceive where it is not; now God acting and seeing every where, acts and sees in every point of space, which in this sense alone may be considered as his *sensorium*, from the impossibility of expressing ourselves in any language, when we presume to speak of God. Leibnitz affirmed space to be nothing but the relation we conceive between co-existent beings. Nothing but the order of bodies, their arrangement, their distances, &c. Clarke, after Newton, maintains, that if space be not real, an absurdity will follow. For if God had placed the earth, the sun, and the moon, where the fixed stars are, provided the earth, the moon, and the sun were in the same order with regard to each other as they now are, the consequence would be, that the place then occupied by the earth, the moon, and the sun, would be the same with that they occupy at present; which is a contradiction in terms.

We are, according to Newton, to think the same of duration as of space; that it is a reality; for were duration only an order of succession between creatures, it would follow, that what was doing to-day, and what was done a thousand of years ago, would, in reality, be done in the same instant. In fine, space and duration are quantities, therefore something very positive.

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It is proper here to take notice of the following argument of the ancients, as it has never been answered : A man at the extremity of the universe holds out his arm : this arm must be in pure space, for it is not in nullibiety ; and if it be answered, that it is still in matter, the world will then be infinite, and therefore in this sense the world is God.

Pure space then exists ; a vacuum exists as well as matter, and exists even necessarily ; whereas matter, according to Clarke, exists purely by the free will of the creator.

But, it will be said, you admit an immense, an infinite space ; why not admit the same with regard to matter, as so many ancient philosophers have done ? Clarke answers : Space exists necessarily, because God exists necessarily. It is immense ; it is, like duration, a mode ; an infinite property of a being necessarily infinite. Matter is not so ; it does not exist necessarily ; for was this substance infinite, it would be either an essential property of God, or God himself ; but it is neither the one nor the other ; therefore it is not, nor can be infinite.

It may be answered to Clarke : Matter may necessarily exist, without being on that account infinite ; without being God : it exists because it exists : It is eternal because it exists to-day. A philosopher is not to admit what he cannot conceive ; nor can you either conceive the creation nor annihilation of matter. It may very well be eternal by its nature ; and God may very well, by his nature, have the immense power of modifying it, though not that of making it from nothing : For to make a being from nothing is a contradiction ; but there is no contradiction

tradition in believing matter necessary and eternal, and God necessary and eternal. If space exists of necessity, matter also exists of necessity. You ought, therefore, to admit three beings; space, whose existence would be real, were there neither matter nor God; matter, which, as it could not have been formed from nothing, is necessarily in space; and God, without whom matter could neither be organised nor animated.

These difficulties Newton himself seems to obviate, at the end of his optics. He maintains, that space necessarily flows from the existence of God. God, properly speaking, is neither in space nor place; but God being necessarily every where, constitutes, in that alone, immense space and place. Thus duration, eternal permanence, follows indispensibly from the existence of God. He is neither in infinite duration, nor in time; but eternally existing; and thus he constitutes eternity and time. In this manner Newton explains himself; but this is not solving the problem. He seems fearful of owning, that God is in space: he was afraid of disputes.

Immense, extended, inseparable space, may be considered in several portions. For instance, the space occupied by Saturn, is not the space occupied by Jupiter; but these conceivable parts cannot be separated; the one cannot be put in the place of the other, as one body may be put in the place of another. In the same manner, duration, infinite, inseparable, and without parts, may be conceived in several portions; though to conceive one portion of duration put in the place of another, would be an utter impossibility. Beings exist in a certain portion of duration, called time, and

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may exist in any other time; but a part conceived of the duration, any particular time, can only be where it is. The past cannot be the future.

Space and duration then, according to Newton, are two necessary and immutable attributes of the eternal and immense being. God alone can know all space: God alone can know all duration. Some parts of space, improperly so called, we measure by means of extended bodies which we touch: we measure parts of duration, improperly so called, by means of motions perceived by us.

But instead of entering here into a detail of the physical proofs reserved for other chapters, let it suffice to observe, that in whatever concerns space, duration, and the limits of the world, Newton followed the opinions of Democritus, Epicurus, and a crowd of philosophers, as refined by our celebrated Gassendi. Newton has often declared to some French gentlemen still living, that he esteemed Gassendi as a very sagacious, accurate, and prudent genius; and that he accounted it an honour in being entirely of his opinion, with regard to all the points we have been considering.

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C H A P. III.

OF LIBERTY IN GOD, and of the GREAT PRINCIPLE OF A SUFFICIENT REASON.

Principles of Leibnitz. Carried perhaps too far.

His reasons very specious. Answer. New instances against the principles of indiscernables.

NEWTON hath affirmed, that God, both infinitely free, and infinitely powerful, has created many things, without any other reason
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for their existence, than his mere will. For instance, that the planets should revolve from west to east, rather than otherwise; that there is such a number of animals, stars, worlds, rather than any other; that the finite universe occupies such or such a point of space, &c. The sole reason of which is the will of the Supreme Being.

The famous Leibnitz embraced the contrary, and grounded his opinion on an antient axiom used by Archimedes; *Nothing is done without a cause, or a sufficient reason*; and God has in all things done the best; because if he had not done it as the best, there would have been no reason for doing it. But, say the Newtonians, there is no *better* in indifferent things. There are no indifferent things, answer the Leibnitians. Your idea leads to an absolute fatality, said Clarke: you make God a being acting from necessity, and consequently a being purely passive; which is no longer God. Your God, replied Leibnitz, is a capricious artist, determining without sufficient reason. The will of God is reason, returned the Englishman. Leibnitz insisted on his point, and pushed it very forcibly in this manner:

No two bodies in nature are known to be entirely alike; nor is it possible they should: for were they perfectly similar, it would shew in God, who is almighty and all-productive, a want of fecundity and power. Secondly, there would be no reason why the one should occupy this place rather than the other.

The Newtonians answered: First, it is false, that a similarity in several beings would argue sterility in the power of the creator; for if the elements of things must be absolutely similar to produce similar effects; if, for instance, the ele-

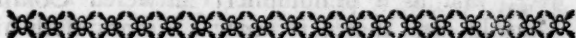
ments of rays, eternally red with light, must be the same to form these red rays; if the elements of matter must be the same to form matter, this perfect resemblance, this identity, is so far from being derogatory to the dignity of God, that it appears one of the finest evidences of his power and wisdom.

Might I presume to add any thing here to the arguments of a Clarke and a Newton, and might I take the liberty of disputing against a Leibnitz, I would say, that it is only a being infinitely powerful that can make things perfectly alike. Whatever attention and labour may be employed by man in such works, he will never attain it, because his sight will never be sufficiently delicate to discern the inequalities in the two bodies. To make all the parts of one body similar to those of another, infinite minuteness must be seen: this, therefore can only be performed by an infinite Being.

Secondly, the Newtonians may also say, we fight Leibnitz with his own weapons. If the elements of things be all different; if the original parts of a red ray be not entirely alike; there is then no sufficient reason why different parts always produce the same effect.

Thirdly, it may further be said by the Newtonians, if one ask a sufficient reason why the atom A, is in one place, and the atom B, exactly similar, is in another, the reason lies in the motion which impels them; and if we ask the reason of this motion, you must either say, that this motion is necessary, or own that God began it. In fine, if it should be asked, why God began it, what other sufficient reason can be given, than that God must have ordered this motion,

to perform the works projected by his wisdom ? But why this motion rather to the right than to the left, rather westward than eastward ; in this point of duration rather than another ? Must we not then recur to the will of the Creator ? But is there a liberty of indifference ? This we shall leave to the examination of every reflecting reader ; and he will long examine, before he will be able to form a decision.



CHAP. IV.

OF LIBERTY in MAN.

Excellent piece against liberty ; so well written that Dr. Clarke made use of indecent language in his answer. Liberty of indifference. Liberty of spontaneity. Privation of liberty very common. Strong objections against liberty.

ACCORDING to Newton and Clarke, the infinitely free Being has communicated to man, his creature, a limited portion of that liberty ; and by liberty here is not understood, the simple power of applying our thoughts to such or such an object, and of beginning the motion : not only the faculty of willing is meant, but that of willing in the most free and efficacious manner ; and even of willing without any other reason than the will itself. There is not a man on the earth, who does not believe that he sometimes feels himself possessed of this liberty. Many philosophers, however, think the contrary ; and that all the liberty we enjoy is, that of wearing sometimes freely the fetters of fatality.

Among all the philosophers who have written boldly against liberty, he who has indisputably performed the task with most method, strength and clearness, is Collins, an English gentleman, author of a discourse on free-thinking, and several other works, equally bold and philosophical.

Clarke, who was entirely of Newton's opinion, with regard to liberty, and who also maintained its right, both as a divine of a singular sect, and as a philosopher, answered Collins warmly, and mixed so much acrimony with his arguments, as gave occasion to think, that he felt at least his adversary's whole strength. He charged him with confounding all ideas; because Collins called man a necessary agent; Clarke says, if this be true, man is no longer an agent. But who does not see, that this is true chicanery? Whatever produces necessary effects, Collins calls a necessary agent. Is it of any consequence whether he be called agent or patient? The point is to know whether he be necessarily determined.

If only one single case can be found, where man is really free with a liberty of indifference, that alone seems sufficient to decide the question. Now what case shall we find more proper, than that where our liberty is put to a trial? For instance, it is proposed to me to turn to the right or the left, or to do some other action, to which neither pleasure attracts, nor disgust diverts. I then chuse, and do not follow the dictates of my understanding, which represents to me the best; for in this case there is neither better nor worse. How do I act? I exercise a right which God has given me of willing and acting in certain cases, without any other reason than my own will. I enjoy a right and power to begin
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the motion, and begin it on which side I please. If, in this case, my will alone directs me, why should any other cause be sought than my own will? It seems probable, therefore, that in indifferent things, we have the liberty of indifference. For who can say, that God has, or has not been able to confer on us this gift? And if he is able, and we feel this power in ourselves, how can it be affirmed, that we do not enjoy it?

This liberty of indifference is, however, treated as a chimera: it is said, that to determine without a reason, belongs only to madmen; but it should be remembered, that madmen are dis-tempered persons, without any liberty. They are necessarily determined by the disorder of their organs. They are not their own masters, they chuse nothing. He is free, who determines for himself. Now why shall we not in things indifferent, determine ourselves merely by our own will?

We enjoy, in all other cases, the liberty called spontaneity; that is, our will is determined by motives when there are any; and these motives are always the last result of the understanding, or instinct. Thus, when my understanding represents to itself, that it is better for me to obey than break the law, I conform to the law with a spontaneous liberty. I perform voluntarily what the last *dictamen* of my understanding leads me to perform. This species of liberty is never better perceived, than when our will opposes our desires. I have a violent passion for something, but my understanding tells me, I must resist this passion; it represents to me a greater good in victory, than in a compliance with my appetite. This last motive preponderates, and I oppose my

desires by my will. This command of my reason I necessarily and willingly obey; I do not what I desire, but what I will; and, in this case, I am free, and enjoy all the liberty of which such a circumstance can make me susceptible.

In fine, I am free in no respect, when my passion is too strong, and my understanding too weak, or when my organs are disordered; and this is unfortunately very often the case of men: so that spontaneous liberty, is to the soul, what health is to the body; some persons enjoy it entirely and constantly; many are often deprived of it, and others are sick during their whole life: all the other faculties of man are subject to the same variation. Sight, hearing, taste, strength, cogitation, are sometimes stronger and sometimes weaker; our liberty, like every thing else, is limited, variable, in a word, very trifling; because man is himself inconsiderable.

The difficulty of reconciling the liberty of human actions with God's eternal prescience, was no obstacle to Newton; he avoided that labyrinth: liberty being once proved, it is not for us to determine how God foresees what we shall freely do. We know not how God sees what passes at present. We have no idea of his mode of seeing; why then should we have any of his mode of foreseeing? We should consider all his attributes as equally incomprehensible.

It must be owned, that against this idea of liberty, there are objections which startle. It is immediately seen that this liberty of indifference would be but a very trivial present, if it extended no farther than spitting to the right or left, or chusing either odd or even. The business is whether Cartouche and Shah Nadir have a liberty
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of not shedding human blood. Of what consequence is the liberty of putting the left or right foot forward? This liberty of indifference is then found to be impossible; for how can we be said to determine without reason? You will; but why will you? You are asked even or odd; you chose even, without being aware of the motive, which is, that even presents itself to your mind at the instant you make the choice.

Every thing has its cause: consequently your will is not excepted. There is then no willing, but in consequence of the last idea received. No person can know what idea he will have the next moment; therefore, no person is master of his own ideas; therefore, no person is master of willing or not willing. Were he master of these, he might perform the contrary of what God has disposed in the concatenation of the things of this world. Thus every person might, and actually would, change the eternal order.

It was on this account that the wise Locke never mentioned the name of liberty; free-will seemed to him only a chimera. All the liberty he knew was, the power of doing what one wills. A patient during the paroxysm of the gout has not the liberty of walking; nor the prisoner that of going abroad: the one becomes free when cured; the other on opening to him the gate.

To place these alarming difficulties in a stronger light, I will suppose that Cicero is attempting to prove to Cataline that he ought not to conspire against his country. Cataline tells him it is out of his power; that his conferences with Cethegus, have imprinted in his mind the idea of the conspiracy; that this idea pleases him beyond

any other ; and that we only will in consequence of our last decision. But you might, answers Cicero, adopt other ideas as well as I, by listening attentively to me, and reflecting on the duty of consulting the good of your country. It is of no consequence, returns Cataline, your idea offend me ; and the desire of assassinating you prevails. I am sorry for your madness, says Cicero, endeavour to take some of my medicines. If I am mad, replies Cataline, I cannot command my endeavours to be cured. But, urges the consul, men are endued with reason, which they may consult, and may cure the disorder of the organs, which renders you thus reverse, thus hardened in so horrid a crime ; especially if this disorder be not too strong. Shew me, replies Cataline, the point where this disorder is curable. For my part, I own, that from the first moment I began the conspiracy, all my reflections have tended to make me persevere in the undertaking. When did you first take this fatal resolution ? asks the consul. When I had lost my money at play. And could not you have abstained from play ? No, for the idea of play predominated at that time in my mind above all other ideas : and had I not played, I should have discomposed the order of the universe, by which Quartilla was to win four hundred thousand sesterces of me ; with this money she was to purchase a house and a gallant ; by this gallant she was to have a son ; Cethegus, and Lentilus were to come to my house, and we were to conspire against the republic. Destiny has made me a wolf, and you a shepherd's dog : Destiny will decide which is to cut the throat of the other. To this Cicero could have answered only by an oration.

oration. It must, indeed, be allowed, that the objections against liberty can hardly be answered, but by a vague eloquence : a melancholy subject, on which the wiser a person is, the more he fears, even to consider it.

There is, however, one comfortable reflection, namely, that which ever system we embrace, by what ever fatality we suppose all our actions are governed, we shall always act as if we were free.

CHAP. V.

DOUBTS WITH REGARD TO THAT LIBERTY,
CALLED THE LIBERTY OF INDIFFERENCE.

1. **P**LANTS are organised beings, in which every thing is done necessarily. Some plants belong to the animal kingdom, and are in effect animals attached to the earth.

2. Can these animal plants, with roots, leaves, and sensation, be supposed to have liberty ? No surely.

3. Have not animals a perception, an instinct, a reason begun, a measure of ideas and of memory ? What, in reality, is instinct ? is it not one of those secret springs we can never know ? Nothing can be known but by analysis, or a consequence of what are called the first principles. Now what analysis, or what synthesis can explain the nature of instinct ? We only perceive that this instinct is always necessarily accompanied with ideas. A silk worm has a perception of the leaf which nourishes it ; the partridge of the worm which it seeks and swallows ; the fox of the partridge which it eats ; the wolf of the fox, which it devours. Now it is not very likely that these beings possess what we call liberty :
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may we not, therefore, have ideas without being free?

4. Men receive and combine ideas in their sleep; but they cannot be said to be then free. Is not this a fresh proof, that we may have ideas without being free?

5. Man has, above other animals, the gift of a more comprehensive memory: this memory is the sole source of all his thoughts. Can this source, common to animals and men, produce liberty? The ideas of reflections in one brain, can they be any other than ideas of reflection in another?

6. Are not all men determined by their instinct? And is not this the reason why they never change their character? Is not this instinct what we call the disposition?

7. Were we free, where is the man that would not change his disposition? But was ever a man seen on earth, who gave himself one single propensity? Was there ever a man born with an aversion to dancing, that gave himself a taste for dancing? a sluggish and sedantary man to seek motion? Do not age and a regimen diminish the passions which reason fancies it has subdued?

8. Is not the will the last consequence of the last ideas received? If these ideas are necessary, is not the will also necessary?

9. Is liberty any thing more than the power of acting or not acting? and was not Locke in the right to call liberty, power?

10. A wolf has the perception of sheep feeding in a meadow; his instinct prompts him to devour them; but is prevented by the dogs. A conqueror has the perception of a province, which
his

his instinct leads him to invade ; he finds fortresses and armies to obstruct his passage. Where is the great difference between the wolf and the conqueror ?

11. Does not this universe appear in all its parts subjected to immutable laws ? If a man might, at his pleasure, direct his will, is it not plain, that he might discompose these immutable laws ?

12. By what privilege should man be exempted from the same necessity, to which the stars, animals, plants, and every thing else in nature are subjected ?

13. Is it justly said, that in the system of this universal fatality, punishments and rewards would be useless and absurd ? Is it not rather evident that the inutility and absurdity of punishments and rewards appears in the system of liberty ? In short, if a highwayman is possessed of a free will, determining itself solely by itself, the fear of punishment may very well fail of determining him to renounce robbery : but if the physical causes act alone ; if the sight of the gibbet and wheel make a necessary and violent impression ; they then necessarily correct the villain, while he is gazing at the execution of another.

14. To know whether the soul be free, should not we first know what this soul is ? Can any one boast that his reason alone demonstrates to him the spiritual nature, the immortality of the soul ? It is the general opinion of physicians, that the principle of sensation resides in the place where the nerves unite in the brain. But this place is not a mathematical point. The origin of every nerve is extended. There is in that place a bell, on which the fine organs of our senses strike ; but who can conceive that this bell occupies no point
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of place? Are we not automata; born to will always, to do sometimes what we will, and sometimes the contrary? Stars at the center of the earth, without us, and within us, every essence, every substance is to us unknown. We see only appearances. We are in a dream.

15. Whether in this dream we believe the will free or subject; the organised earth of which we are formed, endued with an immortal or perishable faculty; whether we think like Epicuries, or like Socrates, the wheels that move the machine of the universe, will be always the same.

CHAP. VI. OF NATURAL RELIGION.

Leibnitz's reproach of Newton, without foundation.

Refutation of an opinion of Locke. The good of society, natural religion, humanity.

LEIBNITZ in his dispute with Newton, reproaches him with giving very mean ideas of God, and of subverting natural religion. He pretends that Newton made God corporal, and this imputation, as we have already seen, was founded on the word *sensorium*, or organ. He added, that Newton's God in making this world had made a very awkward machine, which stood in great need of its being cleaned from its filth. Newton had said, *manum emendatricem desideraret*. This reproach is founded on Newton's having said, that in length of time the motions will diminish, the irregularities of the planets increase, and the system either perish, or be again put in order by its author. It is evident from experience that God has made machines to be destroyed. We are the work of his wisdom, and we perish. Why then, should it be otherwise with the world? Leibnitz will have this world to
perish

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perish. But if God has formed it only to last for a certain time, its perfection then consists in its lasting only till the instant fixed for its desolution.

As for natural religion, never was man more zealous for it then Newton, unless we except Leibnitz himself, his rival in science and virtue. By natural religion I mean, the principles of morality, common to mankind. Newton indeed admitted no innate ideas, no sentiments, no principles. He was, with Locke, persuaded, that all our ideas proceed from the senses, as they disclose themselves. But he believed, that God having given the same senses to all men, the same wants, the same sentiments; consequently the same rude notions, every where the foundation of society, prevail among all mankind. It is certain that God has given to bees and ants, something to induce them to live in common, which he has not given to wolves nor falcons. It is certain, from all mens living in society, there is, in their essence, a secret tye by which God intended to connect them together. Now if at a certain age the ideas, flowing from the senses to men all organized in the same manner, did not gradually give them the same principles necessary to society, it is certain that such society could not subsist. This is the reason why truth, gratitude, friendship, &c. are esteemed from Siam to Mexico.

It has always seemed strange to me, that so wise a man as Locke, in the beginning of his essay on human understanding, where he so effectually refutes innate ideas, should have advanced, that there is no notion of good and evil common to all men. I believe this to be a mistake. It is founded on the narratives of travellers, who say, that in some countries it is customary

customary for parents to eat their children, and to eat women also when past child-bearing; that in others, certain enthusiasts, who make use of she-asses instead of women, are honoured with the name of saints. But should not such a man as Locke have suspected these travellers? There is nothing more common than for them to see through a false medium, give a false account of what they have seen, to mistake the intention, especially in a nation to whose language they are strangers, and, in fine, to judge of the manners of a whole people by a particular fact, whose circumstances are to them unknown.

Were a Persian at Lisbon, at Madrid, or at Goa, on the day of an auto-da-fe, he would think, and not without an appearance of reason, that the Christians sacrificed men to God. Let him look into the almanacks, sold all over Europe among the lower class, and he will conclude, that we all believe in the effects of the moon; though this is so far from being true, that we laugh at them. Thus should a traveller tell me, for instance, that the savages eat their father or mother from filial affection, he will give me leave to answer him, that first the fact is very dubious; secondly, if it be true, it will be so far from destroying the idea of respect due to parents, that it is probably a barbarous manner of shewing tenderness; a horrible mistake of the law of nature. For possibly they kill their parents from mere duty, to free them from the troubles of old age, or the fury of an enemy: and if they thus give their parents a tomb within their own bodies, instead of being devoured by savage conquerors, this custom, however shocking it may appear to human nature, necessarily flows from a goodness of heart. Natural religion

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gion is nothing more than this law known thro' the world, *do as you would be done by*. Now the savage, who kills his father to save him from the enemy, and who buries him in his breast, that he may not find a grave in the bowels of his enemy, wishes that his son may treat him in the same manner, if reduced to the same exigency. This law of treating our neighbour as ourselves, flows naturally from the rudest notions, and sooner or later is heard in the heart of all men; for having all the same reason, the fruits of that tree must have a resemblance; and they do, in reality, resemble each other; for in every society the name of virtue is given to whatever is thought useful to the society.

Name me a country upon earth, or a company of ten persons, where what tends to promote the common good is not esteemed; and when you have done this, I will allow, there is no natural law. This law is, doubtless, infinitely varied; but can we infer from thence any thing more than that it exists? Matter every where receives different forms, yet every where retains its nature. It is in vain to say, that theft was enjoined at Lacedemon; it is nothing more than an abuse of words. What we call theft was not enjoined at Lacedemon; but in a city where every thing was common, a permission to take dexteriously what private persons appropriated to themselves contrary to law, was a method of punishing the spirit of appropriation prohibited among that people. *Meum* and *Tuum* was a crime, for which what we call theft was the punishment; and among them, as among us, there was some order, made by God for us, as he has made the ants to live in society.

Thus Newton was persuaded, that this disposition

sition, which we all have for living in society, is the foundation of the law of nature.

There is in man a disposition to compassion equally general with our other instincts. Newton had cultivated this sentiment of humanity, and even extended it to animals. He was, like Locke, firmly persuaded, that God had given to animals (however they might seem to be only matter) a measure of ideas, and the same sensations with ourselves. He could not think that God, who does nothing in vain, could have given to beasts organs of sensation, that they might have no sensation.

To believe that beasts feel, and to make them suffer, appeared to him a most horrid contradiction; and his morality in this respect was conformable to his philosophy. It was even with regret that he complied with the barbarous custom of feeding on the blood and flesh of beings like ourselves, whom we daily carressed; and in his house he never allowed them to be put to a lingering or uncommon death, to render their flesh more delicious.

This compassion for animals was improved towards mankind into the noblest benevolence. Indeed without humanity, a virtue which includes all virtues, we should very ill deserve the name of philosophers.

C H A P. VII.

OF THE SOUL, AND ITS MANNER OF UNION WITH THE BODY, AND HOW IT RECEIVES ITS IDEAS.

Four opinions on the formations of ideas. Those of the ancient materialists. That of Mallebranche. That of Leibnitz. Confutation of the opinion of Leibnitz.

NEWTON, like almost all true philosophers, was persuaded, that the soul is an incompre-

incomprehensible substance; and several persons, who have conversed with Locke, have assured me, that Newton owned to Locke, "that we have not a sufficient knowledge of nature, for us to dare to affirm, that it is impossible to God to add the gift of thought to any extended substance whatsoever." But the great difficulty is rather to know how any being whatever can think, than to know how matter can become cogitative. Thought, indeed, seems to have nothing in common with the known attributes in that extended being which we call body. But are we acquainted with all the properties of bodies? Does it not seem very bold to say to God, you have been able to give a being motion, gravitation, vegetation, and life; but cannot give it thought?

They who say, that if matter could receive the gift of cogitation, the soul would not be immortal, seem to have drawn an unfair consequence. Is it more difficult for God to preserve than to make? Besides, if an inseparable atom be eternal, why shall not the faculty of cogitation it enjoys last as long? If I am not mistaken, they who deny God to have the power of annexing ideas to matter, are forced to say, that what we call spirit is a being whose essence is to think, exclusive of any extended being whatever. Now if it be the nature of spirit to think essentially, then it thinks necessarily and thinks incessantly, as every triangle has necessarily and always three angles, independently of God. How! on God's creating something, which is not matter, must that something absolutely think? Weak and bold as we are, do we know whether God has not formed millions of beings, which have neither the properties of spirits nor matter

matter as known to us? We are like a herdsman, who having seen no other beasts than oxen, should say, *if God pleases to make other beasts, they must have horns and chew the cud.* Which will be thought more reverential to the deity to affirm, that there are beings without the divine attribute of cogitation abstractedly from him, or to apprehend that God can grant that attribute to any being he shall please to chuse? This alone shews the injustice of those who have charged that opinion on Locke as a crime, and, with a cruel malignity, employed the weapons of religion against an idea merely philosophical.

It must be observed, that Newton was very far from venturing to define the soul, as so many others have presumed to do; he thought it was possible there might be millions of other thinking beings, whose nature might be entirely different from that of our soul; so that the division of all nature into matter and spirits, seems the definition of a deaf and blind man defining the senses, without any idea or conception of sight or hearing. How, indeed, can any one say, that God has not filled the immense space with an infinity of substances, having nothing in common with mankind?

Newton had not formed to himself any system on the manner in which the soul is united to the body, and the formation of ideas. An enemy to systems, he judged only from analysis; and when that light was wanting he proceeded no farther.

Hitherto four opinions have prevailed concerning the formation of ideas; the first is that of almost all the ancient nations, who, conceiving nothing beyond matter, looked on ideas in our understanding

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derstanding as the impressi^{on} of the seal on wax. This perplexed opinion was rather a rude instinct than ratiocination. Succeeding philosophers, who were for proving that matter thinks of itself, have erred still more: the vulgar were mistaken without any previous reasoning, these erred from principles; not one of them being ever able to discover any thing in matter, that tended to prove it was intelligent. Locke alone appears to have removed the contradiction between matter and thought, recurring at once to the creator of all thought and of all matter, and modestly saying, "Cannot he, who can do every thing, give cogitation to a material being, to an atom, to an element of matter?" He stopped at this possibility as became a man of his wisdom. To affirm that matter does actually think, because God could impart such a faculty to it, would be the highest presumption; but is it less to assert the contrary?

The second, and most generally received opinion, is, that which considers the soul and body as two distinct and quite different beings, created by God to act on each other. The only proof of this reciprocal action is the experience, which every one believes to have of it; we feel our bodies sometimes obeying our will, and sometimes tyrannizing over it: we conceive that they in reality act on each other, because we feel it, and we cannot carry our investigations farther. An objection, however, lies against this system, not easily removed: an external object, for instance, communicates a vibration to the nerves, which motion either extends to the soul or not; if it reaches the soul, it imparts motion to it, which would suppose the soul to be corporeal; if it does not, there is no longer

longer any action. All the answer that can be given is; this action is one of those things, the mechanism of which will for ever remain unknown: a sad conclusion; but almost the only one becoming man in more than one point of metaphysics.

The third system is the occasional causes of Descartes, carried still farther by Mallebranche. He begins with supposing that the soul can have no influence on the body, and in this goes immediately too far; for though the influence of the soul on the body be inconceivable, it does not therefore follow, that it is impossible: he then supposes that matter, as an occasional cause, makes an impression on our body; and in consequence of that impression, God produces an idea in our soul; and reciprocally, man produces an act of volition, and God acts immediately on the body, in consequence of that volition. Thus man acts and thinks only in God; which, I think, admits of no other explanation, than that God alone acts and thinks for us. This hypothesis abounds with such difficulties, that the reflective mind labours in vain for a solution; for how, according to this system, can a man will of himself, without having the power to think of himself? If God has not given us the faculty of producing motion and ideas, if it is he alone who acts and thinks, it is he alone who wills. In this case we are not only without liberty, but we are nothing, or we are modifications of God himself. In this case there is no longer a soul, an intelligence in man; the union of the soul and body need not be any longer considered; there is no such thing, and God alone exists.

The fourth sentiment is the pre-established harmony

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harmony of Leibnitz. According to this hypothesis, the soul has no intercourse with its body; they are two clocks made by God, each has its spring, and goes for a certain time in perfect agreement; one points the hours, the other strikes. The clock which shews the hour does not shew it, because the other strikes; but God has so determined their motions, that the hand or index, and the chimes, may always agree. Thus the soul of Virgil produced the Eneid, and his hand wrote the Eneid, without this hand in the least obeying the intention of the author; but God had, from everlasting, ordained that the soul of Virgil should make verses, while a hand annexed to Virgil's body should reduce them into writing. Not to mention the extreme difficulty which here also occurs in reconciling liberty with this pre-established harmony, a very strong objection is, that if, according to Leibnitz, nothing is done without a sufficient reason taken from the foundation of things, what reason had God to unite two incommensurables, two beings so heterogeneous, so infinitely different as the soul and body, and the one having no manner of influence on the other? My soul might as well have been placed in Saturn as in my body; the union of the soul and body becomes utterly needless and superfluous; but the rest of Leibnitz's system is still more extraordinary; the fundamental principles of it may be seen in the supplement to the Leipstick acts, vol. VII. and the ample comments on them by several Germans, in a method entirely geometrical, may be consulted.

According to Leibnitz there are four sorts of simple beings, which he termed *monades*, as will be seen in chap. IX. We shall here speak only

only of that kind of *monade*, called our soul. The soul, says he, is a concentration, a *living mirror of the whole universe*, having confused ideas of all the modifications of this world, past, present, and to come. Newton, Locke, and Clarke, on hearing such an opinion, expressed the greatest contempt of it, as if Leibnitz was not the author: but very great philosophers among the Germans having thought it worth their while to explain what no Englishman ever thought worth considering, I cannot avoid exhibiting this hypothesis of the celebrated Leibnitz, which is the more respectable to me, since it has become an object of your enquiries. Every simple created being, says he, is subject to change, otherwise it would be God. The soul is a simple created being, consequently cannot remain in the same state; but bodies being compounded, can make no alteration in a simple being; the source then of its variations must be placed in its own nature. Its changes then are successive ideas of the things of this universe; some are clear; but all the things of this universe, says Leibnitz, have such a mutual dependance, are so eternally connected together, that if the soul has a clear idea of one of those things, its ideas of all the other are necessarily obscure and confused. This opinion may be illustrated by the example of a man, who has a clear idea of a game, at the same time he has many confused ideas of several combinations of this game. A man who has, at present, a clear idea of a triangle, has an idea of several properties of the triangle, which may afterwards present themselves successively to his mind more clearly. In this sense "it is, that the *monade of man is a living mirror of this universe.*" It

It is easy to answer, that if God has made a looking-glass of the soul, he has made a very dull one; and if there be no other reason for advancing such strange suppositions, than this pretended indispensable connection between all the things of the present world, this bold structure is erected on secret foundations; for when we have a clear idea of a triangle, it is because we have a sufficient knowledge of the essential properties of a triangle; and if the ideas of all these properties do not suddenly offer themselves clearly to our mind, they are included in that clear idea, there being a necessary relation or conformity between the one and the other. But is this the case with regard to the whole assemblage of the universe?—Take away one property from the triangle, and you take away all: But does the taking away a grain of sand from the universe, occasion an entire change in the remainder? If among a hundred millions of beings following by pairs, the two first change places, do the others also necessarily change? Does not the same relation still subsist between them? Besides, can the ideas of a man be said to have the same concatenation, as is supposed to subsist between the things of this world? What connection, what necessary medium is there between the idea of night, and the unknown objects I behold on my waking? What connection is there between the transitory death of the soul in a profound sleep, or a swoon, and the ideas received on our waking or recovery?

Every being in this universe is undoubtedly related to the universe; but it is not every action of every being, that is the cause of events in

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the world. The mother of Brutus, in bringing him into the world, was one of the causes of Cæsar's death; but her spitting to the right or left, was of no consequence to Rome. There are events which are at once both effect and cause. There are a thousand actions which are only inconsequential effects. The vanes of a windmill turn round, and by their motion cause the grain, by which man is nourished, to be ground: This is both an effect and cause. A few particles of dust fly from it; this is an inconsequential effect. A stone thrown into the Baltic sea, produces no effect in the Indian ocean; a thousand effects produce nothing, like the motion in fluids.

Were it even possible that God should have made all that Leibnitz imagines; must we believe it on a bare possibility? What has he proved by all these fresh efforts? Nothing more than that he had a very great genius. But has he given either himself or others any light? Strange! we know not how the earth produces a blade of grass; how a woman conceives a child; and yet we pretend to know how ideas are produced!

If it be asked, what thoughts Newton entertained with regard to the soul, the manner of its operations, and which of all these sentiments he embraced? I answer, he espoused none. What then did he, who had subjected infinity to calculation, and discovered the laws of gravity know on this subject? He knew where to doubt.

CHAP.



C H A P. VIII.

OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF MATTER.

Examination of the first Matter: Newton mistaken. No real Transmutations. Newton admits of Atoms.

IT is our business to examine which system was most ridiculous; that which considered water as the principle of all things, that which attributed every thing to fire, or that which supposes cubes placed in contact with each other, without any interfices, and turning I know not how on themselves.

The most plausible system has ever been, that there is a first matter absolutely indifferent, uniform, and capable of all shapes, and being differently combined, constitutes this universe. The elements of this matter are the same, acquiring its modifications from the moulds through which it passes; as a metal in fusion becomes sometimes an urn, sometimes a statue. This was Descartes's opinion, and perfectly agrees with the chimera of his three elements. Newton, in this respect, followed Descartes; but he arrived at this conclusion another way. As he very seldom formed a judgment that was not grounded either on mathematical or experimental proof; so, in this enquiry he thought himself supported by experience

rience. The celebrated Mr. Boyle, the founder of experimental philosophy in England, had kept water a long time in a retort, exposed to an equal degree of heat; and the chemist, who performed his experiments, imagined that the water was at last changed into earth. But the fact was otherwise, as has since been proved by Boerhaave, who was at once an accurate naturalist and skilful physician. The water had evaporated, and the earth found in the vessel, came from elsewhere.

How are experiments to be mistrusted, after imposing on Boyle and Newton! Those great philosophers were persuaded that the primitive particles of water change into particles of earth; the elements of things, are only the same matter differently arranged. Had not a false experiment misled Newton to this conclusion, he would, perhaps, have reasoned quite otherwise. I would beg the reader's attention to what follows.

The only method of reasoning on objects, suitable to man, is analysis. To begin with the first principles, belongs only to God. And if we may, without blasphemy, compare the divine being to an architect, and the universe to an edifice; where is the traveller who had seen only part of the outside of the building, would immediately imagine he was able to display all the art and contrivance within? Yet have not almost all philosophers, with a thousand times greater temerity, dared to do even more than this? Let us then examine this edifice as far as we are able. What do we meet with around us? Animals, vegetables, minerals (including under the latter all salts, sulphurs, &c.) earth, sand, water,

water, fire, air, and nothing else, at least hitherto known.

Before I proceed to examine whether those bodies are mixed or not, I ask myself, whether it be possible, that a matter, supposed uniform, which in itself is nothing that exists, can be productive of every thing that does exist?

I. What is a first matter, which is different from all the things in this world, and yet produces them all? It is something of which I can have no idea, and, therefore, am not to admit. I cannot, indeed, form to myself the general idea of an extended, impenetrable, ductile substance, without thinking of sand, earth, gold, &c. Yet either this matter is really one of those things, or it is nothing at all. In like manner I can think on a triangle in general, without fixing on the equilateral, the scalenous, the isoscelles, &c. but a triangle existing must be one of these. This reflection alone, thoroughly weighed, is perhaps sufficient to exclude the opinion of a first matter.

II. Were any matter whatever put into motion, sufficient to produce all the objects we behold on the earth; I see no reason why dust, well shaken in a cask, might not produce men and trees; nor why a field, sown with grain, might not produce whales and crabs as well as wheat. It is of no consequence to say, that the moulds and strainers of the seed prevent it; for we must always return to this question, where are these moulds, these strainers, so invariably determined? Now, if no motion, no art, can produce fishes in a field instead of corn; medlars instead of a lamb in the belly of an ewe;

roses on the top of an oak ; nor soles in a beehive, &c. If all the species be invariably the same, have not I some reason to conclude, that all the species have been determined by the sovereign of the world ; that there are as many different designs as there are different species ; and that matter and motion, without these designs, would produce only an eternal chaos ?

I am confirmed in this sentiment by universal experience. If I examine on one hand a man and a silk-worm, and, on the other a bird and a fish ; I see they were all formed at the very beginning of things : An unfolding is all that I perceive in them. The unfolding of man, and the unfolding of the insect, agree in some particulars, and differ in others. It is the same with regard to that of the fish and the bird. Man, before he is received into the matrix of his mother, is a worm. He becomes a chrysalis, a nymphe in the uterus, while infolded in that wrapper called the omentum. He comes out of it with legs and arms, as the worm, when grown to a fly, quits its sepulchre with wings and feet ; like the insect he lives some days, and then both bodies dissolve. Among the reptiles, some are oviparous and others viviparous. The female of fishes is prolific, without the approaches of the male, who only passes over the eggs that have been deposited, to hatch them. Vinefretters, oysters, &c. propagate their species without the mixture of the two sexes. Polypusses have the power of replacing their heads when cut off. The claws of lobsters are known to be reproduced. But the formation of vegetables and minerals is entirely different. Every species

species of being is a distinct world; and so far is blind matter from producing every thing by meer motion, that in all appearance, God has formed an infinity of beings, with infinite means, he being infinite himself.

These are my first conjectures on taking a view of nature; but when I enter into a detail, when I proceed to examine every thing by experiment, the result is this: I see mixed bodies, such as vegetables and animals, which I analyze, and draw from them some gross elements, as spirit, phlegm, sulphur, caput mortuum. Other bodies there are, such as metals and minerals, whence nothing can be drawn, except their own parts more attenuated. From pure Gold I have never been able to draw any thing but gold; it is the same with mercury. None have been able to change sand, mud, pure water, into any other species of beings. What therefore can I hence infer, but that vegetables and animals are composed of those other primitive beings which can never be analyzed. These primitive unalterable beings are the elements of bodies; the man and the fly are then a compound of mineral particles of sand, of mud, fire, air, water, sulphur, salt; and all those primitive parts which can never be decomposed, are elements, each having its peculiar and invariable nature.

He who affirms the contrary, should have seen transmutations. But who, with all the helps of chemistry, has ever discovered any? Is not the philosopher's stone considered by all wise men as an impossibility? Is it more possible in the present state of this world, that salt be changed

into sulphur, water into air, air into fire, than to make gold by the help of the powder of projection?

Have not men who believe transmutations, properly so called, been deceived by appearances, like those who thought the sun moved? For on seeing corn and water converted in human bodies to blood and flesh, who would not have believed transmutation? Yet what is all this but salts, sulphurs, phlegm, &c. differently arranged in the corn and in the human body? The more I reflect on this, the more a metamorphosis, taken in the strictest sense, appears to me a contradiction in terms. I believe two things are requisite to change the primitive parts of salt into the primitive parts of gold, to annihilate the elements of salt, and create the elements of gold. Such is the reality of those pretended metamorphoses of a homogeneous and uniform matter, though hitherto admitted by so many philosophers. My proof is this.

It is impossible to conceive the immutability of species, unless composed of unalterable principles. For if these principles, these original constituent parts, can never change, they must be perfectly solid, and consequently always of the same figure. If they are such, they cannot be composed of other elements; for they must then receive other figures; therefore in the present constitution of things, it is impossible that the element of salt should be changed into the element of mercury.

It is something strange, that Newton, who admitted of atoms, should have overlooked so natural an induction. He, like Gassendi, admitted

mitted of real atoms in divisible bodies; but he arrived at this assertion by the mathematics; at the same time, he thought these atoms, these indivisible elements, were continually changing one into the other. Newton was a man; and therefore, like us, subject to error.

It will doubtless be asked, how the germes of things, being hard and indivisible, grow and extend themselves? Probably, it is performed only by assemblage, by contiguity; several atoms of water form a drop, and the like may be said of the rest.

It still remains to know how this contiguity is performed; how the parts of bodies become mutually connected together. This perhaps is one of the secrets of the creator, which will ever remain unknown to men. How the constituent particles of gold form a lump of that metal, cannot, I think, be known, without seeing those particles.

If I say that attraction is probably the cause of this adhesion and continuity of matter, it is only because nothing more plausible can be advanced; for as it can be demonstrated that all the parts of matter gravitate on each other, whatever the cause be, can any thing more natural be imagined, than that bodies, touching each other in most points, are, by the force of such gravitation, closely connected?

But this is not the place for enlarging on this physical article.



C H A P. IX.

OF THE MONADES, OR THE NATURE OF
THE ELEMENTS OF MATTER.

Opinion of Newton. Opinion of Leibnitz.

IF ever *audax Japeti genus* may be truly said; it is with regard to man daring to inquire into the first elements, which seem placed at an infinite distance from the sphere of our capacities. Nothing, perhaps, is more modest than the opinion of Newton, who went no farther than to apprehend that the elements of matter are matter; that is, an extended and impenetrable being, whose intimate nature the human intellect cannot penetrate; that God can divide it *ad infinitum*, as he can annihilate it; but keeps its parts extended and inseparable, as a basis to all the productions of the universe.

On the other hand, nothing, perhaps, can exceed the boldness of Leibnitz's flight, in setting out with his principle of a *sufficient reason* to penetrate, if possible, into the very bosom of causes, and into the inexplicable nature of those elements. All bodies, says he, are composed of extended parts: but of what are these extended parts composed? They are, continues he, actually divisible, and divided *ad infinitum*; thus extension is ever all you meet with. Now
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to say, that extension is the *sufficient reason* of extension, is arguing in a circle, it is saying nothing; therefore the reason, the cause of extended beings must be sought for in beings which are not so, in simple beings, in Monades; thus, matter is nothing but an assemblage of simple beings. We have seen in the chapter of the soul, that according to Leibnitz, every simple being is subject to change; but its changes, its determinations, which it successively receives, cannot proceed from without, as this being is simple, intangible, and occupies no place; it has then within itself the source of all its changes, produced by external objects; it has therefore ideas. But it has a necessary relation to all the parts of the universe, it has therefore ideas relative to the whole universe. The elements of the vilest excrements therefore have an infinite number of ideas. Their ideas, indeed, are none of the clearest; they are destitute of *Apperception*, as Leibnitz expresses himself; they have not in themselves the inward testimony of their thoughts, but they have confused perceptions of the present, the past, and the future. He admits four kinds of Monades.

I.

The elements of matter, which have no distinct thoughts.

II.

The Monades of beasts, which have some clear ideas, though none distinct.

III.

The Monades of finite spirits, which have confused, clear, and distinct ideas.

IV.

IV.

Lastly, the Monade of God, with only adequate ideas.

I have already observed, that the English philosophers, with whom names go for nothing, have answered the premises only with ridicule; but it is by ratiocination alone that I must refute Leibnitz. Methinks I might take the liberty of saying to those who have countenanced such opinions, all the world agrees with you in the principle of *sufficient reason*; but is the consequence you draw from it here very just?

I.

You hold matter to be infinitely divisible, and yet the smallest part is not to be found; there is none which has not sides and figures, and which does not fill a place; how then will you have it formed only of beings, without sides, place, or figure? Do you not trespass against the great principle of *contradiction*, in tenaciously following that of *sufficient reason*.

II.

Is it sufficiently reasonable that a compound should have nothing similar to that of which it is composed? Nothing similar, do I say? the difference is infinite between a simple and an extended being, and you will insist that one is made of the other! Would it be more offensive to reason to say, that several elements of iron form gold, and the constituent particles of sugar make coloquintida?

III.

III.

Can you presume to affirm, that a drop of urine is an infinitude of Monades, and that each has ideas, though obscure ones, of the whole universe? and this because, according to you, there is a *plenum*, and because in this *plenum* every thing is conjoined, because every thing being conjoined, and a Monade having ideas necessarily, it cannot have a perception which does not relate to every thing in the world?

Yet such are the things, in the explication of which lemmas, theorems, and collaries have been drawn, and what have they proved? what Cicero said, 'that there is nothing so strange which has not been maintained by philosophers.' O metaphysics! we are now just as far advanced as in the time of the first druids.

CHAP.



C H A P. X.

OF THE ACTIVE FORCE THAT GIVES MOTION TO EVERY THING IN THE UNIVERSE.

Whether there be always the same Quantity of Force in the World. Examination of Force. Manner of calculating Force. Conclusion of both Parties.

I Suppose it is agreed, that matter can have no motion of itself; it must therefore receive it from elsewhere; but it cannot receive it from other matter, as that would imply a contradiction: motion therefore must proceed from an immaterial cause. God is that immaterial cause. But here the utmost care must be taken, that this vulgar axiom, 'a philosopher must never have recourse to God,' has place only in things that may be explained by physical proximate causes. For instance, I am to explain why a four pound weight is counterpoised by a pound weight; if I say that God has appointed it should be so, I should betray my own ignorance; but I say, it is because the one pound weight is four times farther from the center of motion than the four pound weight. It is otherwise with regard to the first principles of things: in that case not to have recourse to God, is a
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mark of ignorance; for either there is no God, or no first principles but in God.

It is he that has impressed on the planets that force by which they move from west to east: it is he who caused the planets and the sun to revolve on their own axes. He has impressed a law on all bodies, by which they all equally tend to their center. He has also formed animals, to whom he has given an active force, whereby they produce motion.

The great question is to know, whether this force or power given by God to begin motion, is, in nature, always the same.

Descartes, without making any mention of force, advanced, without the least proof, that there is always an equal quantity of motion; and his opinion was the worse founded, as he was an absolute stranger to the very laws of motion. Leibnitz, who lived in more enlightened times, has been obliged to acknowledge, in conformity to Newton, that motion diminishes; but at the same time pretended, that though the same quantity of motion does not subsist, the force is always the same. Newton, on the contrary, considered it as a contradiction to suppose, that the motion was not in proportion to the force.

Previous to any mechanical discussion of this subject, we must consider the nature of things; for here the geometrician must submit to follow the metaphysician. A man has a certain quantity of active force; but where was this force before his birth? If it be said that it resided in the germ of the fœtus, of what consequence is a power that cannot be exerted? but when

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he is grown up to manhood, does he not enjoy a freedom of acting? cannot he exert more or less of this force? Suppose he exerts a force of three hundred pounds in moving a machine; I will suppose, as it is possible, the force is applied to a lever, and that the machine annexed to this lever, is in an exhausted receiver; the machine may easily acquire a force of two thousand pounds. The operation being finished, the arm withdrawn, the lever taken away, the weight without motion; I would ask, whether the little matter that remained in the receiver, had acquired, from the machine, a force of two thousand pounds? Do not all these considerations tend to shew, that the active force is continually recruited and continually diminished in nature?

Let us now, to terminate this metaphysical dispute, listen to Newton and experiment. Motion, says that philosopher, is produced and lost; but from the tenacity of the fluids, and the little elasticity of the solids, the loss of motion in nature greatly exceeds the reproduction. This admitted, if we consider the following undoubted axiom, that the effect is always proportionable to the cause, it will follow, that where motion diminishes, there must also be a diminution of force. Therefore, if the same quantity of force be always in the universe, this maxim, that *the cause is proportionable to the effect*, can be no longer true.

It has been imagined that, in order to preserve in nature this equality of force, it was sufficient to alter the manner of estimating this force; thus, as Merfenne, Descartes, Newton, Mariotte,

Mariotte, Varignon, &c. have always followed Archimedes, in measuring the force of a body, by multiplying its mass by its velocity; so the followers of Leibnitz, Bernoulli, Herman, Poleni, s'Gravesande, Wolf, &c. have multiplied the mass by the square of the velocity*.

This dispute, to the scandal of geometry, has divided Europe; but appears at length to be, in reality, only a dispute about words. It is indeed impossible that these eminent philosophers, though absolutely opposite, to be mistaken in their calculations. Both are equally just; the mechanical effects answer equally to both methods of computation. There is then undoubtedly one sense in which they are all in the right. Now, that point where they all coincide, is that which should reconcile them, and this was first indicated by Dr. Clarke, in the following manner.

If you consider the time in which the moving body acts, its force at the end of this time, is as the square of the velocity multiplied by the mass. Why? because the space passed over by the body, is as the square of the time in which it is passed over. Now the time is as the velocity; therefore the body, which, in this time, has

* This dispute was begun between M. *Haygen* and the abbe *Catalan*, about the force of oscillating bodies, and continued some time between these two gentlemen; at last, another subject of a similar kind, engaged the abbe, with the famous *Leibnitz*, who is to be considered as the first author, that plainly declared, in express words, that the force of bodies was as their masses multiplied by the square of the velocity.

passed

passed over this space, at the end of this time, acts in proportion to the mass multiplied by the square of its velocity; thus when the body 2, passes in 2 times any spaces whatever, with 2 degrees of velocity, at the end of this time its force is 2, multiplied by the square of its velocity 2; which makes 8, and the body makes an impression as 8: in this case the followers of Leibnitz are not in the wrong. But the followers of Descartes and Newton united, are also right, when they consider the problem in another point of view; for they say, that in an equal time a body of four pounds with one degree of velocity, acts precisely as a pound weight with four degrees of velocity; and elastic bodies impinging on one another, recoil always in a reciprocal proportion of their mass and velocity; that is, if a ball of two pounds weight with one degree of velocity, and a ball of one pound with two degrees of velocity, be thrown against each other, they will arrive at the same time, and recoil to equal heights; therefore, not what happens to bodies in an unequal, but in equal times is to be considered; and hence arose the mistake. Therefore the new method of computing the force of bodies, is true in one sense and false in another; therefore it serves only to perplex and embarrass a simple idea; therefore the former method should be preferred. What then shall we conclude from these two methods of investigation? only this, that the effect is always in proportion to the cause. Therefore, if any motion be lost to the universe, the force which is the cause of it will also

also of consequence be lost. Such were Newton's thoughts with regard to most questions relating to metaphysics: you may judge between him and Leibnitz.

I shall now proceed to his philosophical discoveries.

PART



P A R T II.

C H A P. I.

FIRST ENQUIRY CONCERNING LIGHT, AND
HOW IT COMES TO US. ERRORS OF DES-
CARTES ON THAT SUBJECT.

*Singular Definition of the Peripateticks. The
Desire of establishing a System misled Descartes.
His System false. Error in Spectacle de la
Nature. The Motion of Light demonstrated
by Romer. The Experiments of Romer con-
tested and opposed in vain. The discoveries of
Romer proved by the Discoveries of Bradley.
History of these Discoveries. Explanation and
Conclusion.*

THE Greeks, and after them all the bar-
barous people who learnt of them at once
to reason and to err, have said from age to age,
“ Light is an accident, which accident is the
“ act of transparency, as transparent ; colours
“ are what move transparent bodies. Lumi-
“ naries and coloured bodies have qualities si-
“ milar to those they excite in us, according
“ to the maxim, that nothing can give what it
“ has not. In fine, light and colours are a
“ mixture of the hot, the cold, the dry, and
“ the humid ; for the humid, the dry, the
“ cold, and the hot, being the principles of
“ all

“all things, colours must consequently be composed of them.”

This is the absurd jargon, which the professors of ignorance, paid by the public, have made human credulity to revere for so many ages: this manner of reasoning prevailed almost in all things down to the time of Galileo and Descartes. Nay, long after them, the same jargon, the disgrace of human understanding, subsisted in many schools. I dare aver, that human reason so obscured, is far below the most bounded knowledge, which in brutes we call instinct. Hence we cannot congratulate ourselves too much on our good fortune, in being born at a time, and amongst a people, when mankind begin to open their eyes, and to enjoy the noblest inheritance of humanity, the use of reason.

All the pretended philosophers therefore, having guest of nature at a venture, through the veil under which she lay concealed, Descartes at length came, and drew aside a corner of that great veil. He said, “Light is a fine and subtle matter diffused universally, and strikes our eyes. Colours are sensations excited in us by God, according to the motions which transmit that matter to our organs.” Thus far Descartes was in the right, and should either have stopped there, or in advancing, have taken experiment for his guide: but he was possessed with the desire of establishing a system. That passion had the same effect on this great man, as passions have on all men; they hurry them beyond their principles.

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He laid down as the first principle of his philosophy, that nothing should be believed without evidence; and yet, in contempt of his own rule, he imagines three elements formed of pretended cubes, which he supposes to have been formed by the creator, and to have been broken to pieces in turning upon themselves, after they came out of the hands of God.

Of these supposititious broken cubes, abraded equally on every side, and at last rounded into globules, he is pleased to make light, which, without any proof, he diffuses through the universe.

The more ingeniously this system was imagined, the more the reader will perceive it unworthy a philosopher. For, as nothing of all this is proved, it would be full as reasonable to admit the cold and hot, the dry and the humid. Error for error, what does it signify which is preferred?

According to Descartes, the light does not flow to our eyes from the sun; but is a globulous matter diffused universally, which the sun impels, and which presses upon our eyes as a staff pushed at one end, presses the same instant at the other. Descartes was so fully convinced of this system, that, in his seventeenth letter of the third tome, he says, and positively repeats it: *I confess that I know nothing of philosophy, if the light of the sun is not transmitted to our eyes instantaneously.* In effect we must own, that, as great a genius as he was, he knew very little of true philosophy; and wanted the experiments of the succeeding age. That age is

as much superior to Descartes, as Descartes was to antiquity.

I.

If light were a fluid always diffused, and always existing in the air, we should see as clearly in the night as in the day; because the sun below the hemisphere would continually impel the globules on all sides, and the impression equally affect our eyes; light would circulate like sound, we should see an object beyond a mountain; in short, we should never have a finer day than in a central eclipse of the sun; for the moon, at least according to Descartes, in passing between us and that luminary, would press the globules of light, and thus increase their action.

II.

The rays refracted by a prism and forced into a different direction, demonstrate that light has a real motion, and is not an assemblage of globules only compressed. Light, on entering a prism, takes three different ways; its three tracks, in the air, in the prism, and on its quitting the prism, are different; nay, its motion is accelerated within the prism. Is it not then something strange to say, that a body which visibly changes place three times, and quickens its motion, does not move? yet a work is published, in which it is asserted that the progression of light is an absurdity.

III.

III.

Were light an assemblage of globules, a fluid existing in the air and every place, the small hole in a *camera obscura* would fill the whole of it with light; for light being then, on every side, pressed into this small hole, would act on every side, as ivory balls disposed into a square or circle, would all be scattered if only one of them was strongly pressed: but the very reverse appears; the light received through a small aperture, which admits only a slender cone of rays, scarce illuminates half a foot of the place on which it strikes.

IV.

Light, coming from the sun to us, is known to traverse this immense space in about eight minutes, which a cannon-ball, in its utmost swiftness, could not perform in twenty five years.

The author of *Spetacle de la Nature*, a work of great merit, has fallen into a small mistake, which may mislead beginners for whom this book is calculated. He says, that light, according to Newton, is *seven minutes in coming to us from the stars*; he has mistaken the stars for the sun. Light is six months in coming to us from the nearest fixed star, according to a certain calculation, founded upon experiments very delicate, and at the same time very imperfect. It was not Newton, but Huygens and Hartsoeker, who advanced this supposition: he says also, to prove that God created light before the sun, *that light is diffused thro'*

out

but all nature, and is felt sensibly, when impelled by the luminous stars; but it has been demonstrated to be very long in coming from the fixed stars to us: if it comes so far, it was not diffused before. It is necessary to be aware of these errors, which are every day repeated in abundance of books, that are only echoes to one another.

The following is the substance of Romer's sensible demonstration, that light employs seven or eight minutes in its passage from the sun to the earth.

From the earth at C, (fig. 1.) a satellite of Jupiter is observed to be eclipsed regularly once in forty two hours and an half. If the earth were immovable, the observer at C, would see thirty emersions of that satellite in thirty times two and forty minutes and an half; but at the end of that time the earth is come to D, and then the observer sees no longer that emersion exactly at the end of thirty times forty-two minutes and an half; but must add the time which light takes up in passing from C to D, which time is evidently considerable. But this space CD, is still less than the space, GH, in the circle. This circle is the great orbit described by the earth round the sun in the center; light, in coming from the satellite of Jupiter, passes CD in ten minutes, and GH in fifteen or sixteen. The sun is between G and H; the light therefore is seven or eight minutes in coming from the sun.

This noble observation was long contested, but at length admitted, though prejudice endeavoured to allude even the force of experience itself.

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The utmost it proves, say its opposers, is, that the matter of light exists in space, and reaches from the sun to our eyes, requiring seven or eight minutes in transmitting to us the impressi^on of the sun ; but should it not have been observed, that such an inconsiderate answer manifestly contradicts every principle of mechanism ? Descartes well knew, and acknowledged, that if the luminous matter was like a long staff, pressed by the sun at one end, the impressi^on would be instantaneously communicated to the other. Therefore should a satellite of Jupiter press a supposed luminous matter, considered as a connected series of globules, extended to our eyes, instead of waiting several minutes before we perceived the emersion of this satellite, we should see it at the very instant of the emersion. If, as their last subterfuge, they pretend to allege, that the luminous matter is not to be considered as a close rigid body, but a fluid ; this is relapsing into that error, so scandalous in a naturalist, which supposes an ignorance of the action of fluids ; for this fluid would act in every direction, and as we have already observed, there would be no more night, no more eclipses ; motion in this fluid would be strangely slow, and instead of seven minutes, the light of the sun would not reach us in several ages.

Romer's discovery, therefore, was an incontestable proof of the propagation and progression of light ; but should the former inveterate prejudice still oppose this truth, let it, at least, submit to Dr. Bradley's more recent discoveries, by which it is so admirably, so decisively confirmed.

firmed. Dr. Bradley's experiment is, perhaps, the finest improvement made in astronomy.

Every body knows, that a hundred and ninety millions of our leagues, which at the lowest computation, our earth travels in one year, are but a point, when compared to the distance between the fixed stars and the earth. The eye cannot discern, whether, at the end of the diameter of this immense orbit, a star has changed its position relatively to us ; though it is very certain, that at the end of six months there is between us and a star situated near the pole, a difference of near sixty-six millions of leagues ; and this space, which a cannon ball, in its greatest velocity, could not traverse in fifty years, is lost in the prodigious distance between our globe and the nearest star ; for the visual angle, when reduced to a certain smallness, is no longer measurable ; it becomes nothing.

To find the secret of measuring this angle, to know its difference when the earth is in *Cancer* and when in *Capricorn*, and thus to find what is called the parallax of the earth, was thought a problem not less abstruse and difficult than that of the longitude. This arduous problem, Dr. *Hooke*, so well known by his *micrographia*, attempted to solve : he was succeeded by the astronomer *Flamsteed*, who had laid down the places of three thousand stars ; afterwards *M. Molineux*, assisted by that celebrated mechanic *Mr. Graham*, invented a machine for facilitating the operation, sparing neither time, application nor expence ; but at length, Dr. *Bradley* put the finishing hand to this great work. The machine made use of, was called a paralla&tic

telescope, and a description of it may be seen in Dr. Smith's excellent system of opticks. A long telescope was suspended perpendicular to the horizon, and in a disposition that the axis of vision could be easily directed to the plane of the meridian, either a little more to the northward or to the southward, and by means of a wheel and an index it could be accurately known how far northward or southward the instrument had been carried. With this telescope several stars were observed, and among others a star of Draco was followed by it during a whole year.

What should have been the result of this assiduous investigation? Certainly if from the beginning of summer to the beginning of winter, the earth had changed its place, if it had travelled sixty-six millions of leagues, the ray of light which had been projected along this telescope's axis of vision, must have deflected from it! that a new motion was to be given to this tube for receiving this ray, and the wheel and the index shewed what quantity of motion had been given to it, and by an infallible consequence, how far more northward or southward the star then appears than it did six months before.

These admirable operations were began on the third of December, 1725, the time of the earth's approach to the winter solstice; it was thought probable that should the star give any sign of aberration too soon, as in the month of December, it would appear to throw its light farther towards the north, as the earth was near the winter solstice, then moving southward. But to the great astonishment of the ingenious persons concerned, so early as the 17th of December, the
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the star observed, appeared on the meridian to be advanced to the southward, quite contrary to their expectations; and an assiduous continuance of those observations, produced more than could ever have been expected: they discovered the parallax of this fixed star, the annual movement of the earth, and the progression of light.

If the earth revolves round the sun, and light becomes instantaneous, it is evident that the star observed must seem constantly to move a little towards the north, when the earth moves towards the opposite quarter; but if the light be projected from this star, if a certain time be requisite for its reaching us, a comparison must be made of this time with the celerity of the earth's motion; calculation is all that remains, and by this the velocity of the light of this star was found to exceed that of the mean motion of the earth ten thousand two hundred times. It was farther found, by observations on other stars, that light not only moves with such astonishing velocity, but that its motion is always uniform, though it flows from fixed stars placed at very unequal distances. It was found that the light of every star passes through the space determined by Romer in the same time; that is, about thirty-three millions of leagues in eight minutes. It was found, by measuring the annual parallax, that the star observed in *Draco* is four hundred thousand times farther from us than the sun.

Let me now entreat every attentive reader, animated by truth, to consider, that if light flows uniformly from the sun to us in near eight minutes, it comes from that star in *Draco* in six years and something above a month; and if

those stars, six times less in magnitude, are six times more remote from us, their beams take up above thirty-six years and a half in coming to us; and yet the progression of these rays is constantly uniform. Now let it be considered, whether this uniform progression be reconcilable with a supposed matter every where diffused. Let us ask ourselves whether this matter would not a little disturb this uniform progression of the rays? and lastly, in reading the chapter of Vortices, let not that enormous distance which light passes through in such a number of years be remembered; let it be fairly examined whether an absolute *plenum* would not obstruct its passage.

To conclude, let us reflect on the many errors into which this system must have led Descartes. He did not make a single experiment; he was wholly directed by fancy; instead of examining the world, he set about creating one. On the contrary, Newton, Romer, Bradley, &c. have been guided entirely by experiments, and made facts the only standard of their opinions.

All these truths are now acknowledged: in 1738, when the author first published in France these *elements* of Newton's philosophy, they were all opposed. Such is the reception truth always meets with from those who have been nursed in error.



C H A P. II.

SYSTEM OF MALLEBRANCHE EQUALLY ERRONEOUS WITH THAT OF DESCARTES;
NATURE OF LIGHT; ITS COURSES; ITS RAPIDITY.

Error of Father Mallebranche. Definition of the Matter of Light. Fire and light the same. Rapidity of Light. Extreme Minuteness of its Particles. Progression of Light. Proof of the Impossibility of a Plenum. Obstinate opposition to these Truths. Abuse of the Holy Scriptures against these Truths.

FATHER Mallebranche, who, in examining the errors of the senses, was not exempt from those that flowed from the subtilty of his genius, adopted the elements of Descartes without proof; but changed many things in that enchanted castle; and, though he made as little use of experiments as Descartes, thought proper to form another system.

The vibrations of luminous bodies impress, according to him, sudden strokes upon small and gentle vortices, capable of compression, and entirely composed of subtile matter. But had Mallebranche been asked, in what manner these small and gentle vortices transmitted light to our eyes? how the action of the sun could pass in

an instant through so many small bodies compressed upon one another, of which a very small number were sufficient to intercept that action? why these gentle vortices did not mingle in turning upon one another? how these vortices became elastic? in fine, why he supposed these vortices? What would father Mallebranche have replied? Upon what foundation did he build this imaginary edifice? Should men, who talked of nothing but truth, have wrote nothing but romances?

What then at length is light? *It is fire itself*, which burns at a small distance when its parts are less attenuated, or more rapid, or more united; and which gently illuminates our eyes, when it acts from a greater distance, and its particles are more rare, less rapid, and less united. Thus a lighted candle would burn the eye at the distance of only some lines of an inch, and gives its light at that of some inches. Thus the rays of the sun, diffused through the space of the air, illuminate objects, and, collected by a burning-glass, melt lead and gold*.

If it be asked what fire is, my answer will be, that it is an element which I know only by its effects; and I say here, as every where else, that man is not made to know the secret nature of things; that all he can do is to calculate, measure, weigh, and make experiments.

* That light is a material substance, and what we call body, is not to be doubted; because we find in it something that has motion, or is propagated in time; something that acts upon bodies, and produces alterations and changes in their matter and form.

Fire does not lighten nor shine always. Fire not displayed, whether in an iron bar, or in wood, cannot emit rays from the iron or the wood; consequently cannot be luminous, nor can be so till the surface is ignited.

The rays of the full moon impart no sensible heat when collected in the focus of a burning-glass, though they give a considerable light. The reason is evident; the degrees of heat are always proportionable to the density of the rays. Now it is proved that the sun, at an equal height, darts ninety thousand times more rays than the full moon reflects to us in the horizon. Therefore it is necessary for the rays of the moon, in the focus of a burning-glass, to give a heat equal to that given by the rays of the sun, in a glass of equal dimensions, that there be ninety thousand more rays in the focus than there are.

They who consider light and fire as two substances are mistaken, founding their opinion on the fire's not being always luminous, and light not always heating. This is the same as making two beings of every substance that can be applied to two uses.

Fire is projected in every direction from the radiant point, and hence is perceived on all sides; so that, in the geometrical phrase, it may be considered as lines drawn from the center to the circumference. In the same manner, every assemblage, every collection, every pencil of rays, proceeding from the sun, or any fire whatever, is to be considered as a cone, the basis of which is in the eye, and the apex at the sun or fire that projects it.

This matter of fire passes from the sun to us, and even as far as Saturn, with a rapidity that startles the imagination. Calculation teaches us, that if the distance of the sun be 24,000 semi-diameters of the earth, the light must move from that planet to us, at the rate of 1,000,000,000 feet in a second. Now a bullet of a pound weight, discharged with half a pound of powder, flies only 600 feet in a second; so that the velocity of a ray of light exceeds (in round numbers) that of a cannon ball 1,666,600 times. It is therefore certain, that if a particle of light was only the 1,600,000th part of a pound, it would necessarily follow, that the rays of light must have the same effect with cannon; and were they only a thousand millions of times still smaller, one single moment of emanation of light would destroy every thing on the surface of the earth. How inconceivably minute then must these rays be to enter our eyes without the least injury *!

The sun, which projects this luminous matter to us in seven or eight minutes, and the stars, those other suns, which transmit it to us in several years, supply it perpetually, without

* Since the weight of bodies is proportioned to the quantity of matter, it follows, that where the latter is diminished indefinitely, the former will be also diminished indefinitely: therefore the weight of light must be insensible in ever so great a quantity of it. Boerhaave caused a globe of iron, twelve inches in diameter, to be heated red-hot, and suspended at the end of a very accurate balance, and counterpoised by weights at the other end very exactly: in this manner it was suspended, till all the particles of heat or light were escaped, when he found the equilibrium of the balance not to be in the least affected.

any apparent waste in themselves; in the same manner as musk is constantly emitting odorous particles, without any sensible diminution of its weight.

In fine, the rapidity with which the sun projects his rays, is probably in proportion to his magnitude, which is about a million of times greater than that of the earth; and to the velocity with which this immense body of fire turns round its axis in twenty-five days and a half.

We may here conclude, from the velocity with which the substance of the sun flies off towards us in a right line, how unnatural the plenum of Descartes is; for, 1. How could a right line be projected to us through so many millions of strata of matter moving in a curve, and through so many different motions? 2. How could so tenuous a body in seven or eight minutes pass thro' a space of 1,320,000,000,000 leagues from a star to us, if in this space it was to pass through a resisting matter? Every ray must in a moment displace 1,320,000,000,000 of leagues of subtile matter.

Let it be further observed, that this imaginary subtile matter would, in an absolute plenum, resist equally with the most compact matter. Thus a ray projected from a star, must make a much greater effort than to pass thro' a cone of gold, whose axis is 1,000,000,000,000 of leagues.

Experience, that true master of philosophy, farther shews us, that light in coming from one element into another, from one medium into another, passes through entire, as we shall prove:

prove: a great part of it is reflected, the air repelling more than it transmits, so that it would be impossible for the light of any of the stars to reach us; it would be wholly repelled and absorbed, before a single ray could penetrate half way to our atmosphere. Would they not even be forbed by other atmospheres? But in the chapters where we shall explain the principles of gravitation, we shall prove, by a series of arguments, that this pretended plenum was a romance.

Let us here stop a moment, to observe how slowly truth establishes itself amongst mankind. It is almost fifty years since Romer demonstrated by observations on the satellites of Jupiter, that light is transmitted from the sun to the earth in about seven minutes and a half; notwithstanding which, the contrary is not only maintained in many philosophical books, but in a collection upon that subject, in three volumes, extracted from the observations of all the academies in Europe, printed in 1730, page 35, volume I. there is this passage: "Some have pretended, that a luminous body, as the sun, emits continually an infinity of small insensible particles, which conduct the light to our eyes; but this opinion, which has some relation to the old philosophy, cannot be maintained." This opinion may, however, be demonstrated by more than one method, and so far from agreeing with the old philosophy, that it is directly contrary to it; for, can any thing be more contrary to words void of sense, than measures, calculations, and experiments?

Other

Other opposers have appeared to attack this truth of the emanation and progression of light, with the same weapons which men, of more popularity than erudition, used so imperiously, but in vain, against Galileo's opinion of the motion of the earth.

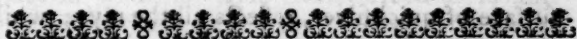
They who arm authority against reason make use of the sacred writings, which teach us morality, as a guide in philosophy. La Pluche has actually made Moses a natural philosopher; if from simplicity he deserves pity, and still more, if by that vulgar artifice he intends to throw an odium on those who differ from him in sentiments.

The ignorant should remember, that they who from a like pretence condemned Galileo, have branded their native country with an infamy, which only the name of Galileo can efface. The light of the day, according to them, must not proceed from the sun, because it is said in Genesis, God created light before the sun.

But these gentlemen seem to forget, that in Genesis it is also said, that God divided the light from the darkness, and called the light day and the darkness night, and of the evening and the morning made a day, &c. and all this before he created the sun. Thus, according to the reasoning of these naturalists, the sun could not have made the day, nor the absence of the sun the night.

They add, that God separated the waters from the waters, and by this separation they understand the sea and the clouds. But, according

ing to them, the vapours, which form the clouds, must not have been raised by the sun, as they really are: for, according to Genesis, the creation of the sun was posterior to the separation of the upper and lower waters. Now they own that it is the sun which raises these *upper* waters, and thus contradict themselves. Will they deny the motion of the earth, because Joshua commanded the sun to stand still? Will they deny the unfolding of seed in the earth, because it is said, the grain must rot before it shoots? They must therefore, with all the sensible part of mankind, acknowledge, that physical truths are not to be sought for in the scriptures, which contain the rules of a good life, but not the knowledge of nature.



C H A P. III.

THE PROPERTY LIGHT HAS OF REFLECTING ITSELF WAS NOT TRULY KNOWN; IT IS NOT REFLECTED BY THE SOLID PARTS OF BODIES, AS GENERALLY BELIEVED.

Not a simple Body. Light not reflected by the solid Parts. Decisive Experiments. How, and in what Sense, Light is reflected from a vacuum. The Experiment how made. Conclusion drawn from that Experiment. The small Pores, large enough to admit Light. Weak objections against these Truths.

HAVING seen what light is, whence derived, and how long it is in coming to us, let us proceed to its properties and effects, unknown till our days. The first of its effects, is its seeming to rebound from the solid surface of all objects to bring the images of them to our eyes.

All men, all philosophers, the Descartes, the Mallebranches, and such as are most remote from vulgar opinion, have equally believed, that the solid surfaces of bodies are what actually reflect light to us. The more smooth and solid a surface is, the more, they say, it causes the light to rebound from it; but the larger, and the more direct the pores of the body are, the more

more the rays of light pass through its substance. Thus the mirror, covered at the back with a surface of quicksilver, reflects all the rays; while the same glass, without quicksilver, having direct and large pores in prodigious number, admits great part of the rays to pass through it. The more large and direct pores a body has, the more transparent it is; such is, say they, the diamond, and such the water itself. These were the ideas generally received, and which none called in question: yet all these ideas are entirely false; so remote often is the resemblance of truth from the truth itself. The philosophers embraced this error, in the same manner as the vulgar are mistaken, when they imagine the sun no larger than it appears to the eye. In this consisted the error of the philosophers.

We cannot make the surface of any body really even, though the surfaces of many seem perfectly smooth and polished. But why do they appear so to us? The smoothest superficies, in respect to the particles of which light is composed, is no more than a great number of mountains, cavities, and spaces. The point of the finest needle actually abounds with eminences and asperities, which the microscope discovers. All the pencils of rays of light, which should fall on those unequal parts, would be reflected in the direction they fell; and, falling unequally, would never be regularly reflected, and therefore we could never see ourselves in a glass. Besides, the glass has probably a thousand times more pores than matter, though every point of the surface reflects rays; therefore they are not reflected by the glass,

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The light, therefore, which shews us our image in a mirror, does not proceed from the solid parts of the superficies of that glass; neither is it the effect of the solid parts of the mercury and tin spread on the back of the mirror: those parts are not evener or smoother than the glass itself. The solid parts of the tin and mercury are incomparably larger than the solid constituent parts of light; if, therefore, the small particles of light fall upon the gross parts of the mercury, they will spread and scatter themselves on all sides, like grains of lead falling upon rubbish. What unknown power then causes light to rebound toward us with so much regularity? It appears already, that bodies do not return it in this manner. What seemed the most known and incontestible amongst mankind, becomes a greater mystery than the weight of the air was formerly. Let us examine this problem of nature, and our wonder will augment. We cannot contemplate it without surprise.

Expose in a dark chamber the crystal A B (fig. 2.) to the rays of the sun, in such a manner, that the light falling on the superficies B, may make an angle of above forty degrees with the perpendicular. Most of the rays then no longer continue in the air; they re-enter the crystal the instant they quit it; they return, you see, by an insensible curve.

Certainly it is not the solid surface of the air that repels them into the glass; many of those rays entered the air before, when they fell less obliquely; why then should these rays pass no longer, when the obliquity is equal to forty degrees nineteen minutes? Do they find more
resistance,

resistance, more matter in the air at this degree, than in the crystal they had penetrated? Are there more solid parts in the air at forty degrees and one third, than at 40? The air is almost two thousand four hundred times rarer, lighter, and less solid than the crystal; those rays therefore, ought to pass into the air with two thousand four hundred times more facility than they penetrated the substance of the crystal. Though, notwithstanding this prodigious appearance of facility, they are repelled; but repelled by a force two thousand four hundred times greater than that of the air; they are therefore not repelled by the air; the rays are therefore not reflected to our eyes by the solid parts of bodies. Light rebounds so little from the solid parts of bodies, that in reality it rebounds from a vacuum, which merits the utmost attention.

You have seen, that light falling in an angle of 40 degrees, 19 minutes, upon the crystal, rebounds almost entirely from the air, at the lower surface of the crystal. Let the light fall on it, in an angle less only by a single minute, still less of it will pass beyond that surface into the air.

Newton affirms, that could there a method be found to exhaust the air from under this crystal, the rays would no longer pass through it; but the whole light would be reflected. I have made the experiment; I caused an excellent prism to be fixed in a copper-plate; this plate I placed on the top of an open receiver of an air-pump, and placed the machine in my dark chamber. The light being admitted on the
the

the prism through a hole, and its fall directed in the requisite angle, I pumped a long time, and the company perceived, that, in proportion as the air was exhausted, less light passed into the receiver, till at last scarce any at all passed. It was a very entertaining phenomenon, to see the whole light reflected by the prism to the ceiling. This experiment therefore demonstrates, that, in the present case, light rebounds from a vacuum; but it is well known that this vacuum can have no action. What consequence then shall we draw from this experiment? two palpable truths: first, that the surface of solids does not repel the light; secondly, that there is in solid bodies a power unknown which acts on light; and it is this second property which we shall examine in its place.

Here then are undoubted proofs, that it is not a solid superficies that reflects light to us: we shall give another proof of this truth. All opaque bodies reduced to thin laminas, suffer rays of a certain order to pass through their substance, and reflect other rays; now, if light were reflected by bodies, all the rays which fell upon these laminas, would be reflected by them. In fine, we shall see that so astonishing a paradox never had a greater variety of proofs. Let us begin then by rendering ourselves familiar with these truths.

I.

This light, which is imagined to be reflected by the solid surface of bodies, returns, in fact, without having touched that surface.

II.

II.

Light is not reflected from the back of a mirror by the solid surface of the quicksilver, but from the very pores of the mirror and the quicksilver.

III.

It is not necessary, as it has hitherto been thought, that the pores of the quicksilver should be very small to reflect light; on the contrary, it is necessary that they should be large.

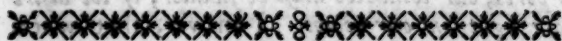
It will be new matter of surprize to those who have not studied this philosophy, to hear it affirmed, that the secret of rendering a body opaque, is often to enlarge its pores, and that the method of making it transparent, is to diminish their capacity. The order of nature seems apparently to be entirely changed: what appeared the necessary cause of opacity, is directly the cause of transparence; and what seemed to render bodies transparent, is in reality what makes them opaque. Nothing however is more true, as the most common experiment demonstrates. A piece of dry paper, of which the pores are very large, is opaque; no ray of light passing through it: reduce those pores, by making it imbibe water or oil, it becomes transparent; the same thing will also happen to Linen, salt, &c.

It is proper to acquaint the public, that a person, who has lately written against these truths, with more superciliousness and contempt than knowledge, has attempted to sneer Newton on these discoveries. *If, says he, the secret of making*

making a body transparent, consists in contracting its pores, our windows must be smaller, if we desire more light in our rooms. I answer, that when we pretend to talk like philosophers, it is highly indecent to affect the buffoon; and that to endeavour to ridicule Newton, is too daring an attempt. Especially, as this very awkward Buffoon ought to have reflected, that large apertures closed up, would admit no light; and that a thin attenuous body, pierced with an infinite number of small holes, and exposed to the sun, admit a great deal of light: oiled paper, and wet linen, for instance, are thin bodies, having their pores contracted by oil or water; and through these pores, now rendered more direct, the light passes; but would not pass through the largest holes, which traversing each other, intercept the rays. We should be sure of being in the right, before we attempt raillery.

The false reasonings, and the jejune raileries, vented in France, against Newton's wonderful discoveries, would be a scandal to the nation, were not the authors of such trash the disgrace of philosophy.

But to return to our subject. There are then unknown powers which perform these wonders, causing the light to rebound before it has touched a surface, which repel it before it has touched the pores of a transparent substance, and bring it back even from the center of a vacuum. These facts, from whatever cause they proceed, we are absolutely obliged to admit.



C H A P. IV.

OF MIRRORS AND TELESCOPES: REASONS
GIVEN BY MATHEMATICIANS FOR THE
MYSTERIS OF VISION; THESE REASONS
NOT FULLY SUFFICIENT.

*Plane Mirror. Convex Mirror. Concave Mirror.
Geometrical Explanations of Vision. No
immediate Relation between the Rules of Op-
tics and our Sensations. Proved by an Example.*

THE rays, which a power, till our days
unknown, reflects to the eye from above
the surface of a mirror, without touching the
surface, and from the pores of the glass, without
touching its solid parts; these rays, I say, re-
turn to the eye in the same manner as they ar-
rived at the mirror. If you see your face in
it, the rays from your face, falling parallel, and
in a perpendicular direction upon the mirror,
return thither in the same manner as a ball re-
bounds perpendicularly from the floor.

If in the mirror M. (fig. 3.) we view an ob-
ject on one side of us, as A, the rays from that
object, act in the same manner as a ball, which
would rebound to B, the place of your eye.
This is called the angle of incidence, equal to
the angle of reflection. The line AC is the
line

line of incidence, the line CB is the line of reflection. It is sufficiently plain, and the bare mentioning demonstrates, that those lines form equal angles upon the surface of the glass; why then do I not see the object, either in A, where it is, or in C, whence the rays flow to the eye, but in D, behind the same mirror?

Geometry will tell us, it is because the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection; because the eye in B (fig. 4.) carries the object to D; because objects can act upon you only in right lines, and because the right line from your eye B, continued behind the glass to D, is as long as the line AC, added to the line CB.

If we also tell you, that you never see objects but from the point where the rays begin to diverge, suppose the mirror MI, the pencils of the rays, from every point of the object A, begin to diverge the instant they quit the object, they proceed to the surface of the glass, there each of those rays falls, disperses, and is reflected towards the eye. The eye carries them back to the points DD, at the end of the right lines, where the same rays would meet; but in meeting at the points DD, those rays act in the same manner, as at the points AA, where they begin to diverge; therefore you see the object AA, at the points DD.

These angles and lines serve doubtless to make us understand this artifice of nature; but they are far from informing us of the physical efficient reason, why the soul, without any hesitation, carries the object to an equal distance, beyond the mirror, as it is on this side of it.

These

These lines represent what really happens; but do not shew why it happens.

If you would know in what manner a convex mirror diminishes, and a concave mirror enlarges objects, these lines of incidence and reflection will give you the same reason.

We are told, that the cone of rays, which diverges from the points A (fig. 5.) and falls on the convex mirror, makes angles of incidence upon it, equal to the angles of reflection, of which the lines shew to the eye. Now these angles are less, than if they had fallen on a plane surface; therefore if they are supposed to pass to B, they will converge there much sooner, and the object in B B be smaller. Now the eye carries the object to B B, the points where the rays begin to diverge; therefore the object must appear less, as it does in the figure. For the same reason that it appears less, it appears nearer, as the extreme points of the rays from B B, are actually nearer the mirror, than those of the rays from A A.

For a contrary reason, you must see objects greater and more remote, in a concave mirror, when placed near enough to the mirror. For the cones of the Rays from A A, (fig. 6.) diverging upon the mirror at the points where those rays fall, if they were reflected through that glass, they would unite only in B B therefore they are seen in B B. Now B B. is greater and farther remote from the mirror, than A A, therefore you see the object greater, and at a greater distance.

This is in general what happens in the reflection of rays to our eyes, and this sole principle,

principle, that the angle of incidence is always equal to the angle of reflection, is the true foundation of all the mysteries of catoptrics.

We are now to know in what manner lenses augment objects, and lessen distances; and lastly why objects, that painted reversely in our eyes, should however be seen as they really are.

In regard to magnitudes and distances, the mathematics demonstrate that the greater the angle made by an object in the eye, the greater the object will appear: nothing is plainer. The line HK at an hundred paces forms an angle, as you see in the eye A (fig. 7); at two hundred paces, it forms another less by one half in another eye as B (fig. 8.) Now the angle formed on the retina, or of which the retina is the base, is as the angle of which the object is the base. These angles are opposite at their summits; therefore, according to the first notions of the elements of geometry, they are equal. Hence if the angle formed in the eye A , be double the angle formed in the eye B , the object will appear as large again to the eye A , as to the eye B .

Now that the object may be seen as large by the eye at B , as by the eye at A , it is necessary that the eye B , receive as large an angle as the eye A , which is as near again to it. The lenses of a Telescope produce this effect. For the greater facility let us suppose here only one lens, and without considering the effects of many lenses. The object HK , (fig. 9) transmits its rays to this lens, which are united at some distance from it. Let us conceive a lens so contrived, that those rays cross one another in such a manner, as to form in the eye C , as great an angle as that in the eye A . The eye then, you will say, judges by that angle. It sees the object of the same

magnitnde as the eye in A. But in A it sees it at the distance of an hundred paces : therefore in C, receiving the same angle, it will still see it at the same distance. The whole effect of combined lenses, different telescopes, and microscopes, which magnify objects, consists therefore in bringing objects to the eye in a greater angle. The object A B, (fig. 10) is seen by the means of a lens in the angle D C D, which is much greater than the angle A C B.

You ask again from the rules of optics, why objects, which are painted reverse upon our retina, are seen in their true situation? The ray from the head of the man A, (fig. 11) falls upon the lower point of the retina A; his feet B, are carried by the rays B B, to the upper part of the retina B.

Thus the man is really painted with his head downwards and his feet upwards at the bottom of our eyes. Why therefore do we not see this man reversed, but upright and as he is?

To resolve this question, the comparision of a blind man is used who holds in his hands two sticks crossing each other, with which he guesses very rightly of the position of objects. For the point of the left, being felt by the right hand with the help of the stick, he judges it immediately on the left; and the point, which communicates with his left hand by the means of the other stick, he judges on the right, without mistake. All the masters of optics tell us therefore, that the lower part of the eye, immediately transfers its sensations of the object to the superior part, and that the upper part of the retina, as naturally transmits its sensation to the inferior part; consequently the object is seen in its true situation.

When

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When we perfectly know all the angles and mathematical lines, by which the passage of light is traced to the bottom of the eye, we are not however to believe that we know in what manner our perceptions of the magnitudes, distances, and situations of things are attained. The geometrical proportions of those angles and lines are indeed just; but there is no more relation between them and our sensations, than between the sound we hear, and the magnitude, distance and situation of the sonorous body. My ear is struck by the sound; I hear the tones and nothing more. My eye is agitated by sight; I see colours and nothing more. The proportion of those angles and lines cannot be in any respect the immediate cause of the judgement I form of objects, nay in many cases, those proportions are not in the least agreeable to the manner in which I see objects. For instance, a man is seen of the same size at four and at eight paces from us. Tho' the image of that man at four paces is exactly twice as large in the eye as at eight. The angles are different; but the object appears of the same dimensions: it is therefore evident from this single example, that these angles and lines are far from being the immediate cause of the manner in which we see objects.

Before therefore I continue the enquiries with regard to light, and the mechanic laws of nature, it is your command that I should here shew in what manner the ideas of distances, magnitudes, situations, and objects, are communicated to the soul. This enquiry will furnish several new truths, the only excuse for writing a book.

CHAP

CHAP. V.

IN WHAT MANNER WE KNOW DISTANCES,
MAGNITUDES, FIGURES, AND SITUATIONS.

The optical angles and lines, not sufficient for knowing distances. Proved by an example. Magnitudes of figures not known from those optic lines. Proved by an example. Experimental proof on a person born blind, by Mr. Cheselden. In what manner we know distances and magnitudes. Example. We learn to see as we learn to read. Extension not known from the sight.

LET us begin with distance: it is plain that it cannot of itself be immediately perceived, for distance is no more than a line extended from an object to us. This line terminates in a point: we therefore perceive only this point; and whether the object be a thousand miles or only a foot from us, the point is still the same. We have not therefore any immediate means of knowing distance instantly, as we have by the touch of distinguishing whether a body be hard or soft; by the taste, whether it be sweet or bitter; or by the ear, whether of two sounds the one be grave and the other acute. The idea of distance therefore must be attained by means of some other intermediate idea; but I must at least have that intermediate idea at the same time; for an idea that I have not can certainly never occasion my having another. I say such a house is a mile from such a river; but if I do not know where that river is situated, I certainly do not know where the house is situated. A body that easily receives an impression from my hand, I immediately conclude to be soft: another resists; I immediately perceive its hardness. It is therefore necessary, that I perceive the angles formed in my eye, in order to determine immediately the distances of objects. But
the

the greatest part of mankind do not so much as know that there any such angles existing: consequently these angles cannot be the immediate cause of our knowing distances.

The person who for the first time of his life, hears the report of a cannon, or the harmony of a concert, would not be able to judge whether that cannon were discharged, or that concert performed, at the distance of a league or of thirty paces. Experience only can accustom him to judge of the distance, and the place whence those sounds proceed. The vibrations, the undulations of the air, convey sound to his ear, or rather to his soul; but they apprize his soul no more of the place where the noise commenced, than they instruct him in the form of a cannon, or of the instruments of music. It is exactly the same with regard to the rays of light transmitted from an object, they do not at all inform us of the distance of that object.

Nor do they afford us any more intimation with regard to magnitudes, and even forms or figures. I behold at a great distance a kind of small round tower. I advance, I perceive, and at last touch a large quadrangular edifice. Certainly what I see and touch, is not what I saw before. The little round object I had in my eye, is not this large square edifice. The object measurable and tangible therefore is one thing, and the object of vision is another. I hear in my chamber the noise of a coach: I open my window and see it; I go down and get into it. Now this coach, which I have heard, this coach which I have seen, and this coach which I have touched, are absolutely three different objects of my senses, which have no immediate relation to one another.

But as I have before observed, it is demonstrated, that an angle is formed in my eye twice as large when I see a man at four feet distance, as when I see the same man at eight. Tho' that man still appears of the same size. Why should my perception thus contradict the machanism of my organs? The object is really as small again in my eyes, and I see it twice as large as it is. It would be in vain to attempt the explanation of this mystery by the passage through the crystalline, or the form that humors take in our eyes. Whatever supposition we may make, the angle in which I see a man at four feet from me, is always twice as large as the angle in which I see him at eight: geometry therefore can never solve this problem; in philosophy it is equally impossible; for if you suppose that the eye has a new conformation, in which the chrystal-line humour is enlarged, and the angle augmented; still it will have the same effect upon an object, when at eight or four feet distance. The proportion is still the same, notwithstanding you see the object at eight feet under half the angle equally large, as at four feet, when the angle is of twice the dimensions. It is therefore equally impossible either by geometry or philosophy, to remove the difficulty.

These geometrical lines and angles are no more the cause why we see objects in their places, than that we see them in such magnitudes, and at such distances. The soul does not consider whether such a part is to paint itself at the bottom of the eye, it has no concern with lines it does not behold. The eye on turns itself downwards to see what is near the earth, and upwards to look at what is above it. This could only be explained,

plain'd and rendered incontestible by a person born blind, and restored to the sense of sight. For if this blind person, at the moment he received his sight, had judg'd of distances, magnitudes, and situations; it would have followed that the optic angles, form'd that instant on his retina, had been the immediate causes of his thoughts. Dr. Barclay accordingly has assur'd us, after Mr. Locke (and indeed has gone beyond Mr. Locke in this particular) that neither situation, magnitude, distance, nor figure, would be at all discern'd by a blind person, at the instant his eyes should behold the light.

But where was the blind person to be found, on whom the indisputable decision of this question depended? In the year 1729, Mr. Chifelden, one of those famous surgeons who unite a great extent of knowledge with dexterity in operations, having imagin'd, that sight might be given to a person born blind, by removing the cataract, which he conceived to have been form'd in his eyes almost at the moment of his birth, he propos'd the operation. The blind person made difficulties to consent to it. He could not very well conceive, that the sense of sight could contribute so greatly to his happiness. Had they not explain'd to him it's use in learning to read and write, he had never desired to see. His indifference with regard to sight sufficiently proves, that *It is impossible to be unhappy from the privation of valuable things, of which we have no idea*; a truth of the last importance. The operation was however perform'd, and fully succeed'd. The youth, then about fourteen years of age, saw the light for the first time. This experiment confirm'd all that Locke and Barclay had justly foreseen.

For a long time he distinguished neither magnitude, distance, situation, nor even figure. An object of an inch magnitude being placed before his eyes, and concealed an house from his sight, appeared to him as large as the house. Every thing he saw, seemed at first to be upon his eyes, and to touch them, as the objects of the sense of feeling are in contact with the skin. He could not distinguish what he had judged round by the help of his hands, from what he had judged angular; nor discern with his eyes, whether what his hands had perceived to be above or below, whether it was in reality above or below. He was so far from knowing magnitudes, that having at length conceived by sight, that the house was larger than his chamber, he could not conceive how sight could give him that idea. It was not till after two months experience, that he perceived pictures to be only representations of solid bodies. And when, after so long a trial of his new sense, he thought, that bodies, and not surfaces only, were in the painted tablets, he applied his hand to them, and was amazed that he did not feel those solid bodies, which he began to perceive the representations. He asked which deceived him; the sense of feeling, or the sense of sight.

This was an indisputable decision, that the manner in which we see objects, is no immediate consequence of the angles formed in our eyes; for the same mathematical angles were formed in the eyes of this youth, as in ours; and were of no manner of use to him without the aid of experience, and the other senses.

How then do we represent to ourselves magnitudes and distances? In the same manner as we imagine

imagine the passions of men, by the colours those passions paint in their faces, and the alteration they make in their features. Every person can discover grief in the countenance of another by its colour. It is the ocular language of nature; but a language to be learned only by experience: and it is from experience only we learn, that when an object is too remote, we see it in a confused and faint manner: thence we form ideas, which always accompany the sense of sight. Thus every man, who, at the distance of ten paces, has seen a horse five feet high; if he sees, a few minutes after, the same horse no bigger than a sheep, his mind, by an involuntary judgment, immediately concludes that the horse is at a great distance.

It is very certain, that when my horse appears no larger than a sheep, there is formed in my eye a very small picture, a very acute angle; but this is only what attends, not what occasions, my thought.

In like manner my brain is differently affected when I see a man red with shame, and red with anger; but those impressions would suggest nothing to me of the passions that agitate the soul of that man, without the language of experience, which alone imparts to me that knowledge.

The angle is so far from being the immediate cause of my judging a horse to be at a great distance, when he appears very little, that, on the contrary, I see the same horse of equal dimensions, when at ten, twenty, and thirty paces from me, though the angle is double, triple, and quadruple at those different distances.

I see at a great distance, through a little hole, a man upon the top of a house; the distance

and small number of rays prevent me from distinguishing at first whether it be a man or not: the object seems very small, and I take it for a statue of two feet at most: the object moves; I conclude it a man, and from that instant imagine him to be of the usual stature. From whence proceed two judgments so different? When I am persuaded that I view a statue, I imagine it two feet high, because I see it under such an angle: experience does not then induce my thoughts to contradict the rays impressed upon my retina; but as soon as I was convinced it was a man, the connection, implanted by experience in my brain, between the idea of a man and the idea of an height from five to six feet, obliges me, without thinking of it, to imagine, by an instantaneous impulse, that I see a man of such a height, and, in effect, to see that height.

Hence we must absolutely conclude, that distances, magnitudes, and situations, are not, properly speaking, things to be seen; that is, the proper and immediate objects of sight. The proper and immediate object of sight is nothing more than coloured light; all the rest we attain by time and experience. We learn to see, exactly as learn to speak and read. The difference is, that the art of seeing is the most easy, and that we are all equally the pupils of nature.

The sudden and almost uniform judgments, which every mind forms at a certain age of distances, magnitudes, and situations, induces us to think nothing more is necessary than to open the eyes, in order to see things as they really are. But this is a mistake; the assistance of the other senses is necessary. If men had no other sense

sense than that of sight, they would have no means of knowing the extent of length, breadth, and depth; and a pure spirit could never know it, unless God revealed it to him. It is very difficult to separate in our understanding the extension of an object from its colours. Every thing we see is extended; and thence are all led into the belief, that we actually see extent. We can scarce distinguish in thought the yellow we see in a piece of gold, from the piece of gold of which we see only the yellow. Thus when we hear the word *guinea* pronounced, we cannot help annexing the idea of that coin to the sound we hear pronounced.

If all men spoke the same language, we should believe, that there would be a necessary connexion between words and ideas. Now all men have the same language with regard to the imagination. Nature says to all, when you have seen colours for a certain time, your imagination will represent to you, in the same manner, all the bodies in which those colours seem to reside. The sudden and involuntary judgment you form, shall be useful to you during the course of your lives; for if, to judge of the distances, magnitudes, and situations of all that surround you, it were necessary to wait till you had examined the angles and rays of vision, you would die before you knew, whether the things you had occasion to use were ten paces distant or an hundred million of leagues; whether they were of the bigness of a mite or a mountain. In such confusion it would be better for you to be born blind.

It is therefore very wrong to say, we are deceived by our senses. Each of the senses truly discharge

discharge the function designed them by nature. They mutually assist each other in conveying to the soul, by the assistance of experience, such a measure of knowledge as is consistent with our condition. We demand of our senses, what they were not formed to bestow. We are for knowing from our sight, solidity, magnitude, distance, &c. but the touch must here be united with the sight, and experience with both. If father Mallebranche had considered nature in this view, he had ascribed fewer errors to our senses, which are the only sources of all our ideas.

We must not, however, extend this species of metaphysics to all cases. It must never be used till mathematical reasonings are insufficient: this is also an error, into which father Mallebranche must be allowed to have fallen. For instance, effects, accounted for by the rules of optics alone, he attributes wholly to the imagination. He believes that it is owing entirely to the imagination, that the sun and moon appear larger in the horizon than in the meridian. This phenomenon, which for above a century have employed so many philosophers, we shall endeavour to explain in the following chapter.

C H A P. VI.

WHY THE SUN AND MOON APPEAR LARGER
IN THE HORIZON THAN IN THE MERIDIAN.

WALLIS was the first who thought, that the long interposition of land, and even of the clouds, caused the sun and moon to appear larger in the horizon than in the meridian. This opinion Mallebranche confirmed, with all the proofs the sagacity of his admirable genius

genius could furnish ; and Regis maintained a celebrated dispute with regard to the cause of this phenomenon, which he attributed to a refraction in the vapours of the earth. He was, however, mistaken ; the effect of these refractions being precisely the very reverse of what Regis attributed to them. Father Mallebranche likewise was equally wrong in maintaining, that the imagination, struck with the vast extent of countries and clouds between the horizon, represented to itself that planet much larger at the extremity of those countries and clouds, than when, having reached the meridian, it is beheld without an interposition of objects.

The most simple experiments demolish Mallebranche's system. Some years ago I had the curiosity to begin a formal examination of this phenomenon ; and accordingly procured several paste-board tubes, between seven and eight feet in length, and half a foot in diameter. I also procured some children, whose imagination was little used to judge of this luminary by the apparent extent of land between the planet and the eye. These children viewed the sun in the horizon, without even seeing the land or clouds, the tubes giving only a sight of the sun ; and they all declared it much larger than at noon. This experiment, with several others, induced me to seek some other cause ; and it was already my misfortune to form a system, when happily Dr. Smith's mathematical solution of the problem fell into my hands, and saved me the errors of an hypothesis. The following is the explanation, which well deserves to be considered.

We must remember, that, according to the rules of optics, the concavity of the heavens appears

appears to be an elliptical vault, of which the following is a familiar proof. Our sight distinctly extends itself to the point, where, according to Dr. Hooke's observations, objects form in the eye an angle of the eight thousand part of an inch at least. The man OP (fig. 12) five feet in height, views the object AB , also five feet high, and 25,000 feet distant. He sees him under the angle AOB . But this angle AOB not being in the eye equal the eight thousandth part of the inch, is hardly visible. But if he looks at the object C , the angle is still smaller. He sees it as if the object was in AD . Thus all objects beyond C become still less distinct; the houses and clouds at all distances beyond C must appear at the horizon towards C ; all the clouds, therefore, at the distance of 25,000 feet, appear to our eye in the horizon, and sink gradually. Consequently all the clouds, which rise at G , (fig. 13) about three quarters of a league in height, must appear to us as in our horizon. Thus instead of seeing the clouds GG , as high as the cloud N , they will appear to touch the earth, and the cloud N , over our heads about three quarters of a league distant. So that we are not to consider the heavens as a cieling, or circular cincture, but as an elliptical vault, of which the greatest diameter BB , is about six times larger than the smaller AD . We therefore see the sky in the form BAB , and when the sun or moon appears at B , in the horizon, they seem to us at D , about a third more distant than when those planets are in A . Now we must see them under the angles B and A . It therefore remains to examine these angles. It would at first be thought, that they should be smaller, when the object

object is more remote ; and larger, when nearer. But here it is just the contrary. The real path of an object is $B D R E$, (fig. 14) but the apparent path $B A C G$. Now the angles are formed by the apparent object ; therefore in drawing lines from the eye at P , to the real places of the object D , the lines will necessarily include the apparent object. For instance, you see the angle formed by the object in the horizon at E , is considerably large ; and that at C it becomes greatly contracted ; the difference is still greater at the meridian. The disk of the luminary in the meridian is three, and on the horizon nearly nine ; for the diameters are as the apparent distances : now the apparent distance of the planet is about nine on the horizon and three in the meridian : such also is its apparent magnitude.

This truth is confirmed by a similar experiment. Observe two stars, the real distance between which is the tenth of a degree. They appear much farther remote from one another on the horizon, than in the meridian. These two stars, always equidistant, are seen on the horizon under the angle $C F D$, (fig. 15) which is much larger than the angle $A F B$ in the meridian. You see that this apparent difference flows exactly from the same cause as that given above.

From the above rule and the observations that confirm it, the following are the proportions of the sun and moon's apparent diameters or distances.

At the horizon the apparent diameters of the sun and moon is

At 15 degrees altitude

100

68

At

At 30 degrees — — 50

At 90 degrees — — 30

In like manner if any two stars, always equidistant, appear on the horizon at the distance of 100 from each other; in the meridian they will appear at 30, which is nearly in proportion of nine to three.

This theory is farther confirmed by another observation. The moon at some seasons of the year appears considerably larger than at other times. The sun also appears larger in winter than in summer; and the differences in this apparent magnitude being more sensible at the horizon than in the meridian, are the more easily observed. The reason of this increment of magnitude is, that when the diameter of the moon or sun appears larger, those bodies are in reality nearer us. The sun is about 1,200,000 leagues nearer the earth in winter than in summer; therefore in winter it appears larger. But this largeness of its disk is somewhat diminished by the density of the atmosphere. The moon is in summer in her perageum; and therefore her diameter appears larger. Besides, the magnitude of her disk on the horizon is less diminished in summer than in winter; because the air in summer is more rarified and more subtile.

This phenomenon therefore entirely belongs to geometry and optics; and it is Dr. Smith's glory to have solved a problem, for which the greatest geniuses had formed ineffectual hypotheses.

C H A P. VII.

OF THE CAUSE WHICH REFRACTS THE RAYS OF LIGHT IN PASSING FROM ONE MEDIUM TO ANOTHER. CAUSE OF THAT GENERAL LAW OF NATURE UNKNOWN BEFORE NEWTON. INFLEXION OF LIGHT ALSO, AN EFFECT OF THE SAME CAUSE.

What refraction is. Proportion of refractions found by Snellius. Which is as the sine of refraction. Grand discovery of Newton. Light refracted before it enters the body. Examination of attraction. The word attraction should be examined before it is rejected. Impulsion and attraction equally certain and unknown. Why attraction is an occult quality. Proofs if attraction. Inflexion of light near the attracting bodies.

WE have already seen the almost incomprehensible manner in which the reflection of light is performed, and which impulsion cannot cause. That of refraction, of which we are now going to resume our examination, is equally surprising.

Let us begin by establishing a clear idea of the things we are going to explain. Let us remember, that when light falls from a more rare and thin medium, as the air, into one more heavy and dense, as the water, which in appearance should resist it more than the former, that the light quits its path or direction, and refracts in a line approaching to a perpendicular raised on the surface of the water.

To have a perfectly clear idea of this truth, observe the ray A E, (fig. 16) which falls from
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the air into this crystal. You know already in what manner it is refracted. The ray $A E$ makes an angle with perpendicular $B E$ in falling upon the surface of the crystal. The same ray refracted in the crystal makes another angle with the same perpendicular, which determines its refraction. It was necessary to measure this incidence and this refraction of the light. This seems very easy, though the Arabian geometer Alhaxen Vitellon, and even Kepler, failed in the attempt. Huygens, who was an eye witness, tells us that Snellius Villebrod was the first that discovered the constant proportion, according to which the rays are refracted in different mediums. He made use of secants. Descartes of sines; which have precisely the same proportion with the other. That proportion is very easy to be understood, even by those who are strangers to geometry.

The greater the line $A B$ (fig. 16) is, the greater also will be the line $C D$. The line $A B$ is called the sine of incidence. The line $C D$ is the sine of refraction. This is not a proper place to explain in general what a sine is. Those who have studied geometry know it already. Those who have not, might find some difficulty in the definition. It will be sufficient to observe, that those two sines, of whatsoever extent, are always in proportion to the given medium. Now that proportion is different, when the refraction is made in a different medium.

The light, which falls obliquely from the air into the crystal, is deflected there in such a manner, that the sine of refraction $C D$ is to the sine of incidence $A B$, as two to three, which

is no more then to say, that the AB in this case is one third greater in the air, than the line CD in the crystal.

In the water the proportion is 3 to 4. Hence it is evident, that the crystal refracts the light one twelfth more strongly than water. Consequently in all cases, and in all possible obliquities of incidence, crystal will be one half more refractive than water. The question is to know not only the cause of refraction, but the cause of all these different refractions. On this all philosophers have formed hypotheses, and have been all mistaken.

At length Newton alone discovered the true reason so long sought. His discovery undoubtedly merits the attention of all ages. For the question here does not only regard a particular property of light, tho' even that would have been a great acquisition; we shall see that this property extends to all the bodies in nature. Consider that the rays of light are in motion; that if they turn aside in changing their course, it must be an effect of some primitive law, and that, nothing happens to light, but what happens to other bodies of the same tenuity as light, every thing else being equal.

Let a ball of lead A (fig. 17.) move obliquely from the air into the water, the contrary of what happened to the ray of light will happen to the ball; for that subtiler ray enters the pores of the water, and the ball, whose superficies is large, acts against the superficies of the water which endeavours to buoy it up. This ball therefore removes at first from the perpendicular DB ; but when it has entirely lost the oblique motion impressed upon it, the ball is left to itself, and falls directly in a perpendicular line, from the point where

where it began to descend. Its fall is retarded in the water; because the water resists it; but the celerity of a ray of light is there, on the contrary augmented, because the water makes no resistance to the rays that penetrate it. There is then a power which acts between the body and the light.

That this attraction, this tendency exists, is not to be doubted for we have seen light attracted by glass, enter it again without touching any thing; now that power necessarily acts in a perpendicular line, that line being the shortest way. As this power exists, it exists in all the parts of matter. The parts of the superficies of all bodies whatever, exert this power, before the ray enters or reaches the center to which it is directed. Thus as soon as this ray arrives near the superficies of the chrystal or the water, it begins to incline a little towards the perpendicular.

It refracts a little at C (fig. 18.) before its entrance; and the farther it enters the more it is refracted; because the nearer it approaches, the more it is attracted. There is also a weighty reason why the ray necessarily inflects in an insensible curve, before it penetrates the crystal in a rightline. This reason is, there is no angle, strictly speaking, in nature; a continued motion cannot change its direction, but by passing through every possible degree of change. It cannot therefore pass suddenly from one strait line into another, without making a little curve by which these two lines are connected. In this phenomenon, therefore, are united the principle of continuity established by Leibnitz, and the attraction of Newton. This ray then does not fall quite perpendicularly, and in passing the
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water, or crystal, does not follow its oblique line, but another that partakes of both, and descends with greater velocity according to the strength of the attraction of the water or crystal. Therefore the water is so far from refracting the rays of light by its resistance, as was imagined, that it really refracts them by attracting instead of resisting them. The rays then must be said to refract towards the perpendicular, not as coming from a more resisting medium, but on their passing from *a medium less attractive to a medium more attractive*. Observe that by this word attractive must be understood only the point towards which, by a known force, an indisputable property of matter, it directs itself; and this property is very sensible between light and other bodies. Let it be consider'd that ever since the year 1672, when Newton discovered this attraction, no philosopher has been able to invent one plausible reason for this refraction of light.

Some tell you, that crystal refracts the rays of light by its resistance; but if it resists them, how can those rays enter it more easily, and with a greater velocity? Others talk of a matter in crystal, which on all sides opens more easy passages. But if these passages are every where so easy, why does not the light enter without any refraction. These imagine atmospheres, those vortices; but all their systems are defective in some part or other. I believe, therefore, we must be contented with Newton's discovery, with this visible attraction, of which neither he, nor any other philosopher, has been able to find the cause.

You are sensible, that abundance of people, as much attacked to the philosophy, or rather
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the name, of Descartes, as they were formerly to the name of Aristotle, have declared against attraction. Some would not study it; others despised and condemned it, almost before examination; but I beg the reader to make the three following reflections.

1. What are we to understand by attraction? Nothing more than a force by which one body approaches another, without any other force being seen or known to impel these bodies.

2. This property of matter is received by the best philosophers in England, Germany, Holland, and even in many Universities of Italy, where laws of a rigorous nature sometimes obstruct the avenues to truth. The consent of so many learned men is indeed no proof; but, at the same time, it is a strong reason for examining at least, whether this power does or does not exist.

3. We ought to suppose that we are equally ignorant of the cause of impulsion, as we are of attraction. We have not even a clearer idea of the one than of the other of those powers; for no body can conceive why a body has the power of moving another from its place. Neither can we more easily conceive why the parts of matter mutually gravitate towards each other. Newton himself did not pretend to know the reason of this attraction. He has only proved its existence, as he saw a constant phenomenon, an universal property in matter. If a man discovers a new metal in the earth, would this metal exist the less because the first principles of it were unknown?

Attraction is often said to be an occult quality. If by this word be meant a real principle, which cannot be accounted for, it may be extended to the whole universe. We know not how motion happens,

happens, how it is communicated, how bodies are elastic, how we think, how we live, nor how nor wherefore all things exist. Every thing is an occult quality. If by this word be meant an expression of the ancient schools, a word without idea; let it only be considered, that it is by the most sublime and most precise mathematical demonstrations, that Newton has displayed to the world this principle, which some have so injuriously endeavoured to explode as a chimera.

We have already seen, that this ray of light reflected to us form a mirror, cannot be reflected from its surface. We have seen experimentally, that the rays, transmitted by a glass to a certain angle, return instead of passing into the air; that, if there be a vacuum behind the glass, the rays which were transmitted before, returns from that vacuum to us. In this case there is certainly no impulsion. Another power must necessarily be admitted; and at the same time, we must inevitably admit, that there is something in refraction not hitherto understood. Now what power is that, which infects a ray of light in a basin of water. It is demonstrated (as we shall shew in the following chapter) that, what had hitherto been believed a single ray of light, is a pencil of several rays, and all differently refracted. If one of the rays of light contained in this pencil is refracted, for instance, at four degrees distance, another will be at three degrees from a perpendicular. It is demonstrated, that the most refrangible, that is, those which in being refracted on quitting the glass, and in taking a new direction in the air, go farthest from the perpendicular of that glass, are also those which are the most reflected

flected and with the greatest ease. It is therefore very propable, that the same law which occasions the reflection, occasions also the refraction of light.

In fine, if we find still some new property of light, which appears to derive its origin from the force of attraction, should we not to conclude that so many effects proceed from the same cause? This new property was discovered by father Gremaldi, the Jesuit, about the year 1660, and upon which Newton has carried his enquiries so far as to measure the shadow of an hair at different distances. This property is the inflection of light. The rays not only refract in passing the medium, whose substance attracts them; but other rays, which pass in the air near the edges of the attracting body, sensibly approach it, and visibly turn aside from their course or direction. Put a camina of steel (fig. 19.) or thin glass ending in a point, in a dark place; let it be set near a little hole through which the light passes; and let the light almost touch the point of this piece of steel or glass; the rays will bend in such a manner near it, that the ray next the point will be more curved, and the farthest from it less so in proportion. Is it not highly propable, that the same power, which refracts these rays, when in this medium, forces them to incline towards it, and quit their direction, when they are near it? Thus we see refraction, transparence, and reflection subjected to new laws; and an inflection of light resulting evidently from attraction. Thus a new universe presents itself to the eyes of those who are willing to see it.

We shall soon shew, that there is an evident attraction between the sun and the planets, and a mutual tendency of all bodies towards each other.

other. But it is proper to observe here, that this attraction, which causes the gravitation of the planets towards the sun, does not at all act in the same ratio's, as the attraction of corpuscles which touch each other. They are probably even different species of attraction. They are new and different properties of light and bodies, discovered by Newton. Their cause is not considered here, we are only concerned with their effects hitherto unknown. Let it not be thought, that light is inflected towards the crystal and in the crystal, in the same manner as mars is attracted by the sun.

C H A P. VIII.

SEQUEL OF THE WONDERS OF THE REFRACTION OF LIGHT. THAT ONE RAY OF LIGHT CONTAINS IN ITSELF ALL POSSIBLE COLOURS. WHAT REFRANGIBILITY IS. NEW DISCOVERIES.

Descartes's imagination with respect to colours. Error of Mallebranche. Newton's experiment and demonstration. Anatomy of light. Colours in the primitive rays. Weak objections against these discoveries. Criticisms still weaker. Important experiment.

IF you ask of the philosophers the cause of colours, Descarter will tell you, *That the globules of his elements, are determined to turn round upon themselves, with velocity, besides their tendency to motion in a right line, and that those different whirlings round are the cause of different colours.* But, in reality, what are his elements, his globules and whirlings, do they require the touchstone of experiment to prove them false? A multitude of demonstrations annihilate these chimeras.

Mallebranche in his turn tells us: It is true Descartes deceived himself. His whirlings of globules is not to be maintained; but they are not

bules of light, they are little vortices of subtile matter, capable of compression, which are the cause of colours; and colours consist, like sounds, in the vibrations of that pressure. He adds, To me it seems impossible to discover by any means the exact proportions of these vibrations, that is, of colours.

You will remark that he spoke in this manner in the academy of sciences in 1699; and that these proportions had already been discovered in 1675, not proportions of little vortices which do not exist; but proportions of the refrangibility of the rays, which forms colours, as we shall presently shew. What he believed impossible, was already demonstrated, and what is more, demonstrated to the eye, acknowledged true by the senses, which would have highly displeased father Mallebranche.

Other philosophers, perceiving the fallacy of these suppositions, tell us, at least with more probability: *Colours are produced by the rays of coloured bodies more or less reflected. White reflects most, and black least of them all. The most shining colours therefore are those which emit most rays to the eye. Red, for instance, which fatigues the sight a little, ought to consist of more rays than green, which gives it most repose.* This hypothesis (already suspected for being an hypothesis) appears to be a very gross error, merely by viewing picture in a faint, and afterwards in a very full light; for the same colours are still seen. White enlightened only by a single taper is still white; and green illuminated with a thousand tapers will be always green.

Let us apply to Newton. He will say: do not believe me; believe only your eyes, and the mathematics: place yourself in a room totally darkened, into which the light comes only thro' a hole exceedingly small; the ray of light falling upon paper will give you the colour white. Place a prism

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prism of glass (fig. 20) transversally to a ray of light; then at the distance of about sixteen or seventeen feet, fix the sheet of paper P, opposite to the prism. You know already that light is refracted on entering the prism from the air, you know that it refracts in a contrary manner in passing from the prism into the air. If it was not refracted it would fall from the hole upon the floor of the room Z. But as this light in passing from the prism must remove from the line Z, it will consequently strike the paper. Here then appears the whole secret of light and colours. The ray, which falls upon the prism is not, as we believed, a single ray, but a pencil, consisting of seven principle bundles of rays, each of which carries in itself a primitive or primordial colour peculiar to itself. From that mixture of the seven rays flow all the colours in nature; and the whole seven united, and reflected together from one object, form whiteness.

Let us trace this admirable artifice to the bottom. We have already insinuated, that the rays of light are not all refracted equally, of which this is an evident demonstration to the eyes. The seven rays of light having quitted the body of the ray, which is anatomized at passing from the prism, place themselves each in their order, upon the white paper, each ray occupying an oval. The ray which has least force, rapidity, and matter, to keep its direction, removes most in the air from the perpendicular of the prism. That which is the strongest, (fig. 21.) most dense, and most vigorous, removes least from it. Observe these seven rays, which are refracted one above another; each of them paints upon the paper the primitive colour peculiar to itself. The first ray, which removes least from the perpendicular of the prism, is the colour of fire, the

second orange, the third yellow, the fourth green, the fifth blue, the sixth indigo, and the last, which removes most from the perpendicular, and rises above all the rest, is the violet. A single group of light, which at first composed only whiteness, is therefore one consisting of seven pencils of rays, which have each their peculiar colour. The assemblage of seven primordial rays, therefore, is what composes white.

If this be still doubted, take a lentular spectacle-glass, which collects all the rays in its focus: place this glass upon the hole at which the light enters, and you will never see any thing at the focus but a round spot of white. Place the same glass at the point, where it can collect all the seven rays that pass through the prism. It unites, as you see, those seven rays in its focus. (fig. 22.) The colour of those seven rays is white; which demonstrates, that the colour of all the rays united is whiteness. Consequently, the body which reflects no light will be black: for when, by the help of the prism, we have separated some of these primitive rays, though we make them fall upon a mirror, a burning-glass, or any other prism, they will never change their colour, nor separate into other rays. To contain such a colour is their essence, nothing can alter them more; and as a superabundant proof, if we take silk threads of different colours, and lay one of them, a blue one for instance, in the red ray, the blue silk will become red. Put the same in the yellow ray, it becomes yellow; and so on with the rest. In fine, neither refraction, reflection, nor any other means conceivable, can change this primitive ray, being as unalterable, or rather more so, than gold proved in the crucible.

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This property of light, this inequality in the refraction of its rays, is what Newton calls Refrangibility. At first its existence was opposed, and continued to be denied a long time; because Mr. Mariote had erred in making Newton's experiments in France. People were better pleased to say, that Newton had boasted of having seen what he had not seen, than to think Mariote had not taken proper methods for seeing the same, and had not been happy enough in the choice of his prisms. Even afterwards, when these experiments had been well made, and truth had shewn itself to our eyes, prejudice still subsisted to such a degree, that in several journals and books published since the year 1730, the same experiments are confidently denied, though made by all Europe every day. In the same manner, after the discovery of the circulation of the blood, theses were maintained against that truth, and the persons who explained the new discovery called *circulators*, by way of ridicule. In fine, when obliged to yield to evidence, they own they have seen the fact, but cavil at the expression: they have declared war against the term refrangibility, as well as against those of attraction and gravitation. But what signifies the term, provided it implies a truth? When Christopher Columbus discovered the island Hispaniola, had he not a right to call it by whatever name he thought proper? And have not inventors an equal right to name what they create or discover? People have decried and wrote against words, which Newton used with the wisest precaution to prevent errors.

He calls these rays, red, yellow, &c. *rubrice*, *flavific* rays, that is, exciting the sensation of red, yellow, &c. His design in this was to stop the mouths of those, who should have the ig-

norance, or injustice, to pretend he believed with Aristotle, that colours are in the things themselves, in the yellow and red rays, and not in our mind. He had reason to apprehend this accusation. I have met with persons, and those of some merit too, who have assured me, that Newton was a perapetetic, that he thought the rays themselves actually coloured, as fire was formerly believed hot: but the same critics also assured me, that Newton was an athieft. It is true they had not read his works, but they had heard them spoken of by others, who had wrote against his experiments without having seen them.

The softest treatment Newton at first met with was, to turn his system an hypothesis. But what is an hypothesis? A supposition. Indeed can we give the name of supposition to facts so often demonstrated? Is it from our being born in France, that we neglect truths conveyed to us by an English hand? This would be highly unworthy a philosopher. To a studious person there is neither French nor English: whoever instructs us becomes our countryman.

Refrangibility and reflection evidently depend on the same cause. This refrangibility we have been considering, being annexed to refraction, must flow from the same principle. The same cause must preside over the motion of all these springs: such is the order of nature. All vegetables are nourished by the same laws: all animals have the same principles of life. Whatever may happen to bodies in motion, the laws of motion are invariable. We have already seen that reflection, refraction, and inflection of light, are the effects of some power; but not impulsion (at least known.) The same power shews itself in refrangibility; these rays scatter-

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ed to different distances, indicate that the medium, through which they pass, acts on them unequally: the pencil of rays is attracted into the glass; but this pencil is composed of unequal masses. These masses are therefore unequally attracted; if so, they must be reflected from the prism, in the same order they were refracted in it. The most reflexible rays being the most refrangible.

The prism has thrown the seven colours upon the paper; turn the prism upon itself in the manner A, B, C, Fig. 23 and you will presently have the angle, according to which all light will be reflected from the inside to the outside of the prism, instead of being thrown upon the paper. As soon as you begin to approach that angle, you see, on a sudden, the violet ray quit the paper, and rise to the cieling. After the violet, the purple does the same; after the purple, the blue; and so on, till the red quits its place upon the paper last, and is reflected to the cieling in its turn. Every ray, therefore, is more reflexible, in proportion as it is more refrangible: consequently the same cause produces reflection and refrangibility.

Now the solid part of the glass occasions neither this refrangibility, nor this reflection: once more then these properties have their rise in some other cause, than the impulsion known to us upon the earth. There is nothing to be said against these experiments; we must submit to them, however tenacious we are against evidence.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE RAINBOW. THAT METEOR IS A NECESSARY EFFECT OF THE LAW OF REFRACTIBILITY.

Mechanism of the rainbow wholly unknown to antiquity. Ignorance of Albertus Magnus. The

archbishop Antonio de Dominis was the first who explained the rainbow. His experiment imitated by Descartes. Refrangibility sole cause of the Rainbow. Explanation of that phenomenon. Two rainbows. The phenomenon always seen in a semicircle.

THE rainbow, or iris, is a necessary effect of the properties of light, we have just been observing. There is nothing in the writings of the Greeks, Romans, or Arabians, that gives us any reason to believe, they knew the cause of this phenomenon. Lucretius says nothing of it; and by all the absurdities, which he utters in the name of Epicurus, upon light and vision, it appears, that his age, so polite in other respects, was profoundly ignorant with regard to philosophy. They knew, that to see what we call the rainbow, or iris, a thick cloud is necessary, dissolving in rain before the rays of the sun; and that our eyes should be between that luminary and the cloud. *Mille trahit varicos adverso sole colores*; but this was all they knew; nobody imagined either why a cloud exhibited colours, how the nature and order of those colours are determined, or why we always see that phenomenon under the form of a semi-circle.

Albertus, surnamed Magnus, because he lived in an age when men were very little, imagined that the colours of the rainbow proceeded from a dew between us and the cloud; and that those colours received upon the cloud, were transmitted by it to us. You will observe besides, that this Albertus Magnus believed, with all the schools, that light was an accident.

At length the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro in Dalmatia, expelled from his bishopric by the inquisition, about the year 1590, wrote his little treatise, *De Radiis Lucis & de Iride*, which was not printed at Venice

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till twenty years after. He was the first who shewed, that the rays of the sun, reflected even from the inner part of the drops of rain, formed those colours that appeared in the bow, which seemed an inexplicable miracle: he rendered the miracle natural, or rather he explained it by new prodigies of nature. His discovery was so much the more singular, as in other respects he had very false notions of the manner in which vision is performed. He assures us in his book that the images of objects are in the ball of the eye, and that there is no refraction in it: a notion singular enough for a good philosopher! He had discovered refractions, unknown before, in the drops of the rainbow, and denied those formed in the humors of the eye, of which himself began the demonstration: but let us leave his errors to examine the truth he discovered.

He saw with a sagacity very uncommon in those days, that every row or circle of drops of rain, must transmit from the rainbow, the rays of light in different angles; he also saw, that the difference of those angles must occasion that of the colours: he found means to measure the quantity of those angles: he took a very transparent crystal ball, which he filled with water, and hung up at a certain height exposed to the rays of the sun. Descartes, who followed Antonio de Dominis, and rectified and surpassed him in some things, who perhaps ought to have quoted him, made also the same experiment. When this ball is suspended at such an height, that the ray of light, which falls from the sun upon the ball, makes an angle with the ray that flows from the ball to the eye of forty-two degrees two or three minutes, the ball always exhibits a red colour. When that ball is suspended a little lower, and those angles are smal-

ler, the other colours of the rainbow appear successively in such a manner, that the greatest angle in this case forms the red, and the smallest of forty degrees seventeen minutes forms the violet. This is the foundation of the knowledge of the rainbow; but at the same time it is no more than the foundation.

Refrangibility alone explains the reason of a phenomenon so common, so little known, and of which few beginners have a clear idea: let us endeavour to render the thing obvious to all the world. Let us suspend a ball of crystal, full of water, exposed to the sun: let us place ourselves between the sun and the ball: why does this ball transmit colours to me; and why particular colours? great quantities of light, millions of pencils of rays fall from the sun upon this ball; in each of these pencils there are primitive rays, homogeneous rays, many red, many yellow, many green, &c. all which refract at their incidence into the ball, each differently, and according to its species, and the place in which it enters. You already know, that the red rays are the least refrangible; the red rays of a certain determinate pencil will therefore unite at the bottom of the ball, whilst the blue and purple rays of the same pencil will do the same elsewhere. These red rays will also quit the ball at one place, and the green, blue, and purple at another. This is not enough: we must examine the points where those red rays fall both at entering, and in quitting the ball to come to the eye.

To make this as clear as possible, let us conceive this ball, as it really is, an assemblage of an infinite number of plain surfaces; for the circle being composed of an infinite number of points infinitely small, the circumference of the ball is only an infinity of such surfaces. The red rays A, B, C, (Fig. 24) fall parallel from the sun

sun upon those three small surfaces. Is it not true that each of them refracts according to its degree of incidence. Is it not evident that the red ray A, falls more obliquely upon its little surface, than the red ray B, thus both come to the point R by different directions. The red ray C, falling upon its little surface, still less obliquely than the two former, is much less refracted and arrives also at the point R, with very little incurvation. I have now three red rays, that is three pencils of red rays, which terminate at the same point R. At this point R, each of them forms an angle of reflection equal to its angle of incidence; each is refracted at emerging from the ball in a line removing from the perpendicular of the new little surface it approaches, in the same manner as each is refracted at its incidence in lines, approaching their perpendiculars; all therefore return parallel, and enter the eye according to the quantity of the angle peculiar to the red rays. If there be a sufficient quantity of these homogeneous red rays to strike the optic nerve, we must doubtless have the sensation of red. These red rays A, B, C, are termed the visible and the efficacious rays of that drop, for each drop has its visible rays.

There are thousands of other red rays, which falling upon other little surfaces of the ball, higher and lower, or which falling on the same surfaces at another obliquity, do not terminate in R; these are lost to you, but will be seen by other eyes placed higher or lower.

Abundance of orange, green, blue, and violet rays have fallen indeed with the visible red ones upon the surfaces, A, B, C; but you cannot receive them. You know the reason, which is, their being all more refrangible than the red rays; it is because in entering all at the same

same point, each of them takes a different path in the ball; as they are all more refracted, they come below the point R, and refract also more than the red ones in quitting the ball. The same power, which in the inside of the ball caused them to approach in a line further from the perpendicular of each surface, disperses them more at their return into the air: they all return therefore above the eye; but lower the ball, and the angle becomes less. Let this angle be of forty degrees and about seventeen minutes, and you will see no colour but the violet.

There is no person who, upon this principle, may not easily conceive the doctrine of the rainbow: imagine several rows or circles of drops of rain; every drop has the same effect as this ball.

Cast your eyes upon the bow R, V, P, (fig. 25) and to avoid confusion, consider only three rows of drops, three coloured circles. It is evident that the angle P, O, L, is less than the angle V, O, L, and that the angle R, O, V, is the greatest of the three. The greatest angle of the three is therefore that of the red primordial rays: that in the middle is the primitive green; and the last P, O, L, is the primitive purple. We therefore must see the rainbow red on its external, green on its middle, and purple and violet on its internal circles. Observe only, that the last circle, the violet, is always tinged with the whitish colour of the cloud in which it loses itself.

It is easy to conceive then, that we see the drops only in the efficacious or visible rays, which come to the eye after one reflection and two refractions in determinate angles. If we change the place of the eye, and instead of being in O, bring it to T, we no longer see the same rays: the circle which before was red is now become orange or green, and so on with the

the rest : at every motion of the head you see a new iris.

The first rainbow being well understood, we shall easily comprehend the second, which is generally seen encircling the first, and which is called the false rainbow, because its colours are not so lively, and at the same time reversed in their order to those of the other. For the appearance of two rainbows, it is enough that the cloud which forms them be sufficiently thick and extended. That bow which appears above the first and surrounds it, is formed in like manner, by the rays, which the sun darts into the drops of rain, and which are refracted and reflected in them in such a manner, that each row of drops transmits also primitive rays to the eye; this drop a red, and that a violet ray. Every thing, in this great bow, however, is the reverse of what passes in the smaller; but why? because your eye, that receives the sensible or efficacious rays of the smaller bow, which fall from the sun in to the upper part of the drops, receives, on the contrary, the rays of the greater bow from the lower part of the drops.

You see, that the drops of water of the smaller bow receive the rays of the sun upon the superior part of each drop; (Fig 26.) the drops of the greater bow, on the contrary, receive the rays, that reach them, on their lower part. Nothing, in my opinion, will be more easy to conceive, than the manner in which the rays are twice reflected in the drops of the greatest rainbow; and how those rays twice refracted and twice reflected exhibit an iris reversed in the order of its colours, and fainter than the former. You have just seen that the rays enter thus into the lower part of the drops of water of this exterior iris.

A pencil of rays falls on the superficies of the drop

drop in G: (Fig. 27) a part of those rays are refracted there within, and another scattered without; thus the eye has already lost part of those rays. The part refracted comes to H, one half of this part is dispersed in the air on quitting the drop, and is again lost to the eye. The little that remains in the drop is transmitted to K, there a part of it again escapes: this is a third diminution. What has remained of it in K, is transferred to M, and emerging there to M, a part of it is again dissipated: fourth diminution. And what remains comes to the eye at last in the line M, N. Thus we see in this drop as many refractions as in the drops of the smaller bow; but there are, as we have shewn, two reflections instead of one in this greater bow; twice the light, therefore, is lost in the greater bow, in which the light is twice reflected, while less by one half is lost in the smaller bow, where the drops are only once reflected. It is therefore, demonstrated, that the exterior rainbow must always be fainter by one half in its colours than the smaller within it. It is also demonstrated, by the double reflection of the rays, that they must come to the eye in a manner opposite to that of the first bow; for your eye is placed in O. (Fig. 28.) In this place, O, it receives the least refrangible rays of the first exterior circle of the smaller bow, and must receive the most refrangible of the first circle of the second greater bow; these most refrangible rays are the violet. Thus, then we have here the two rainbows in their natural order, giving them only three colours to avoid confusion.

It only remains to know why those colours are always perceived in a circular figure. Consider this line O Z, (fig. 29) which passes thro' your eye. Conceive the two balls R V to move always

always at equal distances from your eye, they will describe the bases of cones, of which the apexes will always be in your eye. Conceive that the ray of the drop of water R, coming to your eye O, turns round O Z, as an axis, making always an angle with your eye of forty two degrees two minutes; it is plain this drop will describe a circle, which will appear red. Suppose the drop O to revolve in the same manner, making always another angle of forty degrees seventeen minutes, it will form a violet circle; all the drops therefore in this plane will form a violet circle, as those in the plane of the drop R, will a red one. We see therefore this iris as a circle, but not as entire circle; because the earth intersects it, we see only an arch, the section of a circle.

Neither *Antonio de Dominis* nor Descartes could penetrate any farther into most of these truths: they could not discern the reason why these different angles exhibited different colours; but it was a great deal to have discovered the art. The perfection of arts are seldom owing to the first inventors. Not being able therefore to guess that colours depended on the refrangibility of rays, that each ray contained a primitive colour in itself, that the different attraction of those rays occasioned those removals which formed the different angles. Descartes had a recourse to his spirit of invention for explaining the colours of the rainbow. In order to this he employed the imaginary *vortices of globules* and that *tendency to a vortex*; proofs of genius, but proofs of error. Thus to explain the *systole diastole* of the heart, he imagined a motion and conformation of that organ, of which all anatomists have proved the falsity. *Descartes* would have been the greatest philosopher in the world, if he had made less use of invention.

NEW DISCOVERIES ON THE CAUSE OF COLOURS WHICH CONFIRM THE PROCEEDING DOCTRINE. DEMONSTRATION THAT COLOURS ARE OCCSIONED BY THE THICKNESS OF THE PARTS OF WHICH BODIES ARE COMPOSED, THO' THE LIGHT IS NOT REFLECTED FROM THESE PARTS.

More profound enquiry into the formation of colours. Great truths drawn from a common experiment. An experiment made by Newton. Colours depend on the thickness of the parts of bodies, tho' these parts do not themselves reflect the light. All bodies are transparent. Proof that colours depend on thickneses, tho' the solid parts do not reflect the light.

FROM what has been already said it follows, that all colours proceed from a mixture of the seven primordial colours, of which the rainbow and the prism give us a distinct view.

The bodies that are most proper to reflect the red rays, and whose parts absorb or transmit the other rays, will be red; the same may be observed of the rest. The meaning of this is not that the red rays are actually reflected by the parts of these bodies; but that there is a power, a force hitherto unknown, which reflects these rays from about the surfaces and pores of bodies.

Colours then are in the rays of the sun, and return to us from the surfaces and pores of bodies and from the vacuum. Let us now enquire in what this apparant power of bodies to reflect these colours consist; what occasions scarlet to appear red, why the meadows are green, and why a clear heaven is blue: For to say that this proceeds from the difference of the form of their parts, is to advance an indeterminate notion, that has no tendency to increase our knowledge.

A childish diversion, that seems to have nothing in it but what is contemptible, gave Sir *Isaac Newton* the first idea of these recent truths which we are now to explain. Every thing to a philosopher should be a subject of meditation, and nothing despicable in his eyes. He perceived, that in those bubbles of soap and water blown by children, the colours changed every moment, passing downwards successively from the top of the bubble, in proportion as the thickness of it diminished, till at last the weight of the water and soap, which continually fall to the bottom, breaks the equilibrium of that light sphere, and causes it to vanish. Hence he reasoned, that colours might probably depend on the thickness of the parts that composed the surfaces of bodies; and to assure himself of it, he had recourse to the following experiments.

Let two glasses touch one another in only one point. They need not be both convex; it is sufficient that the first be so, and that it be placed upon the other. Let water be put between these two glasses to render the experiment more sensible, which is made in the air. When the glasses are pressed a little against each other a small, transparent, black spot appears at the point of their contact. From this point, surrounded with a little water, coloured circles from themselves, in the same order and manner as in the bubble of diluted soap. In a word, by measuring the diameter of the circles, and the convexity of the glass, *Newton* calculated the different thickness of the portions of water which produced these different colours. He found the thickness necessary to reflect white, to be about four such parts of an inch as the division of it into a million would produce: the azure, blue, and the colours bordering upon a violet

CHAP. X.

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violet, depend on a thickness yet considerably less. Thus the purest vapors raised from the earth, and which colour the air without clouding it, being of a very thin surface, produce that celestial blue which charms our sight.

Other experiment finished this discovery, and proved that colours are attached to the thickness of surfaces. The same body that was green when somewhat thick, becomes blue, when rendered thin enough to reflect nothing but blue rays, and to transmit all the others. These truths, of so delicate a nature and which seem to conceal themselves from human sight, well deserve to be closely pursued: This part of philosophy is a microscope, by which the mind discovers magnitudes infinitely small.

All bodies are transparent; we need only to reduce them to a proper tenuity, and then the rays of light, finding nothing more than a thin plate, a leaf to pass through, make their passage accordingly. Thus when a leaf of gold is placed against a small hole in a dark chamber, it reflects from its surface the yellow rays, which cannot pass through its substance, and transmits green rays into the room: gold then produces a green colour; a farther confirmation, that colours depend on the difference of densities. But a still stronger proof of the same thing is, that in the experiment of the two glasses, which are made to touch in one point only; water here is not the only element that produces different colours according to its different densities; the air produces the same effect, only the coloured circles formed between the two glasses, have a larger diameter than those of the water. There is a secret proportion therefore, established by nature, between the force of the constituent parts of all bodies, and the primitive rays which colour those bodies:

the

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the thinnest bodies give the most feeble colours, and to reflect a black, the same thickness, or rather the same tenuity, the same thinness is requisite, as that which constitutes the very top of a bubble of diluted soap, in which a little black spot is perceived; or even the same as is in the point of contact between the convex and the flat glass, which contact produces also a black spot.

It must not however be imagined that bodies reflect the light by their solid parts, because we have shewn that colours depend on the density of these parts. There is a power attached to that density, a power that acts near the surface; but it is not that solid surface, that repels, that reflects. It seems to me, that the reader should have now reached a point, where nothing ought to surprise him for the future. But what he has just seen will lead him farther than he may imagine; so many singularities being, if we may use the expression, but the frontiers of a new world.

C H A P. XI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THESE DISCOVERIES.

MUTUAL ACTION OF BODIES ON LIGHT.

Remarkable experiment. Consequences of these experiments. Mutual action of bodies on light. All this theory of light agrees with the theory of the universe. More properties in matter than is apprehended.

THE reflection, inflection, refraction, and refrangibility of light are known, the origin of colours is discovered, and even the thickness of bodies necessary to occasion certain colours, is determined.

It is a property demonstrated both to the mind and sight, that solid surfaces are not what reflects the rays. For did solid surfaces really reflect,
 1. the point of contact between two convex glasses would reflect, and not be obscure. 2.
 Each solid particle reflecting only one species of
rays,

rays, would at the same time reflect all species of rays. 3. Solid particles would not transmit light in one place and reflect it in another; for being all solid, they would all reflect. 4. If the solid particles reflected light, it would be impossible to see ourselves in a mirror, as we have already observed: for the mirror being furrowed and rugged, it could not reflect the light regularly. There is then undoubtedly a power acting on bodies, without touching bodies; and this power acts between bodies and light. In short, so far is light from rebounding on the very bodies and returning to us, that most of the rays which strike solid bodies remain there, and become lost and extinguished.

We shall not extend this introduction to the doctrine of light any farther. Perhaps as a piece merely elementary, we have been already too large on the subject; but many of these truths were new to most readers, when this work was first published. Before we proceed to the other parts of Newton's philosophy, let us remember, that the theory of light has something in common with the theory of the universe, on which we are going to enter. This theory is, that there is a kind of attraction observed between bodies and light; and it will appear that there is the same between all the globes of the universe. These attractions shew themselves by different effects; but is always a tendency of bodies towards one another, discovered by the assistance of experiment and geometry.

These discoveries should, at least, render us extremely circumspect in our decisions concerning the nature and essence of things. We should remember that we know nothing but from experience. Without the sense of feeling we should have no idea of the extent of bodies: without the sight we could never have conceived

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any notions of light: had we never felt motion, we should never have believed matter moveable. A very small number of senses given us by God serves to discover to us a very small number of the properties of matter. The senses wanting, reason supplies, and farther informs us, that matter has other properties, as attraction and gravity; nor is it improbable but it may have others inherent in its nature, and of which philosophy may, perhaps, one day impart some ideas.

For my part I own, that the more I reflect on it, the more I am surpris'd at any reluctance in owning a new principle, a new property in matter. It may perhaps contain new principles and new properties *ad infinitum*. No one thing in nature resembles another. It is very probable that the creator has made water, fire, air, earth, vegetables, minerals, animals, &c. on principles and plans entirely different. It is strange that we should revolt against the author of new treasures; for is it not enriching man to discover new qualities in the matter of which he is formed?

LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR,
Which may serve as the last chapter to the theory of light.

CONTINUAL diseases, which exercise my patience, more than Newton exercises my mind, have hindered me from doing myself the honour of answering your letter sooner. I believe, Sir, that your doubts would also have raised doubts in him. You say it is pity he has not more clearly explained himself with regard to the reason, why the attractive force often becomes repulsive; and with regard to the power by which the rays of light are darted with such amazing celerity. And I would venture to add, that it is pity, he could not discover the cause of those phaenomena. Newton, the first of men, was but

but a man. And the first principles of nature are not within our reach, when not subject to calculation. It is of little use to compute the force of the muscles: all the mathematical rules in the world will not teach us why those muscles act at the immediate order of our will. All the knowledge we have of the planets, will never inform us why they revolve from west to east, rather than from east to west. Newton has anatomized light, but not discovered the internal nature of it. He very well knew, that there are properties in the elementary fire, not in other elements.

It traverses 130,000,000 of leagues in a quarter of an hour. It does not appear, like other bodies, to tend towards a centre; but, contrary to the other elements, it spreads itself uniformly and equally every way. Its attraction towards the objects it touches, and from the surface of which it rebounds, bears no proportion to the universal gravitation of matter.

It is not even proved that the rays of elementary fire do not penetrate each other. Newton therefore, struck with all these singularities, seems always to doubt whether light be a body. For my own part, sir, if I may hazard my conjectures, I acknowledge that I do not think it impossible but the elementary fire may be a distinct being which animates nature, and fills the interval between bodies, and some other existences we are unacquainted with; as certain organized plants lead us from the vegetable to the animal kingdom. Every thing tends to promote a belief, that there is a chain of beings gradually extended. Some links of this chain we know but imperfectly; and we little men, with our little eyes, and little brain, boldly divide all nature into matter and spirit, including even God himself; and at the same time know nothing of what spirit and matter are in reality.

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I lay my doubts before you, fir, with the same freedom as you were pleased to communicate yours to me. I congratulate you on cultivating philosophy, which should teach us to doubt of every thing not to be proved by mathematics and experiment, &c.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY IDEAS CONCERNING GRAVITY, AND THE LAWS OF ATTRACTION: THAT THE SUBTILE-MATER, VORTICES, AND A PLENUM, OUGHT TO BE REJECTND.

Attraction. An experiment that demonstrates a vacuum, and the effects of gravitation. Gravity acts in a ratio of the masses. Whence the power of gravity proceeds. Not owing to a pretending subtle matter. Why one body weighs more than another. The system of Descartes can give no reason for it.

AN intelligent reader, who has considered with attention these wonderful properties of light, convinced by experience that they are not produced by any known impulse, will doubtless be impatient to know more of this new power which we have spoken of under the name of *Attraction*, and which must of consequence act more sensibly upon all other bodies than upon light. That we may not any more be terrified with terms, let us only examine simple facts.

I shall make use indifferently of the words attraction and gravitation, in speaking of bodies, whether they sensibly tend towards one another, in immense orbs round one common centre, fall upon the surface of the earth, unite to compose solid bodies, or, lastly, fashion themselves in drops to form liquids. Let us enter upon our subject.

All known bodies gravitate, and the notion of absolute levity has been a long time placed among the acknowledged errors of Aristotle and his followers. Since

Since the invention of the famous air-pump, we have been in a much fairer way of discovering the gravity of bodies; for when they fall in air, the particles of that element sensibly retard the central motion of those bodies which have large surfaces and little substance; but in that machine, deprived of air, bodies being abandon'd to that force, whatever it be, which precipitates them without obstacle, fall according to their whole weight.

The air-pump invented by Otto Guericke, was soon after brought to perfection by Mr. Boyle; it was furnished with glass recipients much longer than at first, and these were entirely exhausted of air. In one of these tall recipients, composed of four tubes, the whole together being eight feet high, were suspended at the top by a spring pieces of gold, bits of lead, scraps of paper, and feathers; the question was to know what would be the consequence, when the spring was let fly. The philosophical gentlemen foresaw, that the whole would reach the bottom at the same time: but much the greatest number were confident, that the most solid bodies would fall with far greater velocity than the others. The multitude, which are generally in the wrong, were astonished at the event; for in every experiment, the gold, the lead, the paper, and the feathers, descended equally swift, and came to the bottom of the recipient in one and the same instant of time.

Those who still maintained the plenum of *Descartes*, and the pretended effects of the subtile matter, could not give any good reason for this fact; for facts were the rocks on which they split. If there was an absolute plenum, tho' we allowed there might notwithstanding be such a thing as motion, (which is absolutely impossible) this pretended subtile matter must at least exactly fill all the recipient;

it must be there in as great quantity as water, or mercury that might have been put there; it must resist the pieces of paper, according to their surfaces, and let the gold and lead descend much sooner. But this descent is performed in the same instant, therefore there is nothing in the recipient that resists; therefore the pretended subtile matter cannot produce any sensible effect in this recipient; therefore there is some other power which causes gravity. It will be in vain to say, that there may possibly remain a subtile matter in the recipient, because it is penetrated by the light. There is a great deal of difference in the two cases. The light, in this glass vessel, does not fill at the most the hundred thousandth part of it; but according to the Cartesians, we are to imagine, that their subtile matter fills it much more compleatly, than if I supposed it full of gold; for there is a great deal of vacuity in gold, but they admit none in their subtile matter.

Now, by this experiment, the piece of gold, which weighs an hundred thousand times as much as the paper, descends with the same velocity as the paper; therefore the power, which make it descend, acts an hundred thousand times more forcibly upon the gold, than upon the paper; in like manner, as a hundred times more strength is requisite in my arm to move an hundred pounds, than to move one pound. That power then, which is the cause of gravity, acts in direct proportion to the quantity of matter in bodies. In effect, it acts so, according to the quantity of matter in bodies, and not according to their surfaces, that a pound of gold, reduced

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into dust, will weigh precisely as much as the same quantity beat out into leaves. The figure of bodies makes no alteration in their gravity; the power of gravitation then operates upon the internal nature of bodies, and not in proportion to their superficies.

They can never oppose to these undoubted facts, the chimerical supposition of vortices. They say, that the subtile matter, which totally fills the recipient, is then without weight. A strange idea, and here absolutely absurd! For it is not sufficient in this case, that it is a matter without weight, but a matter without resistance. All matter is resisted by the force of inertia. If therefore the recipient was full, the matter, whatever it be, must resist infinitely; this is a strict demonstration.

This power does not reside in the pretended subtile matter, which we shall consider in the next chapter: That matter must be a fluid; and every fluid acts upon solids, in proportion to their superficies. Thus a ship, presenting a smaller surface at her prow, cuts through the sea, which would resist her sides. Now, if the superficies of a body be the square of its diameter, the solidity of this body is the cube of the same diameter; but the same power cannot act at one time in proportion to the cube and the square; therefore the gravity of bodies is not the effect of this fluid. Besides, it is impossible, that this pretended subtile matter should, on the one side, have so much force, as to precipitate a body from the height of fifty-four thousand feet in a minute (for such is the descent of bodies) and that, on the other, it should

should be so weak, as not to hinder the lightest wooden pendulum to proceed from vibration to vibration in the air pump, which is supposed to be compleatly filled with this imaginary matter. I shall make no scruple then to affirm, that if any impulse should ever be discovered, which is truly the cause of the tendency of bodies towards a center, the cause, in a word, of gravitation and attraction, that impulse will be altogether of a different nature from any thing we know.

There is one primary truth then, that was pointed out elsewhere, and has here been proved, that there is a power, which occasions all bodies to gravitate, in exact proportion to the quantity of their masses.

If it be actually enquired, why one body is more ponderous than another, the simple and only reason of it will easily be found: It will be concluded, that this body must have more solidity, more matter under the same surface. Thus gold is heavier than wood, because there is in gold much more matter, and much less vacuity, than in wood.

Descartes, and his followers, maintain, that one body is heavier than another, without containing more matter. Not content with this idea, they support it by another, altogether as false: They admit a grand vortex of subtile matter, encompassing our globe; and it is this grand vortex, they say, by its circulation, that impels all bodies towards the center of the earth, and impresses on them that quality which we call gravity. It is true, they have not given any proof of this assertion. There is not the

least experiment, not the least analogy in things, of which we have so little knowledge; on which we may establish even a slight presumption, in favour of this vortex of subtile matter; so that for this very reason alone, the system is a mere hypothesis, and ought to be rejected; though it was purely on this account that it obtained credit. This vortex was conceived without difficulty; an indefinite explanation of things was given, by pronouncing the words subtile matter; and when the philosophers were sensible of the contradictions and absurdities attending this philosophical romance, they dreamed rather of correcting than abandoning it.

Huygens, and many others, have added a thousand corrections, of which they themselves confess the insufficiency. But what shall we substitute in the place of these vortices, and this subtile matter? It was this too common way of reasoning, more than any thing else, that confirmed men in the error they had embraced. But we ought to abandon what is evidently false and insupportable, as well when we have nothing to substitute in its room, as when we have the demonstrations of Euclid to supply in its place. An error is neither more or less an error, whether the loss of it be or be not supplied by truth. Should I admit the horror of a vacuum in a pump, because I am not yet able to judge by what mechanism the water rises in that pump?

Before we proceed any farther then, let us undertake to prove, that the vortices of subtile matter have no existence; that the idea of a plenum is equally chimerical; that therefore the whole

system, founded on these imaginary notions, is no more than an ingenious romance, without the appearance of truth. We will enquire first, what is meant by these vortices; and afterwards examine, whether or no a plenum be possible.



C H A P. II.

THAT THE VORTICES OF DESCARTES AND A PLENUM ARE IMPOSSIBLE, AND CONSEQUENTLY THERE MUST BE SOME OTHER CAUSE OF GRAVITY.

Proof of the Impossibility of Vortices. Proof against a Plenum.

DESCARTES supposes an immense mass of imperceptible particles, which carries the earth round, with a rapid motion, from west to east, and which moves parallel to the equator from pole to pole. This vortex of matter, which extends beyond the moon, and drags her also along with it in its course, is inclosed in another vortex yet more extensive, which touches another yet larger, without being confounded with it, and so on.

I.

If this were so, the vortex which is supposed to move round the earth from west to east, would drive the bodies that are upon the earth,

from west to east also: now all bodies, in falling, describe a line, which, if extended, would pass nearly through the center of the earth: therefore this vortex has no existence.

II.

If the circles of this pretended vortex moved and acted parallel to the equator, all bodies must fall perpendicularly, every one under that circle of the subtile matter to which it answers: a body in A, (fig. 30.) near the pole P, must, according to Descartes, fall in R; whereas it falls nearly in the direction of the line A B, which makes a difference of about one thousand four hundred French leagues; for we may compute near that number from the point R, to the equator of the earth B; therefore this vortex hath no existence.

III.

If, to support this romance of vortices, they think proper to suppose, that the fluid of the vortex does not turn on its own axis, but to turn in the circles, whose center is the same with the center of the vortex; it is only necessary to make an experiment with a drop of oil, or a large bubble of air in a ball of crystal filled with water; let the ball be turned on its axis, you will see the oil or air form itself into a cylinder in the middle of the ball, and the axis extended from one pole to the other; thus every experiment, as well as every reason, ruins the vortices.

IV.

IV.

If this vortex of matter surrounding the earth, and those other pretended vortices surrounding Jupiter, Saturn, &c. existed, all these immense vortices of subtile matter, rolling so rapidly in different directions, could never suffer any one ray of light, darted from a star, to come to us in a right line. Now, it has been proved that these rays arrive in a very short time, considering their immense distance; therefore no vortices exist.

V.

If these vortices carried round the planets from west to east, the comets, which traverse these spaces in all directions, from east to west, and from north to south, could not traverse them at all. And though it should be supposed, that the comets have never actually passed from north to south, and from east to west, yet nothing would be gained by this evasion; for it is known, that when a comet is seen in the region of Mars, Jupiter, or Saturn, it moves incomparably swifter than Mars, Jupiter, or Saturn; therefore it cannot be carried round by the same bed of fluid matter which is supposed to carry round those planets; therefore these vortices do not exist.

VI.

If these fluids existed, one minute would be sufficient to destroy all the motions of the planets. Newton has demonstrated, that all bodies which move in a fluid of the same density,

lose half their own motion, in travelling three of their diameters. This can never be answered.

VII.

Suppose once more, what is impossible, that the planets moved in these imaginary vortices, they would move circularly only; because the vortices, at equal distances from the center, must be equally dense; but the planets move in ellipses, and consequently cannot be carried round in any such vortices; therefore no such vortices exist.

VIII.

The orbit which the earth describes, is between the orbits of Venus and Mars; all these orbits are elliptical, and have the sun for their center: now, when Mars, Venus, and the earth, are nearest one to another, the matter of this pretended torrent, which carries round the earth, must be much more compressed than at other times: this subtile matter should then precipitate its course, as a river straitened in its banks, or flowing under the arches of a bridge, consequently give the earth a much greater velocity than when it is in any other position: but, on the contrary, the motion of the earth is then more retarded than at any other time.

When Mars appears in the sign Pisces, (fig: 31.) that planet, the earth, and Venus, are nearly in the proximity represented in the figure; and then the sun seems to be retarded for some minutes; that is, the earth is retarded: it is demonstrably impossible then, that there should be a torrent of matter which carries the planets; therefore the vortices have no existence.

IX.

IX.

Among the more abstracted demonstrations, which destroy the existence of these vortices, we will chuse the following. By one of the fundamental laws of Kepler, every planet describes equal areas in equal times: by another law, not less certain, every planet makes its revolution round the sun in such a manner, that if, for example, its mean distance from the sun was ten, by taking the cube of that number, which makes a thousand, the time of the revolution of that planet round the sun, will be found proportionable to the square root of the number one thousand. Now, if there were torrents of matter which carried the planets, such torrents could not observe these laws; for the velocity of the torrents must be proportional to their distance from the sun, and, at the same time, to the square roots of those distances; which is incompatible.

X.

To sum up the whole; all the world must see what would be the consequence of two fluids circulating in opposition to one another: they would necessarily be confounded together, and form a chaos; instead of order. This alone would at once have exposed the Cartesian system to the utmost ridicule, if the love of novelty, and an habitual neglect of free and impartial examination, had not prevailed.

We are now to prove that the plenum, in which these vortices are supposed to move, is as impossible as the vortices themselves.

1. A single ray of light, which does not weigh any thing near the hundred thousandth part of a grain, must discompose the order of the whole universe, if it passed to us through an immense space, every part of which would not only resist of itself, but the whole line of matter pressing on it.

2. Two hard bodies, A and B, (fig. 32.) touch one another in one surface, and are supposed to be encompassed with a fluid, which presses them on all sides. Now, when they are separated, it is clear that the pretended subtle matter must arrive sooner at the point A, where they divide, than at the point B. There is a moment then, wherein there must be a vacuum at B: therefore, even in the system of the subtle matter, there is a vacuum, that is, space.

3. If there was no such thing as vacuum and space, there could be no motion, even in the system of Descartes himself. He supposes that God created the universe full, consisting of small cubes. Let there then be a given number of cubes, representing the universe, without their having the least interval between them: it is evident that one of them must move out of the place it occupies; for if every one continues in its place, there can be no motion, because motion consists in the change of place, in moving from one point of space to another. Now who does not perceive, that one of these cubes cannot quit its place, without leaving a vacuum at the instant it goes out of it; since it is clear that this cube, in turning itself round, must present its angle to the cube it touches, before that angle can be beat to pieces? At that time
then

then there is a space between these two cubes ; therefore, even by the system of Descartes himself, there cannot be motion without a vacuum.

4. If all was full, as Descartes would have it, we ourselves should feel an infinite resistance in walking ; whereas we perceive no other than that of the fluids which surround us. That of water, for example, resists 860 times, and that of mercury 14,000 times, more than that of air. Now the resistances of fluids are in proportion to the squares of their velocities : thus if a man, in a third of time, makes his way through a foot of mercury, which resists him 14,000 times more than air ; if this man, in the next third, move twice as far, the mercury in this third will resist in proportion to the square of 2 multiplied by 14,000 ; a resistance 56,000 times more powerful than that of air : If all was full, it would be absolutely impossible to walk a step, to breathe, &c.

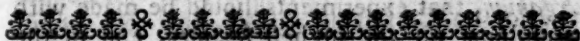
5. The Cartesians have endeavoured to elude the force of this demonstration ; but had nothing more to oppose to the demonstration than a manifest error. They pretend, that this infinite torrent of subtile matter, penetrating all the pores of bodies, cannot hinder their motion. They did not reflect, that every body, which moves in a fluid, feels a resistance in proportion to the largeness of surface it opposes to that fluid. Now the more pores there are in a body, the larger its surface is : the pretended subtile matter, therefore, by choaking up all the interior parts of a body, must oppose the motion of that body much more forcibly than by touch-
ing.

ing only its outward superficies; this is, therefore, an undeniable demonstration.

6. All bodies in a plenum would be equally heavy: it is impossible to conceive that a body bears upon me, and presses me, but by its quantity of matter: a pound of gold dust weighs as much on my hand as a lump of gold of a pound. In vain the Cartesians answer, that the subtile matter, penetrating the interstices of bodies, has no weight, and that we ought to esteem nothing weighty that is not subtile matter. This opinion, in Descartes, is nothing less than a direct contradiction; for, according to him, it is the pretended subtile matter alone that causes the gravity of bodies, by forcing them towards the earth. This subtile matter itself then gravitates upon these bodies; and if it doth so, there can be no reason why one body should be more weighty than another; since all being equally full, all must be equal in quantity of matter, whether solids or fluids. A plenum, then, is a chimera; there is a vacuum; nothing can be done in nature without a vacuum; therefore gravity is not the effect of a pretended vortex in a plenum.

We must perceive from experiments in the air-pump, that there is a power which causes bodies to descend towards the center of the earth, that is, which gives them their gravity, and that this power acts in proportion to their masses. We must endeavour to be convinced of the effects of that power; for if we discover its effects, it is evident that it exists. We should not, however, thence imagine, that we have access to the cause, and hypotheses are only expedients

pedients for leading us astray; let us follow, step by step, what really passes in nature; we are like travellers arrived at the mouth of the stream, and must turn back before we can find the source.



C H A P. III.

GRAVITATION DEMONSTRATED BY THE DISCOVERIES OF NEWTON. HISTORY OF THAT DISCOVERY. THAT THE MOON REVOLVES IN HER ORBIT BY THE FORCE OF THIS GRAVITATION.

History of the Discovery of Gravitation. Newton's Proceeding thereon. Theory drawn from these Discoveries. The same Cause, by which Bodies fall to the Earth, directs the Moon round the earth.

ALL bodies, in whatever part of the universe they are placed, descend at the rate of about fifteen feet in the first second. We see that the descent of bodies to the earth becomes accelerated in the course of the fall: they all in their descent evidently tend towards the center of this globe. May there not then be some power that attracts them towards this center? And is not the force of this power increased in proportion as it is nearer the center?

Coper-

Copernicus had some faint notions of this power. Kepler embraced it, without method. Chancellor Bacon says, that it is probable there is an attraction from bodies to the center of the earth, and from the center to bodies. He proposed, in his excellent book *Novum Scientiarum Organum*, that experiments should be made with pendulums on the highest steeples, and in the deepest wells; for, said he, if the vibrations of the same pendulums are quicker at the bottom of a well than on a steeple, the conclusion is, that the gravity, which is the cause of its vibrations, will be much stronger at the center of the earth, to which this well is something nearer. He also let fall several bodies from different elevations, observing whether they fell less than fifteen feet in the first second; but no variation ever appeared in these experiments, occasioned by the smallness of the heights and depths. Thus the point was left undetermined, and the idea of the force acting from the center of the earth, remained a vague conjecture.

Descartes was acquainted with this power; he even mentions it in treating of gravity. But the experiments, by which alone this grand question could be illustrated, were still wanting. That vast and sublime genius, carried away by the system of vortices in creating his universe, was for giving the direction of every thing to the subtile matter, which he made the dispenser of motion and gravity. All Europe, by slow degrees, adopted his system, notwithstanding the opposition of Gassendi, who was less followed, because less bold.

In

In the year 1666, Newton being in the country, and seeing some fruit fall from a tree (as I. was informed by Mrs. Conduit, his niece) fell into a deep meditation, on the cause which thus draws all bodies in a line, which, if extended would pass nearly through the center of the earth. What, said he to himself, is this force, which cannot proceed from those imaginary vortices, so often demonstrated to be grossly false? It acts on all bodies in proportion to their masses, and not their surfaces. It would act on the fruit just fallen from the tree, were it three, or even ten thousand fathoms high. If so, this force must act from the orbit of the moon to the center of the earth. If so, this power, whatever it be, may then be the same with that, by which the planets tend towards the sun, and the satellites of Jupiter gravitate on Jupiter. Now it is demonstrated from every induction drawn from Kepler's laws, that all the secondary planets gravitate towards the center of their orbits, in proportion as they are nearer to, or farther from them; that is, reciprocally as the squares of their distances. Thus a body placed near the moon, which circulates round the earth, and a body placed near the earth, must both gravitate towards the earth, exactly according to that law.

To be assured, therefore, whether it be the same cause that retains the planets in their orbits, and here makes heavy bodies descend, a measure is only wanting; we need only examine the space a heavy body passes thro' in its descent to the earth in a given time; and also
what

what space a body placed in the region of the moon, would pass through in a given time. The moon itself is this body, which may be considered as in reality falling from its highest point of the meridian. But this is not an hypothesis, accommodated at any rate to a system. This is not a calculation, where we may acquiesce in an almost. We must begin with knowing exactly the distance of the moon from the earth; and, in order to know this, it is necessary to have a mensuration of our globe.

Thus reason'd Newton; but with regard to the magnitude of the earth, he depended on the false estimate of navigators, who reckoned sixty English miles, or twenty French leagues, to a degree of latitude; whereas he should have reckoned seventy miles. There was indeed a more exact mensuration of the earth. Norwood, an English mathematician, had, in 1636, measured pretty exactly a degree of the meridian, and found it to contain, as it really should, about seventy miles. Newton was a stranger to this operation, tho' perform'd thirty years before; for the civil wars in England, which are equally fatal to the sciences, as to the state, had buried in oblivion the only true mensuration of the globe then existing; and the vague reckonings of the navigators were considered as the standard. By this calculation therefore, the moon was drawn too near the earth, and the proportion sought by Newton did not exactly answer. He did not think himself at liberty to supply any defect, and accommodate nature to his scheme; on the contrary, he was for rendering

rendering his schemes conformable to nature. Thus he gave over pursuing this noble discovery, which the analogy with the other planets rendered so plausible, and to the demonstration of which so little was wanting. A rare instance of candor, and which alone should give a great weight to his opinions.

At length, from more exact mensurations repeatedly made in France, and which we shall relate hereafter, he found the demonstration of his theory. A degree of the meridian was estimated at twenty-five French leagues. The moon was found to be sixty semi-diameters from the earth, and thus Newton resumed the thread of his demonstrations.

Gravity on our globe is in reciprocal proportion to the squares of the distances of gravitating bodies from the center of the earth; that is, a body weighing a hundred pounds at the distance of one diameter of the earth, will weigh only one pound, if the distance be ten diameters.

The power or force which is the cause of gravity, depends not upon vortices of subtle matter, the existence of which is demonstrably false. That power, whatsoever it be, acts upon all bodies, not according to their surfaces, but in proportion to the quantity of their matter. If it acts at one distance, it must act at all distances: if it act in reciprocal proportion of the squares of these distances; it must always act according to the same proportion upon all known bodies, when they are not at the point of contact, that is, let them be as near together as possible, without being joined. If, according

to this proportion, the power of attraction, upon the surface of our globe, causes a descent of 54,000 Paris feet, in 60 seconds; a body that shall be distant from the center of the earth about 60 of its semi-diameters, by the same rule, will fall only fifteen Paris feet in the same time.

The moon, in her mean motion, is distant about 60 semi-diameters of our earth, from the center of that globe. Now, by the measures taken in France, we know how many feet the moon's orbit contains; we know that in her mean motion, she describes 187,961 Paris feet in a minute. The moon, in her mean motion, is advanced from A to B (fig. 33.) she has obeyed then, both the projectile force, which directs her in the tangent A C, and the power would make her descend according the line A, D, equal to B C. Take away the force which directs her from A to C, and there will remain a force which may be estimated by the line, C B. This line C B, is equal to the line A D: but it is demonstrable that the curve A B, being 187,961 feet, the line A D, or C B, will be only fifteen: therefore, whether the moon falls to B, or C, it is here the same thing; she will have descended 15 feet in a minute, from C to B; therefore she will have descended 15 feet in a minute also from A to D. But, in descending this space in a minute, she will have travelled 3600 times as far as a moveable body upon the earth would have travelled in the same time: 3600 is just the square of the distance; therefore the gravitation which acts upon all bodies, acts also between the earth and the moon precisely

cisely in the same ratio of the square of their distances.

But, if this power which animates bodies, directs the moon in her orbit, it must direct the earth in its orbit also; and the effect which it produces upon the planet of the moon, it must produce also upon the planet of the earth; for this power is every where the same; all the other planets must be subject to it, and even the sun also must obey its law: and if there be no motion of the planets with regard one to another, which is not the necessary effect of this power, it must then be confessed, that all nature demonstrates it: this is what we proceed to observe, in a more ample manner.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

THAT GRAVITATION AND ATTRACTION
DIRECT ALL THE PLANETS IN THEIR
ORBS.

How we ought to understand the Theory of Gravity, according to Descartes. What is meant by the centripetal and centrifugal Forces. That Demonstration proves that the Sun, and not the Earth, is the Center of our System. From the preceding Reasons it is that we have more Summer than Winter.

ALMOST all the theory of gravity, according to Descartes, is founded upon this law of nature, that every body which moves in a curve line endeavours to fly from its center in a right line, which would touch the curve in a point. Such is the sling, escaping from the hand, &c. All bodies, in turning with the earth, endeavour thus to remove from the center; but the subtile matter, say they, making a much greater effort, repels all other bodies.

It is easy to perceive, that it could not be in the subtile matter to make this greater effort, and to remove itself from the center, or the pretended vortex, rather than other bodies: on the contrary, it would be its nature (supposing it to exist) to tend towards the center of its motion, and

and let the bodies, which are more compact and solid, move to the circumference. This is in effect what happens upon a table which is made to turn round, when, in a tube fixed thereon, we put several powders and liquors, of weights specifically different: all the most solid and weighty bodies remove from the center, and all the lightest approach it. Such is the law of nature; and when Descartes made his pretended subtile matter to circulate at the circumference of his vortex, he began by violating that law of centrifugal forces, which he had laid down as his first principle. It was to little purpose his imagining that God had created cubes turning against one another; that the rubbings of these cubes, which made his subtile matter, dispersing on all sides, acquired thereby a swifter motion; that the center of a vortex incrustated itself, &c. false imaginations were far from rectifying his error.

Without losing more time to combat these imaginary beings, let us follow the mechanical laws which operate in nature. A body which moves circularly at every point of the curve which it describes, takes a direction that would remove it out of the circle, by making it describe a right line.

So far it is true. But care must be taken that this body removes from the center, only by this other grand principle: that every body being of itself indifferent with regard to rest and motion, and having that *vis inertiae*, that sluggishness which is an attribute of matter, follows necessarily the line in which it is moved. Now every body which turns round a center, follows every moment

ment a right line infinitely short, which would become a right line infinitely long, if it met with no obstacle. The result of this principle, therefore, reduced to its just value, is no more than this: that every body which moves in a right line, would always move in a right line, if no power acted upon it; there is another power wanting then, to make it describe a curve: this other power, therefore, by which it describes a curve, would make it fall every moment to the center, in case the projectile motion in a right line was to cease. In a word, this body would move, from moment to moment, to A, to B, to C, (fig. 34) if freed from the latter power.

It would also, from moment to moment, fall from B, from C, to the center, if the other power was wanting. The reason is, that its motion is composed of two sorts of motions, of a projectile motion in a right line, and also of an imprinted motion in a right line, by the centripetal force, a force by which it would fall to the center. Thus even from the inclination of the body to describe these tangents, A, B, C, it is demonstrable, that there is a force which draws it from these tangents, even at the instant they commence. It is absolutely necessary then, to consider every body that moves in a curve, as being moved by two forces; one of which is that which would make it describe tangents, and which is called the centrifugal force, or rather the power of resting or inactivity, by which a body always follows a right line, if it meets with no obstruction; the other is the force which draws the body towards the center, which is called the centripetal, and is the true force.

From

From the establishment of this centripetal force, there results, at first sight, this demonstration, that every body which moves in a circle, an ellipsis, or in any curve whatsoever, moves round a center to which it tends. It also follows that this body, what portions of the curve soever it may pass over, will always describe equal areas in equal times, both in its largest and smallest arches. If, for instance, a body in one minute describes the space $A B C$, (fig. 35.) containing an hundred miles in area, it will in two minutes describe the space $B C D$, containing two hundred miles.

This law, inviolably observed by all the planets, and utterly unknown to antiquity, was discovered about 150 years ago by *Kepler*, who has merited the name of *Legislator* in Astronomy, notwithstanding his philosophical errors. He could not, however, discover the reason of this rule, to which all the celestial bodies are subject. The extreme sagacity of *Kepler* discovered the effect, of which the genius of *Newton* has found the cause.

I shall now give the substance of *Newton's* demonstration, which will easily be comprehended by every attentive reader: for men have a natural geometry in their minds, which makes them lay hold of propositions, when they are not too complicated.

Let the body A (fig. 36) be moved to the point B , in a very short space of time; at the end of an equal space of time, a motion, equally continued (for there is here no acceleration) would bring it to the point C : but in B it finds a force which draws it in the line $B H S$. It
does

does not follow then, either the track BHS , or the track ABC ; draw the parallelogram $CDBH$; and then the body being moved by the two forces, passes along the diagonal BD . Now this line BD and the other BA , being supposed infinitely short from a curve, &c. therefore this body necessarily moves in a curve.

It must pass over equal areas in equal times; for the area and the triangle SBA , is equal to the area of the triangle SBH : these triangles are equal, therefore these areas are equal; therefore every body which describes equal areas in equal times, in a curve, makes its revolution round the center of the forces towards which it tends; therefore the planets tend towards the sun, turn round the sun, and not the sun round the earth. For, by taking the earth for the center, their areas are found unequal in proportion to the times; and, in taking the sun for the center, these areas are always found proportional to the times; if you except only the small irregularities caused by the gravitation of the planets themselves.

The better to understand what is meant by the areas proportional to the times, and to discover by inspection the advantage you may draw from this knowledge, consider the earth as carried in its ellipsis round the sun, S , (fig. 37.) its center. When it passes from B to D , it describes as large a space, as when it describes the great arch KK : the sector, KK , gains in breadth what the sector BSD hath in length. To make the area of these sectors equal in equal times, the body must pass much swifter from H to K , than from B to D . Thus the earth, and
every

every planet moves swifter in its perihelion, the nearest point in the curve to the sun, S, than in its aphelion, the farthest point of the curve from the same focus, S.

We know then what is the center of a planet, and what figure it describes in its orbit, by the areas it surrounds. We know that every planet, when it is farther from the center of its motion, gravitates less towards that center. Thus the earth being nearer the sun by a thirtieth part, that is, by a million of leagues, during our winter than during our summer, is more attracted also in winter, and passes swifter then, by reason of its curve: thus we have eight days and a half more summer than winter, and the sun appears in the northern signs eight days and a half more than in the southern. Therefore since every planet follows, with regard to the sun, its center, that law of gravitation, which the moon observes with regard to the earth, and to which all bodies are subject in falling upon the earth, it is demonstrable that this gravitation, this attraction, acts upon all bodies that are known to us.

But another powerful demonstration of this truth, is the law that all the planets observe respectively in their courses and distance. This is now what is incumbent on us to examine.



C H A P. V.

DEMONSTRATION OF THE LAWS OF GRAVITY, DRAWN FROM THE RULES OF KEPLER; THAT ONE OF THESE LAWS OF KEPLER DEMONSTRATES THE MOTION OF THE EARTH.

Great Rule of Kepler. False Reasons of that admirable Law. True Reason of that Law found by Newton. Recapitulation of the Proofs of Gravity. These Discoveries of Newton and Kepler serve to demonstrate, that it is the Earth which revolves round the Sun. Demonstration of the Motion of the Earth, drawn from the same Law.

KEPLER discovered another admirable rule, of which I proceed to give an example before I define it, in order to render the thing more sensible and easy.

Jupiter has four satellites, which perform their revolutions round him: the nearest is two diameters and five sixths distant from Jupiter's body, round which it moves in forty-two hours. The most remote makes its revolution in four hundred and two hours, I would know how far distant this last satellite is from the center of Jupiter. To solve this question, I lay down the follow-

following rule: As the square of forty-two hours, the revolution of the first satellite, is to the square of four hundred and two hours, the revolution of the last; so is the cube of two diameters and five-sixths to a fourth term. This fourth term being found, I extract its cube root, which cube root is found to be twelve two-thirds: thus I learn, that the fourth satellite is distant from the center of Jupiter twelve and two-thirds of his diameter. I make use of the same rule for all the planets which revolve round the sun. I say; Venus revolves in two hundred and twenty-four days, and the earth in three hundred and sixty-five: the earth is thirty millions of leagues from the sun, how many leagues then must Venus be? I answer; as the square of the earth's year is to the square of the year of Venus, so the cube of the earth's mean distance to a fourth term, whose cube root will be about 21,700,000 leagues, the mean distance of Venus from the sun. I say the same with regard to the earth and Saturn, &c.

This law then is, that the square of one revolution of any planet, is always to the square of the revolutions of the other planets, as the cube of its distance is to the cubes of the distances of the others, from the common center.

Kepler, who found this proportion, was very far from finding the reason of it. Being less a good philosopher than an admirable astronomer, he says (in his fourth book of his Epitome) that the sun hath a soul, not an intelligent soul, *Animum*; but a *vegetative* active soul, *Animam*: that in turning round upon his own

axis, he draws the planets to himself; but that the planets do not fall on the sun, because they also revolve upon their own axes. In making this revolution, says he, they present to the sun sometimes a friendly, sometimes a hostile side; the friendly side is drawn, and the hostile side is repell'd; which produces the annual courses of the planets in eclipses.

It must be confessed, for the humiliation of philosophy, that it was from this reasoning, so very unphilosophical, that he concluded the necessity of the sun's turning round on its axis. Error accidentally conducted him to truth; he conjectured the rotation of the sun on itself, above fifteen years before the eyes of Galileo, discovered it by the help of telescopes.

Kepler adds (in the same book, p. 495) that the mass of the sun, the mass of all the ether, and the mass of the spheres, as the fixed stars, are perfectly equal; and that they are the three symbols of the Holy Trinity.

The reader, who, in perusing these elements, has seen such extravagant dreams, on the side of such sublime truths, in so great a man as Kepler, should not be surprised: a man may be a great genius with regard to calculations and observations, and make a wrong use of his reason on other accounts: there are minds which have need of geometry to support them, and which fall when they endeavour to proceed of themselves. It is not surprizing therefore, that Kepler, in discovering these astronomical laws, did not find out the reason of these laws.

This reason is, that the centripetal force is precisely in the reciprocal proportion of the square of the distance from the center of motion, towards which the forces are directed: this is what we are to observe attentively: In a word, we ought thoroughly to understand, that the law of gravitation is such, that every body which approaches three times nearer to the center of its motion, gravitates nine times more; that if it removes three times farther distant, it will gravitate nine times less; and that, if it removes to an hundred times the distance, it will gravitate less than ten thousand times. A body moving circularly round a center, gravitates then in the reciprocal proportion of the square of its actual distance from the center, as also in direct proportion of the quantity of its matter. It is demonstrable then, that it is gravitation which occasions its revolution round the center, since without this gravitation, it would remove from it, by describing a tangent. This gravitation, therefore, will be found to act most strongly upon a body which revolves with most velocity round the center, and the farther this body shall be removed, the more slowly will it revolve, for then it will become the less ponderous.

Thus have we demonstrated this law of gravitation, in proportion to the squares of distances;

1. By the orbit which the moon describes, and by her distance from the earth, or center.

M 3

2. By

2. By the course of every planet round the sun in an ellipsis.

3. By the comparison of the distances and revolutions of all the planets round the common center.

It will not be superfluous to remark, that this rule of Kepler, which serves to confirm the discovery of Newton, concerning gravitation, confirms also the system of Copernicus, concerning the motion of the earth. It may be said, that Kepler, by this single rule, has demonstrated what was discovered before him, and opened the way to those truths, which were to be discovered in after-time. For, as on the one side, it is demonstrable, that if the law of centripetal forces had no place, Kepler's rules would be impossible: so, on the other, it is demonstrable, that, according to the same rule, if the sun turned round the earth, we ought to say; as the revolution of the moon round the earth, is to the pretended annual revolution of the sun round the earth, so is the square root of the cube of the moon's distance from the earth, to the square root of the cube of the sun's distance from the earth. By this calculation it would be found, that the sun is only 510,000 leagues from us; but it has been proved, that he is distant, at least, about thirty millions of leagues: thus the motion of the earth then has been strictly demonstrated by Kepler. Here follows another very simple demonstration, drawn from the same theorems.

If the earth was the center of the sun's motion, as it is of the moon's, the sun's revolution

tion would take up four hundred and seventy-five years, instead of one year: for the mean distance of the sun from the earth, is to the mean distance of the moon from the earth, as three hundred and thirty-seven is to one: now the cube of the moon's distance is 1, the cube of the sun's distance is 38,272,753, finish the rule, and say, as the cube 1 is to this cube number 38,272,753; so the square of 28, which is the periodical revolution of the moon, to a fourth number. You will find that the sun would employ four hundred and seventy-five years in making its revolution round the earth: which demonstrates, that it is the earth which revolves.

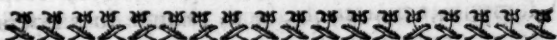
It seems the more proper to place the demonstrations here, as there are yet men destined for the instruction of youth, in Italy, in Spain, in France, and even in England, who doubt, or who affect to doubt, of the earth's motion.

It is prov'd then by Kepler's law, and by that of Newton, that every planet gravitates towards the sun, the center of the orbits which they describe: these laws are observed in the satellites of Jupiter, with regard to Jupiter, their center; in the moons of Saturn, with regard to Saturn; and in our moon, with regard to us: all these secondary planets, which revolve round their central planets, gravitate also with their central planets towards the sun: thus the moon, which is drawn round the earth by the centripetal force, is, at the same time, drawn by the sun, round which she makes her revolution. There is no variety in the moon's course, in

her distances from the earth, in the figure of her orbit, sometimes approaching to an ellipsis, sometimes to a circle, and, which does not flow from gravitation, in proportion to her distance from the earth, and her distance from the sun.

If she does not always, in her orbit, exactly describe equal areas in equal times, sir Isaac Newton has calculated all the cases where this inequality must happen: they all depend on the attraction of the sun, which draws these two globes in direct proportion of their masses, and in reciprocal proportion of the squares of their distances. We shall see in the next chapter, that the smallest variation of the moon, is a necessary effect of these united powers.

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

NEW PROOFS OF ATTRACTION: THAT THE QUALITIES OF THE MOTION OF THE MOON, IN HER ORBIT, ARE THE NECESSARY EFFECTS OF ATTRACTION.

Proof by an Example. Inequalities in the Course of the Moon, all caused by Attraction. Deduction from these Truths. Gravitation is not the Effects of the Planets Courses, but their Courses the Effect of Gravitation. This Gravitation, this Attraction, may be a first Principle established in Nature.

THE moon hath only one equal motion, that of rotation round herself on her own axis; and this is her only motion, which we cannot perceive: It is this motion that presents us always, within a trifle, with the same disk or the moon; so that while she really turns round upon herself, she appears not to turn at all, and to have only a small motion of balancing, or libration, which she has not, but which all antiquity attributed to her. All her motions round the earth are unequal, and ought to be so, if the rule of gravitation be true. The moon, in her monthly course, is necessarily nearer the sun in one certain point, and at one certain time of her course: Now, in this point, and at

this time, her quantity of matter remains the same: her distance only being changed, the attraction of the sun ought to change in reciprocal proportion of the square of this distance: The course of the moon ought then to change; she ought to move swifter at certain times, than the attraction of the earth alone occasions her to move: Now, by the attraction of the earth, she ought to pass over equal areas in equal times, as you have already observed in Chap. 14.

One cannot help admiring the sagacity with which Newton has cleared up all these inequalities, and regulated the course of this planet, which remained till then a secret, notwithstanding all the researches of Astronomers: It is upon this account especially, that we may say,

Nec proprius fas est mortali attingere divos.

Among the examples that may be chosen, let us take the following: Let A (fig. 38.) be the moon; A B N Q, the orbit of the moon; S the sun, B the place of the moon, in her last quarter. She is now evidently at the same distance from the sun as the earth. The difference of the obliquity of her line of direction to the sun being disregarded, the gravitation of the earth and of the moon towards the luminary, is apparently the same. The earth, however, advances in its annual course from T to V, and the moon in her monthly course advances to Z. Now in Z, it is manifest that she is more drawn by the sun S, to which she finds herself nearer than the earth. Her motion then will be accelerated from Z towards N, and the orbit that she

she describes will be changed : But how will it be changed ? In being flattened a little, in approaching more to a right line from Z towards N. Thus, from moment to moment, gravitation changes the course and form of the ellipse in which this planet moves. By the same reason, the moon ought to slacken her course, and to change again the figure of the orbit that she describes, when she returns from her conjunction N, to her first quarter Q; for since from her last quarter she accelerated her course by flattening the curve towards N, the conjunction ; she ought to slacken the same course, by swelling out the curve, in returning from her conjunction to her first quarter. But when the moon ascends from this first quarter towards her full, A, she being then farther from the sun, is less attracted by it, and gravitates more towards the earth. Then the moon accelerating her motion, the curve that she describes is again flattened a little, as in her conjunction. And this is the only reason for which the moon is farthest from us in her quarters, than in her conjunction and opposition. The curve that she describes, is a species of oval, approaching to a circle.

Thus the sun, to which she approaches, or from which she recedes at every instant, must at every instant vary the course of this planet.

She hath also her apogæon and her perigæon, her greatest and her least distance from the earth : but the points, the places of this apogæon and perigæon, must necessarily change. She hath her nodes, that is the points where the orbit she describes, meet precisely the orbit of the

the earth : But these nodes, these points of intersection, must also continually vary. She hath her equator, inclined to the equator of the earth : But this equator, sometimes more and sometimes less attracted, must likewise change its inclination.

She follows the earth, notwithstanding all these varieties, and accompanies it in its annual course : But the earth, in this course, is found to be a million of leagues nearer the sun in winter than in summer. What is the consequence of this, independent of all these other variations ? The attraction of the earth acts more fully upon the moon in summer, and then the moon finishes her monthly course a little sooner : But, on the contrary, in the winter, the earth itself being more attracted by the sun, and moving with greater velocity than in summer, suffers the motion of the moon to diminish, and her winter months to be a small matter longer than those of her summer. The little that we say of them, may suffice to give a general idea of these changes.

If any one should here start the difficulty, which I have heard sometimes proposed, why the moon, when she is most attracted by the sun, does not fall upon that luminary ? We have only to consider for the present, that the force of gravitation, which directs the moon round the earth, is only diminished here by the action of the sun.

From these irregularities of the lunar course, caused by attraction, you will reasonably conclude, that no two planets, sufficiently near, sufficiently large, to act upon one another sensibly,

sibly, can at any time move round the sun in circles, or even in ellipses, absolutely regular. Thus the curves described by Jupiter and Saturn, for example, are subject to sensible variations, when these planets are in conjunction; when being the nearest that possibly they can be to each other, and the farthest from the sun, their mutual action augments, and that of the sun on them diminishes.

This gravitation, augmented and lessened in proportion to the distances, necessarily assigns an irregular elliptical figure for the path of the greatest part of the planets. Thus the law of gravitation is not the effect of the planetary courses, but the orbits which the planets describe are the effect of gravitation. If this gravitation was not, as it really is, in reciprocal proportion of the squares of distances, the present order of the universe could not subsist.

If the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn make their revolution in curves, which approach nearer to a circle, it is because being very near the great planets that are their center, and very far from the sun, the action of the sun cannot change the course of the satellites, as it changes that of our moon. It is manifest then, that gravitation, the name of which alone seems such a strange paradox, is a necessary law in the constitution of the world: So true, very often, is a thing that hardly has the appearance of probability.

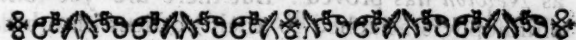
Let us remember here, how absurd the opinion formerly seemed, that the earth was not spherical; and yet it has been proved, that the earth

earth cannot have an entirely spherical form. The like may be said concerning gravitation.

There is not at present any good naturalist, who does not acknowledge both Kepler's rule, and the necessity of admitting a gravitation, such as *Newton* has proved: But there are yet some philosophers attached to their vortices of subtile matter, who would willingly reconcile these imaginary vortices with these other demonstrable truths. We have already seen, how far these vortices are from being probable: But this gravitation itself, does it not furnish a fresh demonstration against them? For supposing that these existed, they could not turn round a center, by the very laws of this gravitation. We must have recourse to gravitation, as the cause of these vortices, and not to the pretended vortices as the cause of gravitation.

If at last, being forced to abandon their imaginary vortices, these gentlemen are reduced to say, that this gravitation, this attraction, on some other cause, or some other secret property of matter; either that property will itself be the effect of some other property unknown, or else it will be a primary cause, a first principle established by the author of nature: Now, why may not the attraction of matter itself be this first principle? *Newton*, at the end of his *Optics*, says, it seems that this attraction is the effect of a spirit, extremely elastic and rare, expanded through all nature; but whence proceeds that elasticity? Is it not also as difficult to comprehend as that of gravitation, attraction and the centripetal force? That force is demonstrated; the elastic spirit is hardly suspected; I will

will not admit a principle, which neither has, nor can be proved, for explaining a thing at once true though incomprehensible, and whose existence all nature demonstrates.



C H A P. VII.

NEW PROOFS AND NEW EFFECTS OF GRAVITATION: THAT THIS POWER IS IN EVERY PARTICLE OF MATTER: DISCOVERIES DEPENDING ON THIS PRINCIPLE.

General and important Remark on the Principle of Attraction. Gravitation and Attraction is equally in all the Particles of Matter. A bold and admirable Calculation of Newton.

WE may collect from all these notions, that the centripetal force, attraction, gravitation, is undoubtedly the principle of the planetary motions, of the descent of all bodies, and of that weight which we experience in bodies. This centripetal force, this attraction, is not, nor can be, the simple power of one body to draw another to itself. We shall consider it here as a power, from which the motion round a center results: This power causes the sun to gravitate towards the center of the planets, as the planets gravitate towards the sun, and draws the earth towards the moon, as well as the moon towards the earth. One of the primitive

mitive laws of motion is yet a fuller demonstration of this truth. This law is, that action and re-action are equal: Thus, if the sun gravitates on the planets, the planets gravitate on the sun; and we shall see at the beginning of the following chapter, in what manner this great law operates. Now this gravitation, acting necessarily in direct proportion of the quantity of matter; and the sun being about 760 times as large as all the planets put together (without reckoning the satellites of Jupiter, and the ring and moons of Saturn) it follows that the sun must be their center of gravitation, and consequently, that they must revolve round that luminary.

Let us carefully remark, that, when we say, the power of gravitation acts *in direct proportion of the quantities of matter*, we always understand that this power of gravitation acts so much the more strongly on a body, as this body has a greater number of particles; and we have demonstrated this, in shewing that a straw descends as swiftly in an exhausted recipient, as a pound of gold. We have said (making allowance only for the small resistance of the air) that a leaden ball, for example, falls fifteen feet in one second, near the surface of the earth: We have demonstrated, that this same ball would fall only fifteen feet in a minute, if it was removed as far as the moon is from the earth; that is, sixty of the earth's semidiameters: Therefore the power of the earth upon the moon, is to the power that it would have upon a leaden ball elevated to the moon, as the solid body of the moon would be to the solid body of this ball.

It

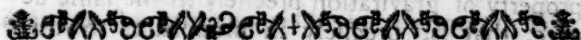
It is in this proportion that the sun acts upon all the planets; he draws Jupiter and Saturn in a direct ratio of the quantity of solid matter, that is in the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, and of that in Jupiter and Saturn.

From hence flows an incontestible truth; that this gravitation is not only in the whole mass of every planet, but in every particle of that mass; and that there is not an atom of matter in the universe, but what is affected with this property.

From among the methods in which Newton has demonstrated, that gravitation is equally in every atom, we will chuse here the most simple. If all parts of a globe had not equally this property, if there were some weaker and some stronger particles, a planet, in turning upon its own axis, would necessarily present sometimes weaker and sometimes stronger sides at the same distance. Thus the same bodies, on all possible occasions, would experience at an equal distance, sometimes one degree of gravitation, sometimes another. The law of reciprocal proportion of the squares of distances, and the law of Kepler would be always inverted, or proved not to subsist. Therefore there is not, in all the planets, any one particle of matter that gravitates more than another. Here follows another demonstration. If there were bodies in which this property was different, some bodies would fall more slowly, others more swiftly, in the exhausted air-pump. But all bodies fall in the same time; and all pendulums of an equal length, whether of gold, of silver, of iron, of maple-wood, or of glass, make equal vibrations in the
air

air in equal times: therefore all bodies have this property of gravitation precisely in the same degree, that is, precisely in proportion to their mass; so that gravitation acts as a hundred upon a hundred atoms, and as ten upon ten atoms.

From truth to truth the human mind rises insensibly to such sublime points of knowledge, as seem to be entirely beyond the sphere of human perspicuity. Newton has ventured, by the help only of the laws of gravitation, to calculate what must be the weight of bodies on other globes, besides that we inhabit; what the same body, for instance, which we here call a pound, must weigh in the moon, in Saturn, in the sun: And as these different weights depends directly on the quantity of matter in these globes, it was necessary to calculate what that quantity is. Let it not be said, after this, that gravitation, that attraction, is an occult quality: Let not any one dare to call by this name, an universal law, which leads to such astonishing discoveries!



C H A P. VIII.

THEORY OF OUR PLANETARY SYSTEM.

Demonstration of the Earth's Motion round the Sun, drawn from Gravitation. Magnitude of the Sun. He turns on his own axis round the common center of the planetary System. He continually changes Place. His Density. In what Proportion Bodies descend to the Sun. Newton's Thoughts concerning the Density of Mercury. Prediction of Copernicus with regard to the Phases of Venus.

THE SUN.

THE sun is the center of our planetary system, and ought necessarily to be there: We do not mean by this, that the middle point of the sun is precisely the center of the system; but that the central point towards which our system gravitates, is necessarily in the body of that luminary, and all planets, having once received their projectile motion, must continually turn round this point, which is in the sun. We prove it thus.

Let the greater of these two globes, A, and B, (fig. 39.) represent the sun, and the lesser, any planet whatsoever. If they are both abandoned

doned to the law of gravitation, and free from all other motion, they will be attracted in direct proportion of their quantity of matter; they will be determined towards one another in a strait line; and A, being a million of times larger than B, will force B to move towards I, a million of times faster than A will move towards B. But let them both have a projectile motion in proportion to their masses, the planet in the line B C, the sun in the line A D, and then the planet is impelled by two forces; it tends in the line B C, and gravitates at the same time towards the sun in the line A B; it will therefore describe the curve B F, and the sun, in like manner, will follow the line A E; and both gravitating towards each other, will turn round a common center: but the sun surpassing the earth in magnitude a million of times, and the curve A E, which he will describe, being a million of times less than that which the earth describes, this common center is necessarily near the middle of the sun.

It is also here again demonstrated, that the earth and the planets turn round this luminary: and this demonstration is by so much the more beautiful and strong, as it is entirely independent on observation, and founded upon the primordial mechanism of the system.

If we make the diameter of the sun equal to 100 diameters of the earth; and if consequently the sun surpasses the earth a million of times in magnitude, it will follow, he is 700 times larger than all the planets together, excepting the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, and Saturn's ring. He gravitates towards the planets,

nets, and the planets also gravitate towards him; it is this gravitation that makes them circulate, by drawing them from a tangent; and the attraction which the sun exercises upon them, surpasses that which they exercise upon him, as much as he surpasses them in quantity of matter. Never lose sight of this truth, that reciprocal attraction is nothing but the law of moveable bodies, all gravitating, and all turning round one common center.

The sun then turns round this common center, that is, upon his own axis, in twenty-five days and an half. His middle point is always a little distant from this common center of gravity, and his body removes from it in proportion as several planets in conjunction attracted him towards them: but if all the planets were on one side, and the sun on the other, the common center of gravity would hardly be out of the sun's body; their united forces being scarcely sufficient to disorder and remove the sun one intire diameter. He really changes place then every moment, according as he is more or less attracted by the planets; and this little approach of the sun re-establishes that disorder which the planets operate on one another: thus the continual irregularity of this luminary preserves the order of nature.

Though he surpasses the earth in magnitude a million of times, he does not contain a million of times more matter, as was before observed. If he was actually a million of times more solid, more compact than the earth, the order of the system would be not what it now is: for the revolutions of the planets, and their distances

distances from their center, depend on their gravitation, and their gravity is in direct proportion of the quantity of matter in the globe, which is their center: therefore, if the sun surpassed our earth and our moon in solid matter, to such a great excess, the planets would be much more attracted, and their ellipses much less regular, than they are at present.

In the second place, the matter of the sun cannot be in proportion to his magnitude; for his globe being all on fire, its rarefaction is necessarily very great, and the matter less in proportion as the rarefaction is greater. By the laws of gravitation it appears, that the sun contains but 250,000 times as much matter as the earth: now the sun, a million of times larger, being but the fourth part of a million more material than the earth; the earth, a million of times less, has, in proportion, four times as much matter as the sun, and is four times as dense.

The same body, according to this computation, which weighs a pond upon the surface of the earth, would weigh twenty five pounds upon the surface of the sun: but the true proportion is only of twenty four to one; because the earth is not in effect four times as dense as the sun, and because the diameter of the sun surpasses that of the earth only ninety five times and an half. The same body which descends here fifteen feet in the first second, would descend about three hundred and fifty feet upon the surface of the sun, all other things being equal.

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The sun loses daily, according to Newton, a little of his substance, and would be, in the revolution of many ages, reduced to nothing, if the comets, which from time to time impinge on his sphere, did not serve to repair his losses; for every thing in the universe alters and is repaired.

MERCURY.

From the sun to the distance of eleven or twelve millions of leagues, or thereabouts, there does not appear any globe. At eleven or twelve millions of leagues from the sun is Mercury, in his mean distance. This is the most excentric of all the planets; he moves in an ellipsis, which places him in his perihelion almost a third nearer the sun than in his aphelion.

Mercury is almost twenty seven times less than the earth: he turns round the sun in eighty eight days, which constitute his year.

His revolution upon his own axis, which forms his day, is unknown; nor can either his weight or his density be ascertained. We only know, that if Mercury be an earth exactly like ours, the matter of its globe must be about eight times more dense than ours; otherwise, every thing there would be in such a degree of effervescence, as would destroy animals of our species in an instant, and cause all matter of the consistence of the waters on our globe to evaporate.

The following is a proof of this assertion. Mercury receives about seven times more light than

than we, in proportion to the square of the distances, because it seems about $2\frac{1}{4}$ times nearer the center of light and heat; it is therefore seven times more sultry, all things being equal. Now, upon our earth, the great heat of a summer being augmented seven or eight times, makes the water boil immediately in large bubbles: therefore it is necessary that every thing should be about seven times more dense than it is, to resist seven or eight times as much heat as the most scorching summer produces in our climates: therefore Mercury ought to be at least seven times more dense than our earth, to make it possible for the same things as subsist on our earth to subsist on the globe of Mercury, all things being equal. In fine, if Mercury receives about seven times more rays than our globe, because it is about $2\frac{2}{3}$ times nearer the sun; by parity of reason, the sun appears in Mercury seven times larger than on our earth.

VENUS.

After Mercury is Venus, at between twenty one and twenty two millions of leagues from the sun in its mean distance: it is as large as the earth, and its year consists of two hundred and twenty four days. We do not yet know the length of its day, that is, of its revolution on its own axis. Very great astronomers believe the day in Venus to be only twenty four hours; others lengthen it to twenty five of our days. There have not hitherto been made any observation, sufficiently certain to shew on which

which side the error lies; but this error, wherever it be, can be only a mistake of the eyes, an error of observation, and not of judgment.

The ellipsis which Venus describes in its year, is less eccentric than that of Mercury: (fig. 40.) Some idea of the paths of these two planets round the sun, may be formed from the figure.

It is not foreign to our purpose to remark here, that Venus and Mercury have different phases with regard to us, as well as the moon. Copernicus was formerly told, that these phases ought to appear in his system; which it was concluded was false, because no such phases could be perceived. If Venus and Mercury, said his antagonists, turn round the sun, and we turn in a greater circle, we ought to see Venus and Mercury sometimes full, sometimes encreasing, &c. but this is what we have never seen. It is nevertheless what really happens, answered Copernicus, and what you will see hereafter, if ever you find means to render your sight sufficiently perfect. The invention of telescopes, and the observations of Galileo, conspired, soon after, to accomplish the prediction of Copernicus. As to other particulars, nothing certain can be said concerning the quantity of matter in Venus, or the weight of bodies on that planet.



C H A P. IX.

THEORY OF THE EARTH.

Examination of its Figure.

I shall treat more fully of the theory of the earth, and first examine its figure, which necessarily results from the laws of attraction, and its rotation round its own axis. I shall shew its motions, and conclude this theory of our globe, with the most evident proofs of the cause of the tides; a phænomenon, till Newton, inexplicable, and now the noblest proof of the truths taught by that great mathematician. I begin with the figure of our globe.

OF THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.

History of the Opinions with regard to the Figure of the Earth. Richer's Discovery, and its Consequences. Huyghens's Theory. Newton's Theory. Disputes in France concerning the Figure of the Earth.

THE first astronomers in Asia and Egypt soon perceived, by the projection of the earth's shadow in lunar eclipses, that the earth is round; the Hebrews, who were wretched philoso-

philosophers, imagined it to be flat : with them, the sky was a semivault covering the earth, whose figure or extent they knew nothing of ; but hoped some time or other to get the whole of it into their power. This conceit, of the earth being of small extent, prevailed a long time among the christians ; many doctors of the fifteenth century made no question but that the earth was flat and long from east to west, and very narrow from north to south. A bishop of Avila, who wrote at that time, considers the contrary opinion as a heresy and an absurdity ; at length reason and the voyages of Columbus restored the spherical figure of the earth. Then the learned world ran from one extreme to the other ; the earth was conceived to be a perfect sphere, as afterwards it was believed that the planets performed their revolutions in a true circle. But when it came to be well known that our globe turns round on its axis in twenty four hours, this alone was a sufficient indication that its figure could not be perfectly round. Not only the centrifugal force raises the waters considerably in the region of the equator, by the motion of the rotation in twenty four hours ; but by the tides, they are also raised there, twice a day, to the height of about twenty five feet ; thus the countries about the equator would be perpetually under water ; but they are not ; the region of the equator then, is, in proportion, much higher than the rest of the earth ; the earth then is a spheroid raised at the equator, and cannot be a perfect sphere. This proof, so easily discovered, had

escaped the greatest geniuses; such an enemy to investigation is universal prejudice.

Every one knows that Richer, in a voyage to la Cayenne, near the equator, undertaken in 1672 by order of Lewis XIV. under the auspices of Colbert, that liberal father of all the arts and sciences; Richer, I say, among many observations, found that the vibrations or oscillations of the pendulum of his clock to be slower than in the latitude of Paris, and that it was absolutely necessary to shorten the pendulum a line and something above a quarter. Natural philosophy and geometry were not, at that time, arrived to the present degree of perfection: who could have thought that this observation, apparently so insignificant, that a line more or less should be the cause of discovering the most noble physical truths? It appeared immediately, that gravity must be less at the equator than in our latitude; it being gravity alone which causes a pendulum to oscillate, consequently, the weight of bodies decreasing, the more distant these bodies are from the center of the earth, the region of the equator must be elevated considerably above ours, and therefore more distant from the center; thus the earth could not be a perfect sphere. These discoveries induced many philosophers to act as men do when they are about changing their opinions. Richer's experiment was canvassed; it was asserted, that if the vibrations of pendulums were slower near the equator than with us, it was owing to the rod being lengthened by the heat; but it appeared that the heat of the hottest summer lengthens it only a line
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in thirty feet; whereas here was a line and a quarter, a line and an half, and even two lines, in an iron rod not above three feet eight lines in length.

Some years after, Mefs. Varin, Deshayes, Feuillée, and Couplet, repeated, near the equator, the same experiments of the pendulum; and all shewed that it must be shortened, tho' very often the heat under the line was less than at fifteen or twenty degrees from the equator. This experiment has been farther confirmed by the academicians sent by Lewis XV. to Peru, who, in the neighbourhood of Quito, on mountains where it froze, were obliged to shorten their second-pendulum near two lines †.

Nearly about that time, the academicians who went to measure an arch of the meridian in the north, found that at Pello, beyond the polar circle, it was necessary to lengthen the pendulum, to render it equal to those at Paris. Gravity is therefore greater at the polar circle than in France, as it is greater in the latter than at the equator. If gravity be greater in the north, the north is nearer the center than the equator; the earth therefore is flattened towards the poles.

Never was there a more perfect agreement between experience and reason in proof of a truth. The famous Huyghens, by calculating the centrifugal forces, had proved, that gravity must be less at the equator than at the poles, and consequently the earth must be a spheroid

This was written in 1736.

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flattened.

flattened at the poles, Newton, by the principles of attraction, had drawn nearly the same conclusions; it must only be remarked, that Huyghens believed this an inherent force in bodies, determining them to the center of the globe; but this primitive gravity to be everywhere alike. He was then so great a stranger to Newton's discoveries, that he considered the decrease of gravity only by the theory of centrifugal forces; and the primitive gravity under the equator, as diminished by the effect of the centrifugal forces. The smaller the circles become in which this centrifugal force acts, the more this force yields to that of gravity: thus, under the very pole, there being no centrifugal force, primitive gravity is in possession of its whole action. But this principle of a gravity every where equal, is exploded by Newton's discovery, which we have already explained, that a body removed, for instance, to ten diameters from the center of the earth, weighs a hundred times less than at one diameter.

It is therefore by the laws of gravitation, combined with those of the centrifugal force, that the figure of the earth is truly and clearly exhibited; and of this theory Newton and Gregory were so certain, as to make no difficulty of advancing, that the experiments on gravity shewed the figure of the earth with more certainty than any geographical mensuration.

Lewis XIV. had signalized his reign by that meridian which traverses France. The famous Cassini, assisted by his son, had, in 1701, drawn from the foot of the Pyrenees, to the observatory,

observatory, a line as straight as possible, thro' almost unsurmountable obstacles, which the heights of mountains, the variation of refraction in the air, and the disorders to which instruments are exposed, were continually throwing in the way of this grand and critical enterprize. During that year he measured six degrees eighteen minutes of this meridian. But, to whatever cause the error was owing, he found the degrees towards Paris, that is, towards the north, shorter than those towards the Pyrenees, or south. This mensuration contradicted both that of Norwood, and the new theory of the earth's being flattened towards the poles. This new theory, however, was so generally admitted, that the secretary of the academy, in his history of 1701, made no scruple of saying, that the new mensurations taken in France, proved the earth to be an oblate spheroid. Cassini's mensurations indeed produced a conclusion directly opposite: but the figure of the earth, not being as yet a question in France, this false conclusion passed unnoticed. The degrees of the meridian from Collioure to Paris, were considered as exactly measured, and the earth at the pole, though by these mensurations necessarily lengthened, was considered as flattened.

M. de Roubais, an engineer, amazed at the conclusion, demonstrated that by the mensurations taken in France, the earth must be an oblong or prolate spheroid, of which the meridian from one pole to the other is longer than the equator, and the earth lengthened at the poles:

But of all the philosophers, to whom he has inscribed his dissertation, not one would consent to the printing it; the academy having, as they imagined, pronounced absolutely, and an appeal seemed too bold in a private person. Some time after the error committed in 1701 was perceived, a retraction was made, and by a just conclusion drawn from a false principle, the earth was lengthened at the poles. The meridian was now continued from Paris to Dunkirk; and still the degrees were found to shorten, in proceeding towards the north. About this time, some mathematicians engaged in the like experiments in China; were amazed to find any difference between the lengths of their degrees, which they thought must be all equal; and, after repeated attempts, to find them shorter towards the north, than towards the south. This agreement between the mathematicians of France and those of China, was a strong proof of the earth's being an oblong spheroid. This was not all, parallels to the equator was measured in France. It is easily conceived that on an oblong spheroid, our degrees of longitude must be smaller than on a sphere. The parallel passing through St. Malo, M. Cassini found 1037 toises shorter than it ought to have been, if the earth had been a sphere. This degree was therefore incomparable shorter than it would have been on an oblate spheroid.

All these erroneous mensurations proved, that the degrees were as they wished to find them; the demonstrations of Newton and Huygens, were, for a time, exploded in France, and no question was made, but the earth was of a figure

figure quite opposite to that of the former opinion.

At length the new academicians, who went to the polar circle in 1736, having, by other mensurations, found a degree in those climates to be much longer than in France, it created a doubt between them and Cassini; but this doubt was soon after removed; for the same gentlemen, at their return from the polar circle, again examined the degree measured by Picard, in 1677, to the northward of Paris, and found it one hundred and twenty-three toises longer than Picard had made it. If therefore Picard, with all his precautions, had made his degree one hundred and twenty-three toises too short; there was great reason to suspect, that the degrees towards the south would afterwards be found longer than they should be. Thus Picard's first error, as it had been the foundation of the mensurations of the meridian, served also as an excuse for the almost unavoidable errors, which very good astronomers might have committed in that arduous undertaking: the academicians, now returned from the north, had on their side both theory and practice in this dispute; and both were confirmed by an acknowledgment, made to the academy in 1740, by the famous Cassini's grandson, who possessed all the merits of his father and grandfather; and who had just finished his mensuration of a parallel to the quator. He owned that this mensuration, which had been made with all the attention the dispute required, proved the earth flattened at the pole. This magnanimous acknowledgment should terminate the dispute to

the honour of all parties. The difference of so many measurements shews how easily we may be mistaken. The thickness of a hair on our planet, answers in the heavens to millions of leagues. Newton was much better assured of the oblate figure of the earth, by his demonstrations, than it is possible to be of the degree of that flattening, by the best instruments.

The difference between the sphere and spheroid does not cause a greater or lesser circumference; for the superficies of a circle, changed into an oval, is neither enlarged nor diminished, as the difference between the two diameters is not above seven leagues; an immense difference to disputants, but insensible to those, who, in their mensurations of the terrestrial globe, consider only the utility resulting from their performance. There is not a geographer, who could in a map render this difference perceivable, nor a navigator, who could ever know whether he sailed on a spheroid, or on a sphere. But the difference between the mensurations which made the spheroid prolate, and those which made it oblate, was little short of a hundred leagues, and therefore affected navigation.



G H A P. X.

OF THE PERIOD OF TWENTY-FIVE THOU-
SAND NINE HUNDRED AND TWENTY
YEARS, CAUSED BY ATTRACTION.

*General Mistake in the Language of Astronomy.
History of the Discovery of this Period. Not
favourable to Newton's chronology. Explica-
tion of it by the Greeks. Enquiries into the
Cause of this Period.*

IF the figure of the earth be an effect of gra-
vitation or attraction, this powerful principle
of nature is also the cause of all the motions of
the earth, in its annual course. In this course
it has a motion, the period of which is com-
pleted in about twenty-six thousand years; this
period is termed the precession of the equi-
noxes; but to explain this motion and its cause,
we must take a retrospective view of things.

The common language, with regard to astro-
nomy, is one perpetual opposition to truth.
The planets are said to perform their revolutions
on the equator, that the sun, like them, daily
revolves round the earth from east to west;
while the planets, by another motion opposite to
the sun, turn slowly from west to east; that the
planets

planets are stationary and retrograde. Nothing of which is true; it is known that the cause of all these phænomena is the motion of the earth. But we continue to express ourselves as if the earth was immoveable, and the common language is retained, as the language of truth would be too contradictory to our eyes, and to the constant prejudices, still more deceptive than sight.

But astronomers never speak in a manner less consonant to truth, than when, in their almanacks, they say, *the sun enters the spring in such a degree of Aries; summer begins with the sign of Cancer; and autumn with Libra.* These signs have long had new places in the heavens relatively to our seasons; and therefore, it is high time to alter the way of speaking, and one day we must: for, in reality, our spring begins when the sun rises with Taurus, our summer with Leo, our autumn with Scorpio, our winter with Aquarius; or to speak more accurately, our seasons begin when the earth, in its annual course, is in the signs opposite to those which rise with the sun.

Hipparchus was the first among the Greeks, who perceived the sun not to rise at the beginning of spring in the same signs as formerly; this astronomer lived about sixty years before our common æra. The lateness of such a discovery, which ought to have been made much sooner, proves the Greeks were no proficient in astronomy. It is thought (but it is only one author in the second century who says so) that at the time of the expedition of the Argonauts,
Chiron,

Chiron, the astronomer, fixed the beginning of spring, i. e. the point where the ecliptic of the earth cut the equator, in the fifteenth degree of Aries. It is a certain fact, that above five hundred years after, Meton and Euctemon observed, the sun at the beginning of summer, to enter the eighth degree of Cancer; and consequently the vernal equinox was no longer in the fifteenth degree of Aries, the sun had advanced seven degrees eastward since the Argonautic expedition. On these observations of Meton and Euctemon, made five hundred years after that expedition, and a year before the Peloponnesian war, Newton has in part founded his system for the amendment of chronology; and concerning which I cannot forbear submitting my scruples to the judgment of the learned:

Had Meton and Euctemon found such a palpable difference, as seven degrees, between the sun's place in Chiron's and their time, I think, they must have discovered this precession of the equinoxes, and the period resulting from it. A simple rule of three would have done it; it was only saying; If the sun advances about seven degrees in a little above five hundred years, in how many years will he finish the whole circle? There was the period ready found. Yet nothing of it was known till Hipparchus's time; which silence induces me to suspect, that Chiron is said to have known more of it than he really did; and that it was not till afterwards, that he was thought to have fixed the vernal equinox at the fifteenth degree of Aries. It was imagined

gined he had done it, because he should have done it. Ptolemy does not say a word of it in his *Almagest*; and this consideration appears in my opinion to affect Newton's chronology.

It was not from Chiron's observations, but by those of Aristillus and Meton, compared with his own, that Hipparchus began to have some suspicion of a new vicissitude in the course of the sun. Ptolemy, about two hundred years after Hipparchus, ascertained the fact, though in a confused manner. This revolution was thought to be a degree in a hundred years; and it is from this false calculation, that the great year of the world was made to consist of thirty-six thousand years; whereas this motion is truly but a degree, or thereabouts, in seventy-two years; and according to the most received computations, the period is only twenty-five thousand, nine hundred and twenty years. The Greeks, who were not acquainted with the ancient Asiatic system, revived by Copernicus, had no thought of this period's having any relation to the earth. They imagined a chimerical *primum mobile*, by which all the stars, the planets, and the sun, were, in twenty-four hours, carried round the earth; then a crystalline heaven, which, in thirty-six thousand years, slowly turned from west to east, and which, I know not how, made the stars to move in a retrograde order, contrary to their *primum mobile*; all the other planets, and the sun itself, performed their annual revolution, each in its crystalline heaven; and this was called philosophy.

phy. At length, in the last century, it came to be known, that this precession of the equinoxes, this long period, proceeded wholly from a motion of the earth, whose equator from year to year, cuts the ecliptic in different points, as shall be now explained.

But before I prove the motion, and shew the cause of it, may I farther be allowed to enquire what might be the reason of this period?

Whatever presumption there may be in determining the creator's reasons, yet to say that we have guessed the utility of the other motions of our globe, is at least considered as excusable.

If from year to year, in its great orbit, it travels at least about a hundred and ninety-eight millions of leagues round the sun, it is to this course we owe the seasons. If it turns on its own axis in twenty-four hours, the distribution of days and nights is probably one of the creator's ends in this rotation. There appears to me another necessary reason of this daily motion, which is, that, without this revolution on itself, the earth would have no centrifugal force, all its parts being compressed towards the center, by the centripetal force, would become an unsurmountable adhesive mass, the consequence of which must be a total sterility.

In a word, we rashly conceive the usefulness and benefit of all the motions of the earth; but for this motion of the pole in twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years, it has no evident utility. By this motion, our present polar star, will, one day, be no longer such, and it is proved not to have been ever there;
the

the equinoxes, and the solstices alter; the sun, whatever all the almanacks say, is no longer in Aries at our spring-equinox; it is in Taurus, and in process of time will be in Aquarius; And what of all this? No new seasons, no new distribution of heat and light are produced by this change; every thing in nature continues the same. Whence then this period of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years, so long, and at the same time, in appearance so useless?

In all the compound machines we are acquainted with, there is ever some effect, not of itself producing the benefit derived from the machine, but is a necessary consequence of its construction; for instance, in a water-mill, a great deal of the water falling on the floats is scattered, on all sides, by the motion of the wheel; this water is of no use to the machine, but is an indispensable effect of the wheel's motion. The noise of a hammer hath nothing in common with the body fashioned on the anvil by the hammer, yet the vibration of the anvil must necessarily accompany that action. The vapour exhaling from a boiling liquor, necessarily comes from it, without contributing in the least to the use we make of that liquor: and he who believes these effects to be necessary, though often of no sensible utility, forms a true judgment of them.

If we may for a moment compare the works of God with those of our defective art, it may be said, that in this immense machine, he has so disposed or arranged things, that many defects follow

follow indispensably, though without being of any advantage to us. This seems to be entirely the case of this period of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years: it is a necessary effect of the sun and moon.

In order to form a clear idea of this periodical motion of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years, we are first to imagine the earth (fig. 41.) carried annually round the sun on its axis, A B, parallel to itself. This axis moving from west to east, seems always directed towards the pole-star; the earth in the mid-way of its annual course, that is, if the reader pleases, from spring to autumn, has travelled about 98,000,000 of leagues; a space, which, however large, is nothing when compared to the extreme distance of this star, which it would always equally behold, if the axis of the earth was always in the same direction, A B, as you now see it. But this axis does not always keep this position; and after a great number of years, this axis, imagined in the line of the ecliptic, will be no longer in the situation A B. It no longer observes its motion of parallelism; is no longer directed towards this polar star. This different direction is hardly any thing with regard to the immense extent of the heavens, but is very considerable with regard to the motion of our pole.

Imagine, therefore, this little globe of the earth performing its very little revolution of about 198,000,000 of leagues, which is no more than a point in the immensity of the starry expanse; its pole, which answers to this polar star at P (fig. 42.) will, at the end of seventy-two years, be removed a degree. In six thousand

land five hundred years, this pole will point towards the star T; and after about thirteen thousand years, will answer to the star Z. Our axis will successively move from Z to F, and return to P; so that at the expiration of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, or thereabouts, we shall have the same polar star as at present.

After giving a figure of this revolution of our axis, the physical reason of it will be easily known. Let us remember, that Newton, speaking of the inequalities in the motion of the moon, has demonstrated that they all depend on the attraction of the sun and earth combined together. It is this attraction, this gravitation, which continually changes the position of the moon, as we have already seen in Chap. VI. And, reciprocally, the attraction of the sun and that of the moon, acting on the earth, continually change the position of our globe. Let us remember, that the earth is much higher at the equator than towards the poles. Imagine the earth to be in T, (fig. 43.) the sun in S, the moon in E, did the earth and moon constantly revolve in the plane of the equator, it is certain that this elevation of the land, D E, would be always equally attracted; but when the earth is not in the equinoxes, this elevated part T, for instance, is attracted by the sun and by the moon, which I suppose in this situation. Then falls out what must happen to a biased bowl, or one unequally loaded, rolling on a plane. It would vacillate; it would incline. Conceive this part D falling towards E, by the attraction of the sun, it cannot pass from D to E,

E, without the terrestrial pole, **P**; changing its situation, and moving from **P** to **Z**; but this pole cannot move from **P** to **Z** without the earth's equator answering to another part of the heavens than that to which it answered before. Thus, at the end of the seventy-two years, the points of the equinoxes and solstices answer to a different degree in the heavens. Thus, in the time of Hipparchus, the equinox happened when the sun appeared in the first point of Aries, that is, in fact, when the earth was entering Libra, the opposite sign to Aries; and this equinox happens in our days, when the sun seems to be in Taurus; that is, when the earth is in Scorpio, the opposite sign to Taurus. Thus all the constellations have changed their place; Taurus is where Aries was, and Gemini occupies the place of Taurus.

This gravitation, which is the sole cause of the revolution in twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years in our globe, is also the cause of the lunar revolution of nineteen years, called the lunar cycle, and of the revolution of the moon's apses in nine years. The very same thing precisely happens to the moon, in its rotation round our earth, with regard to this elevation of our globe towards the equator. So that the moon may be considered as if it were an elevation or ring belonging to the earth; in the same manner, this eminence of the equator may be considered as a ring of several moons.

It is easily perceived that the sun must have a greater share than the moon in that motion of the earth, which causes the precession of the equinoxes.

equinoxes. The action of the sun, in the present case, is to that of the moon, exactly as that of the moon is to that of the sun in the tides.

The reader doubtless apprehends, that since the waters rise at the equator, the sun and moon acting on that equator must act more forcibly on the tides. The sun contributes to this motion of the precession of the equinoxes nearly as three, and the moon as one. On the contrary, in the tides, the sun acts only as one, and the moon as three. An amazing calculation reserved for our age, and perfectly conformable to the laws of gravitation, which all nature conspires to demonstrate.

CHAP.



C H A P. XI.

OF THE FLUX AND REFLUX. THAT THIS
PHÆNOMENON IS A NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE OF GRAVITATION.

The imaginary Vortices cannot be the Cause of the Tides. Proved. Gravitation the only evident Cause of the Tides.

IF the vortices of subtile matter ever had an air of verisimilitude to recommend them, it is with regard to the flux and reflux of the ocean. If the waters sink under the tropics, when they rise towards the poles, it is, say some, because the air presses on the water under the tropics. But why should the pressure of the air be greater there than elsewhere? It is from its being pressed itself; it is because the course of the subtile matter is contracted by the passage of the moon. What increased this verisimilitude was, that the tides are higher at the new and full moons than in the quarters; and, lastly, that the return of the tides to each meridian, very nearly followed the return of the moon to each meridian. But what appears so very likely is, in reality, quite impossible. It has been already shewn, that there can be no such thing as these vortices of subtile matter;

but

but were they real, they could not in the least cause the flux and reflux.

1. Supposing such a vortex of subtile matter, all the lines would equally pass towards the center of our globe. Thus the moon, if at any time pressing, must press equally in her quarters and full; therefore there would be no such thing as tides.

2. By a reason equally strong, no body carried along by a fluid, can press that fluid more than an equal volume of the same fluid; a body in equilibrium in water, is equal to a similar volume of water. If a hundred entire feet of water more be put into a fish-pond, or a hundred fish swimming on the surface, each equal to a cubic foot; or, put only one single fish, with ninety-nine feet of water more, the effect will be absolutely the same; in either of these cases, the bed of the fish-pond will sustain an equal weight. Thus, whether there was one, or an hundred moons over our seas, it would be absolutely the same in the imaginary system of vortices and a plenum. Neither of these moons are to be considered otherwise than as an equal quantity of fluid matter.

3. The flux happens in the circumference of the ocean, under the same meridian, and in opposite points, in the same time. The sea (fig. 44.) sinks at the same time at A and B. Now, granting that the moon could press the torrent of subtile matter on the ocean, A, the waters would then rise at B instead of sinking: for gravitation towards the center is, in this system, the effect of the pretended subtile matter. Now this imaginary fluid, by pressing the waters of the

the ocean at A, must raise them where its pressure is less; and where can the pressure be less than at B? What is meant by saying that B also sinks by a rebound? For when has it been known, that by pressing any body whatever on one side, the opposite side has been pierced? Take a bladder pretty well filled with air, will there be a cavity on one side by making a cavity on the other? Will it not, on the contrary rise or swell in the point opposite to that where the pressure is made?

4. Did this chimerical pressure obtain, would not the compressed air between the tropics cause the mercury in the barometer, between the tropics, to rise? But, on the contrary, the mercury is always something lower in the torrid zone than towards the poles. Thus what at first appeared so very specious, when brought to the test appears an impossibility.

Gravitation, that principle so acknowledged, so demonstrated; that force so inherent in all bodies, here shews itself in the most conspicuous manner, as the evident cause of the tides. This is very easily understood. The earth turns on its axis, the surrounding waters turn with it. The great circle of every spheroid revolving on its axis, is that which has most motion; the centrifugal force increases in proportion to the magnitude of this circle. This circle, A, (fig. 45.) feels more centrifugal force than the circles B. It is therefore, by this centrifugal force, that the sea rises towards the equator; and not only the waters, but even the lands near the equator, are also necessarily raised.

This

This centrifugal force would carry away all the parts of the earth and sea, did not its antagonist, the centripetal force, draw them towards the center of the earth. Now every sea between the tropics and the poles, having less centrifugal force, and describing a much smaller circle, is more affected by the centripetal force; it gravitates more towards the earth; it presses that motion which extends towards the equator, and by this pressure contributes something to the elevation of the sea under the line. Such is the state of the ocean, only from the combination of the central forces. Now what must follow from the attraction of the moon and the sun? This constant elevation of the waters between the tropics must still increase, if this elevation happens to be opposite to some globe which attracts it. Now the region between the tropics of our earth is always under the sun and moon; therefore the elevation of the sun and moon must have some effect on the tropics.

1. If the sun and moon act on the waters in these regions, this action must be greater at the time when the moon is most opposite to the sun; that is, in opposition, and in conjunction, at the full and new moon than at the quarters; for in the quarters, being more oblique to the sun, it must act on one side, when the sun acts on the other; their actions must be opposite; one must diminish the other; accordingly at the syzygies the tides are higher than at the quarters.

2. The moon, when new, being on the same side with the sun, must act the more powerfully on the earth, as it attracts it merely in the same direction as it is drawn by the sun. The tides then,

every thing else being equal, must be something stronger in the conjunction than in the opposition; and so it is found.

3. The highest tides of the year must fall out at the equinoxes, and they must be higher at the new moon than at the full. Draw a line from the sun passing near the moon L (figure 46) and reaching to the equator of the earth. The equator AQ, is attracted by these globes almost in the same line. The waters must rise more than at any other time; and as they can only rise gradually, their greatest elevation is not directly at the moment of the equinox, but a day or two after, in DZ.

4. If by these laws the tides of the new moon at the equinox are the highest in the year, the tides in the quarters after the equinox must be the lowest in the year; for the sun is yet, very nearly over the equator; but the moon at that time is, as you see, very far from it. For the moon L (figure 47) will in eight days be at R. The ocean therefore is in the same case as a weight drawn by two powers, acting once perpendicularly on it, but now acting only obliquely. These two powers have no longer the same force; the sun no longer gives to the moon the power he added when the moon, earth and sun were almost in the same perpendicular.

5. By the same laws the tides must be stronger immediately before the vernal equinox than after; and, on the contrary, stronger after the autumnal equinox than before. For if the action of the sun at the equinoxes, add to the action of the moon; the sun must add the more action in proportion as we shall be nearer that luminary. Now we are nearer the sun before the 21st of March, when he enters the equinox, than after: and, on the contrary, we

are nearer the sun after the 21st of September than before. Therefore the highest tides, one year with another, should happen before the vernal and after the autumnal equinox, as experience confirms.

After proving that the sun conspires with the moon in elevating the sea, let us enquire into the quantity of this concurrence. Newton and others have calculated the mean elevation in the middle of the ocean at twelve feet: the sun raises it three and a quarter, and the moon eight and three quarters.

Further, these tides of the ocean seem, like the precession of the equinoxes; and the twenty five thousand nine hundred years period of the earth, a necessary effect of the laws of gravitation, without our being able to assign any final cause; for to say with so many writers, that God has given us tides for the convenience of our trade, is forgetting that it is little more than two hundred and fifty years since men traded across the ocean; it is also a bold affirmation to say that the flux and reflux are an advantage to harbours; and even were it true, that the tides of the ocean are serviceable to commerce, are we to say, that God appointed them for that intention? How many ages have land and sea subsisted before navigation became subservient to our new wants; What, said an ingenious philosopher, because at the end of a prodigious number of years, the invention of spectacles was compleated, shall we say that God made our noses to wear spectacles? The same authors likewise assure us, that the flux and reflux are appointed by God to prevent the sea from stagnating and, its consequence, corruption; they again forget that the Mediterranean does not stagnate, tho' it has no tides. When we thus pretend to assign the reasons for every thing God has made, we fall into the strangest errors

errors. They who are guided by calculation, weight, and measure, often deceive themselves; what then must they do who only guess?

We shall not here carry our researches on gravitation any farther. When the author published them in 1736, this doctrine was yet quite new in France; it is no longer so, and we must act according to the times; the more men are become knowing, the less should be written.

CHAP. XII.

CONCLUSION.

LET us conclude with a recapitulation of all we have said in this work. 1. That there is an active power impressing on all bodies a tendency towards one another. 2. That relatively to the celestial globes, this power acts in an inverse proportion to the squares of the distances from the center of motion, and in direct proportion to the masses: this power is called attraction with regard to the center and gravity, with regard to bodies, gravitating towards the center.

3. That this same power causes moving bodies to descend on our earth in a tendency towards the center.

4. That the same cause acts between light and bodies, as we have observed, tho' in what proportion is unknown.

As to the cause of this power, so fruitless sought both by Newton and all his followers, what can we do better than translate what that great man says in his last page of his principles; in expressions that shew him equally a sublime philosopher and a profound geometrician; "hitherto we have explained the phænomena of the heavens and our sea by the power of gravity; but have not yet assigned the cause of this power. This is certain, that it must proceed from

" from a cause that penetrates to the very cen-
 " ters of the sun and planets, without suffering
 " the least mention of its force ; that operates,
 " not according to the quantities of the surfaces
 " of the particles upon which it acts, as mecha-
 " nical causes do, but according to the quantity
 " of the solid matter they contain; and propa-
 " gates its virtue on all sides to immense dis-
 " tances, increasing always in the duplicate pro-
 " portion of the distances," &c. This is saying
 very clearly, and very strongly, that attraction
 is a principle not mechanical. And some lines
 after he adds " I frame no hypothesis, *hypotheses*
 " *non fingo* ; for whatever is not deduced from
 " phenomena, is to be called an hypothesis ; and
 " hypothesis whether metaphysical or physical,
 " whether of occult causes or mechanical, have
 " no place in experimental philosophy." I do
 not say, that this principle of gravitation is in
 the only instrument of nature ; there are probably
 many other secrets we have not yet discovered,
 which conspire with gravitation in supporting
 the order of the universe. Gravitation, for in-
 stance, does not account for the revolution of
 planets on their own axes, nor for the determi-
 nation of their orbs in one direction rather than
 another, nor for the surprizing effects of elastici-
 ty, electricity, and magnetism. A time perhaps
 may come, when by the increase of experiments,
 some other hidden principles may be discovered.
 Every thing informs us that matter has many
 more properties than we are acquainted with.
 We are yet only on the brink of an immense
 ocean ; how many things remain to be discover-
 ed ! But how many things also be beyond the
 sphere of our capacities !



J. Hall sculp.

PETER THE GREAT,
CZAR OF MOSCOVY.

14 A A i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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THE

WORKS

MILITARY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF THE

OF THE

VOLUME TWENTY

BY

JOHN B. HARRIS

NEW YORK

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
UNDER
PETER THE GREAT:
PART I.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE

PETER THE GREAT

PART I

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

S E C T. I.

WHO could have pretended to say in the year 1700, that a magnificent and polite court would be formed at the extremity of the Gulph of Finland? that the inhabitants of Solikam, Casan, and the banks of the Wolga and Saick, would be ranked amongst our best disciplined troops, and gain victories in Germany, after defeating the Swedes and the Turks; that an empire of two thousand leagues in length, almost unknown to us before, should in the space of fifty years become a well-governed state, and extend its influence to all the European courts? and that in 1759, the most zealous patron of learning in Europe, should be a Russian? Any one who had said this, would have passed for the most chimerical mortal upon earth. PETER the GREAT, therefore, who singly planned and executed this amazing and altogether unforeseen revolution, is, perhaps, of all princes, the one whose deeds are most worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The court of Petersbourg has furnished the historian, charged with compiling this work, with all the authentic documents. It is said in

the body of this history, that these memoirs are deposited in the public library of Geneva, a well-known and frequented city, in the neighbourhood of which the author lives; but as the whole of the instructions and journal of Peter the Great have not yet been communicated to him, he has thought proper to keep these records at his own house; where the curious may have a sight of them, with as much ease as from the library-keepers at Geneva, and the whole shall be deposited there as soon as the second volume is finished.

The public have already several pretended histories of Peter the Great, most of them compiled from news-papers. That which was published at Amsterdam, in four volumes, under the name of the *Boyard Nestesuranoy*, is one of those impositions of the press, which are become too common amongst us. Of this kind are the memoirs of Spain, under the name of *Don Juan de Colmenar*, and the history of Lewis XIV. compiled by *La Motte*, the jesuit, from pretended papers of a minister of state, and ascribed to La Martiniere. Such also are the histories of the emperor Charles VI. of prince Eugene, and many others.

In this manner has the noble art of printing been made to serve the purposes of the vilest traffic. A Dutch bookseller orders a book to be wrote, just as a manufacturer gives directions for weaving of a piece of cloth; and unhappily there are authors to be found, whose necessities oblige them to sell their labours to these dealers, like workmen, for hire; hence arise these insipid panegyrics, and defamatory libels, with which
the

the public is over-run, and is one of the most shameful vices of the age.

Never did history stand more in need of authentic vouchers, than at this time, when so infamous a traffic is made of falshood. The author who now offers to the public, *The History of the RUSSIAN EMPIRE under PETER the GREAT*, is the same who thirty years ago wrote the history of Charles XII. from the papers of several eminent persons in public stations, who had lived with that monarch for a considerable time. The present history is a confirmation of, and supplement to the former.

And here the author thinks himself obliged, out of respect to the public, and a regard to truth, to set to view an undeniable testimony of the degree of credit due to the history of Charles XII.

Not long since, the king of Poland and duke of Lorrain ordered that work to be read over a second time to him at Commercy, when he was struck with the truth of a multitude of facts, to which he himself had been eye-witness, and so incensed at the boldness with which certain li-bellers and journalists had controverted their authenticity, that he resolved to enforce, by the authority of his own testimony, the credit due to the historian; and as it was not proper for him to write himself, he ordered one of the great officers of his household, to draw up the following instrument, * in form of a certificate.

* Finding himself under a necessity of printing this certificate, the author has only taken the liberty of sparing the reader some expressions which appeared too favourable, being fully sensible that he owes them wholly to the indulgence and goodness of the prince; and for that reason, has confined himself to such parts of it only as give testimony in favour of the truth.

“ Nous Lieutenant Général des armées du
 “ Roi, Grand Maréchal des Logis de sa Ma-
 “ jesté Polonoise, & Commandant en Toulous,
 “ les deux Barois, &c. certifions que sa Ma-
 “ jesté Polonoise, après avoir entendu la lecture
 “ de l'histoire de CHARLES XII. écrite par
 “ Monsieur De V (dernière édition de
 “ Genève) après avoir lû le stile de
 “ cette histoire, & avoir admiré ces traits
 “ qui caractérisent tous les ouvrages de cet il-
 “ lustre auteur, nous a fait l'honneur de nous
 “ dire qu'il était prêt à donner un certificat à
 “ Monsieur De V , pour constater l'ex-
 “ acte vérité des faits contenus dans cette his-
 “ toire. Ce Prince a ajouté que Monsieur De
 “ V n'a oublié, ni déplacé aucun fait,
 “ aucune circonstance intéressante, que tout est
 “ vrai, que tout est en son ordre dans cette his-
 “ toire: qu'il a parlé sur la Pologne, & sur
 “ tous les événemens qui y sont arrivés, &c.
 “ comme s'il en eût été témoin oculaire. Cer-
 “ tifions de plus, que ce Prince nous a ordonné
 “ d'écrire sur le champ à Monsieur De V
 “ pour lui rendre compte de ce que nous venions
 “ d'entendre, & l'assurer de son estime & de
 “ son amitié.

“ Le vif intérêt que nous prenons à la gloire
 “ de Monsieur De V & celui que tout
 “ honnête-homme doit avoir pour ce qui con-
 “ state la vérité des faits dans les histoires con-
 “ temporaires, nous a pressé de demander au
 “ Roi de Pologne la permission d'envoyer à
 “ Monsieur De V un certificat en forme
 “ de tout ce que sa Majesté nous avait fait
 “ l'honneur de nous dire. Le Roi de Pologne,
 “ non seulement y a consenti, mais même nous

“ a ordonné de l'envoyer, avec prière à Mon-
 “ sieur De V d'en faire usage toutes les
 “ fois qu'il le jugera à propos, soit en le com-
 “ muniquant, soit en le faisant imprimer, &c.
 “ Fait à Commercy ce 11. Juillet 1759.

“ Le Comte DE TRESSAN.”

Translation of the above Instrument.

“ We lieutenant-general of the king's ar-
 “ mies, grand-marshal of the household to his
 “ Polish majesty, and commandant of Toul, of
 “ the Two Bars, &c. do hereby certify, that his
 “ said Polish majesty, on hearing read to him
 “ the history of Charles XII. written by Mr.
 “ de V—— (the last Geneva edition) not
 “ only recommended the stile of that
 “ history, and expressed his admiration of the
 “ strokes which characterise all the wri-
 “ tings of that celebrated author ; but has more-
 “ over done us the honour of signifying to us,
 “ that he was ready to grant a certificate to Mr.
 “ de V——, for the better ascertaining the ex-
 “ act truth of the facts contained in that his-
 “ tory. His majesty, at the same time, adding,
 “ that Mr. de V—— has neither omitted nor
 “ misplaced any one fact, or interesting circum-
 “ stance ; that the whole is agreeable to truth,
 “ and every event disposed in its proper order ;
 “ and that he has spoken of every thing relating
 “ to Poland, and the events which happened
 “ there, &c. as if he had been an eye-witness.
 “ We moreover certify, that his majesty or-
 “ dered us to write immediately to Mr. de

“ V——, to acquaint him with what we had heard, and to assure him of his majesty’s friendship and esteem.

“ The great regard we have for Mr. de V——’s reputation, and that concern which every honest man ought to have, for whatever serves to establish the truth of facts in histories of our own times, has induced us to ask permission of his Polish majesty, to transmit to Mr. de V——, a formal certificate of whatever his majesty had been pleased to impart to us. To which his majesty was not only pleased readily to consent, but even gave his express orders for us to send it, with his desire that Mr. de V—— would, on all occasions, make such use of it as he should judge proper, either by communicating it, having it printed, &c.”

“ Done at Commercy, this 11th day of July, 1759.

“ The Count DE TRESSAN.”

When this instrument was sent to the author, it gave him a surprise, so much the more agreeable, as it came from a prince who was as well acquainted with the several transactions, as Charles XII. himself; and is, besides, so well known to all Europe for his regard to truth, and his humanity and benevolence.

There are a great number of testimonies, no less authentic, relating to the history of the age of Lewis XIV. a work of equal truth and importance, that breathes a spirit of patriotism, but without suffering that spirit to injure truth, to exaggerate the good, or to disguise the evil;

evil ; a work composed without any views of interest, without hope and without fear, by a person, whose situation in life places him above the necessity of flattering any one.

There are very few authorities quoted in the age of Lewis XIV. as the events of the first years being known to every one, wanted only to be placed in their proper light ; and as to those of later date, the author speaks of them as an eye-witness. On the contrary, in the history of the Russian empire, he always quotes his vouchers, the principal of which is Peter the Great himself.

S E C T. II.

We have not been at the pains, in this history of Peter the Great, to make any idle researches into the origin of most of the nations, of which the immense empire of Russia is composed, from Kamtschatka to the Baltic sea. It is a strange undertaking to go about, to prove by authentic pieces, that the Huns removed, in former times, from the north of China into Siberia ; and that the Chinese themselves are an Egyptian colony. I know that some philosophers of great reputation have imagined they saw a conformity between these people, in some particulars ; but their surmises have been made a bad use of, by some who have attempted to convert their conjectures into certainty.

Thus, for instance, they now pretend to prove, that the Egyptians were the ancestors of the Chinese. An ancient writer has told us, that the Egyptian king Sesostris went as far as the river Ganges ; now, if he went as far as

the Ganges, he might have gone to China, which is at a great distance from the Ganges, therefore he did go thither; but China, at that time, was not peopled, therefore it is clear that Sesostris peopled China. The Egyptians used lighted tapers at their festivals, the Chinese used lanthorns; it cannot, therefore, be doubted, that the Chinese are an Egyptian colony. Furthermore, the Egyptians have a great river, so have the Chinese also: Lastly, it is evident, that the first kings of China, bore the same names as the ancient kings of Egypt; for in the name of the family of *Yu*, we may trace characters, which, disposed after another manner, form the word *Menes*. Therefore, it is incontestable, that the emperor *Yu* took his name from *Menes*, king of Egypt; and the emperor *Ki* is plainly king *Atoës*, by changing *K* into *A*, and *i* into *toës*.

But if a learned man of Tobolski or Pekin was to read some of our books, he might demonstrate still more clearly, that the French are descended from the Trojans. He might prove it in the following manner, and astonish his countrymen by his profound researches. The most ancient writings, he might say, and those in most esteem in that little country of the West, called France, are romances: these were written in a pure language, derived from the antient Romans, who were famous for never advancing a falsehood. Now upwards of twenty of these authentic books, affirm, that *Francis*, the founder of the monarchy of the Franks, was son to Hector. The name of Hector has ever since been preserved by this nation; and even in the present

present century, one of their greatest generals was called Hector de Villars.

The neighbouring nations (he would continue) are so unanimous in acknowledging this truth, that Ariosto, one of the most learned of the Italians, owns in his Orlando, that Charlemagne's knights fought for Hector's helmet. Lastly, there is one proof which admits of no reply; namely, that the ancient Franks, to perpetuate the memory of the Trojans, their ancestors, built a new city called Troye, in the province of Champagne; and these modern Trojans have always retained so strong an aversion to their enemies, the Greeks, that there is not at present four persons in the whole province of Champagne, who will learn their language: nay, they would never admit any jesuits amongst them, probably because they had heard it said, that some of that body used formerly to explain Homer in their public schools.

It is certain, that such arguments might produce a great effect at Tobolski or Pekin; but then again, another learned man might overturn this fine hypothesis, by proving that the Parisians are descended from the Greeks: for, he might say, the first president of one of the courts of judicature of Paris, was named *Achille du Harlai*. *Achille* is evidently derived from the Greek *Achilles*, and *Harlai* from *Aristos*, by changing *istos* into *lai*. The elysian fields (*champs elisées*) which still exist near one of the gates of the city, and mount Olympus, which is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Mezière, are monuments, against which the most obstinate incredulity cannot hold out. Furthermore, all the Athenian customs are preserved at

Paris; the citizens pass sentence there upon tragedies and comedies, with as much levity as the Athenians did; they crown the generals of their armies on the public theatres, as was done at Athens; and lastly, marshal Saxe received publickly, from the hands of an actress, a crown, which could not be given to him in the cathedral. The Parisians have academies, derived from those of Athens, as likewise ecclesiastic canons, a liturgy, parishes, and dioceses, all Greek inventions, and the terms themselves all taken from the Greek language; nay, the very distempers of these people have their appellations from the Greek, *viz. apoplexy, phthisic, peripneumony, cachexy, dysentery, jealousy, &c.*

It must be acknowledged, that this opinion would weigh considerably against the authority of the learned personage, who had just demonstrated, that we were a Trojan colony; and both these opinions might be again contradicted by other profound antiquarians, some of whom might prove that we are Egyptians, and that the worship of Isis was established at the village of Isis, on the road from Paris to Versailles; while others again might demonstrate, that we are of Arabian extraction, as witness the words *almanac, alembic, algebra, admiral*. The Chinese and Siberian literati would be greatly puzzled to decide the question; and, after all, would very likely leave us just what we are.

It seems, then, that we must still remain in uncertainty, concerning the origin of all nations. It is the same with respect to a whole people, as with particular families. Several German barons pretend to be descended, in a direct

direct line, from Arminius ; in like manner as a pedigree was composed for Mahomet, by which his origin was derived immediately from Abraham and Hagar.

In like manner, the family of the ancient czars of Muscovy, was said to come from *Bela*, king of Hungary ; this *Bela* from *Attila*, *Attila* from *Turck*, the father of the Huns ; and this *Turck* was the son of *Japhet*. His brother *Rufs* founded the empire of Russia, and another brother, named *Cameri*, founded a state towards the river Wolga.

All these sons of Japhet were, as every one knows, the grandsons of Noah, whose three sons made what haste they could to procure themselves settlements, at the distance of a thousand leagues from each other, lest they should be of any assistance to each other ; and, in all probability, by lying with their sisters, became the fathers of millions of inhabitants, in the space of a very few years.

A number of grave writers have traced these descents, with much the same exactness and sagacity as they discovered the manner in which the Japonese peopled Peru. History has for a long time been written in this taste ; a taste to which president de Thou, and Rapin-Thoyras, seem to have been absolute strangers.

S E C T. III.

If we are to be upon our guard against those historians, who go back to the tower of Babel, and to the deluge, we ought to be no less sparing of our credit to those who enter into a minute detail of modern history, penetrate into all the

secrets of cabinets ; and are so unfortunately minute, as to give an exact relation of every battle, when even the generals themselves would have found great difficulty in doing it.

Since the beginning of the last century, there have been near two hundred capital battles fought in Europe, most of them more bloody than those of Arbella and Pharsalia ; but as very few of these actions produced any great consequences, they are lost to posterity. Were there but one book in the world, children would know every line of it by heart, and be able to tell every syllable : in like manner, had there been but one battle, the name of each soldier would be known, and his pedigree handed down to future ages ; but in such a long, and almost continued succession of bloody wars among christian princes, the antient interests are all changed, and give way to new ones ; the battles fought twenty years ago, are effaced by those of the present time ; as at Paris, the news of yesterday is forgotten in that of to-day ; and this, in its turn, will be lost in that of to-morrow : and almost every event is plunged by another into perpetual oblivion. This is a reflection which cannot be dwelt upon too much ; it serves to comfort us under the misfortunes we suffer, and to shew us the nothingness of all human affairs. Nought then remains in history, worthy of fixing the attention of mankind, but those striking revolutions which have wrought a change in the manners and laws of great states ; and upon this principle the history of Peter the Great is worthy of being known.

If we have dwelt somewhat too long upon the particulars of certain battles and sieges, which resemble others of the same nature, we crave pardon of the philosophic reader; and have no other excuse to offer, but that these little facts, being connected with great ones, must necessarily make a part of the whole.

We have refuted Norberg in some passages, which appeared to us the most important; but have left him quietly to enjoy his mistakes, where they are of no consequence.

S E C T. IV.

This history of Peter the Great is written as concise, and at the same time as copious, as possible. There are histories of small provinces, little towns, and even of convents of monks, that take up several volumes in folio. The memoirs of a certain abbot, who retired for some years into Spain, where he scarce did any thing worth notice, employ seven volumes; whereas one has been found sufficient for the life of Alexander the Great.

Perhaps there may still be some of those overgrown children, who had rather read the fabulous stories of Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, and Theseus, consecrated by antiquity, than the true history of a modern prince; either because the antique names of Osiris and Hercules sound more agreeable in their ears than that of Peter; or that the overthrowing of giants and lions, is more pleasing to a weak imagination, than the history of useful laws and noble enterprises: and yet we must acknowledge, that the defeat of the giant of Epidaurum, and of the robber Sinnis,
and

and the combat with *Crommon's* sow, are not equal to the exploits of the conqueror of Charles XII. the founder of Petersburg, and the legislator of a most potent empire.

It is true, the ancients taught us how to think justly, and it would be very extraordinary to prefer *Anacharsis*, the Scythian, merely for his antiquity, to the modern Scythian, who has civilized so many people. We see no reason why the law-giver of Russia should give way either to Lycurgus or Solon. Are the laws of the latter, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and forbid it to the slaves, or those of the former, which ordered young women to box naked in the public market-place, to be preferred to the laws of him who civilized the people of both sexes in his dominion, and made them fit for society? who formed a military discipline by sea and land, and who opened a free passage for the arts and sciences into his native country?

This history contains the transactions of his public life, which were useful; and not those of his private life, of which we have but few particulars, and those sufficiently known. It is not for a stranger to disclose the secrets of his cabinet, his bed, or his table. Were any person capable of furnishing such anecdotes, it must have been prince Menzikoff, or general Sheremetow, who were long the companions of his most retired hours, but they have not done it; and whatever comes to us, only from the authority of publick rumour, does not deserve belief. Men of sense had rather behold a great man, labouring for five and twenty years, for the welfare of a vast empire, than be informed, from
vague

vague and idle accounts, of the foibles which this great prince might have in common with the meanest of his subjects.

S E C T. V.

In what relates only to stile, criticism, or the private reputation of an author, it is better to let the herd of petty pamphleteers snarl on unnoticed, since it would be making ourselves as ridiculous as them, to lose time in answering, or even in reading their productions; but when important facts are concerned, truth must sometimes stoop to confound the falsties of these despicable wretches; their infamy should no more hinder her from clearing herself, than the villainess of a criminal, among the dregs of the people, should stop the course of justice against him. It was this two-fold reason, then, that obliged us to silence that impudent ignoramus, who corrupted the age of Lewis XIV. by notes, as absurd as they were malicious; in which he brutally insults a branch of the house of France, the whole house of Austria, and above an hundred other illustrious families in Europe; to whose very antichambers he is as much a stranger, as to the facts which he has thus insolently falsified.

The ease with which a writer may impose upon the public, and spread abroad the most flagrant calumnies, is unhappily one of the greatest inconveniencies attending the noble art of printing.

Le Vassor, a priest of the oratory, and La Motte, a jesuit; the one a beggar in England, and the other in Holland; both of them wrote history for bread. The former chose Lewis XIII.

XIII. of France for the object of his satire, and the latter Lewis XIV. The character of apostates * was by no means likely to secure them a greater degree of credit with the public; nevertheless, it is pleasant to see with what confidence they both declare themselves the depositaries of truth, incessantly repeating this maxim, "That an historian should boldly declare the whole truth." They should have added likewise, that he must, in the first place, be acquainted with it himself.

Their own maxim is their fullest condemnation; but even this maxim calls for a strict examination, as it is become the excuse of all satyrists.

All truths of public utility and importance ought, doubtless, to be revealed; but if there should be any malicious anecdote relating to a prince; if in his domestic concerns he may, like a number of private persons, have given too much way to some human frailties, known, perhaps, only to one or two confidants; who has authorized you to reveal to the public, what these confidants ought not to have disclosed to any one? I will grant that you might yourself have discovered this secret: but why should you tear asunder the veil with which every man has a right to cover the recesses of his own house? What is your reason for making the scandal public? You will say, to indulge the curiosity of mankind, to please their malice, and to sell my book, which otherwise, perhaps, would not be

* Both Le Vassor and La Motte changed their religion, and embraced the Protestant faith, upon their retiring to Holland.

read. You are then only a defamer, a libeller, and a broacher of calumnies, but not an historian.

If this foible of a man, in public life ; if this private vice, which you so industriously endeavour to drag to light, has had any influence on public affairs ; if it has occasioned the loss of a battle, has hurt the revenue of a state, or made the subject unhappy, then you ought to mention it. It is your duty to discover the minute and hidden cause which produced such great events ; but otherwise you should be silent.

“ Let no truth be concealed,” is a maxim that may admit of some exceptions ; but this one will admit of none, “ Acquaint posterity with nothing but what is worthy of posterity.”

S E C T. VI.

Besides the falsity in facts, there is also a falsity in drawing characters. The phrenzy of loading history with these portraits began first in France with the writing of romances, and the famous Clelia brought the madness into fashion. In the infancy of good taste, Sarrazin wrote his history of the conspiracy of Walsstein, who was never concerned in any plot ; and, in drawing the character of this general, whom he never saw, he has given a translation of almost all that Sallust says of Catiline, whom that historian knew so well. This is writing history in an ingenious manner ; but he who makes too great a parade of his wit, only succeeds in shewing it ; which is a matter of very little consequence.

Cardinal de Retz might with propriety give the characters of the principal personages of his time, all of whom he well knew, and who had
all

all been either his friends or his enemies. It is true, he has not drawn them in the manner that Maimbourg has done those of the princes of past times in his romantic histories. But was the Cardinal a faithful painter? Has he not suffered passion, and a fondness for novelty, to misguide his pencil? Ought he, for example, to have expressed himself in this manner of Queen Anne, mother to Lewis XIV.? “ She had
 “ that sort of wit which was just necessary to
 “ keep her from appearing a fool in the eyes of
 “ those who did not know her. She had more
 “ harshness than pride, more pride than true
 “ greatness of soul, more outside than reality,
 “ more regard to money than liberality, more liberality than selfishness, more selfishness than
 “ disinterestedness, more attachment than passion, more insensibility than cruelty, more
 “ superstition than real piety, more obstinacy
 “ than firmness, and more incapacity than of
 “ all the rest.”

It must be owned, that this obscurity of expression, this cluster of antitheses and comparisons, and this burlesque way of drawing characters, so unworthy of history, is not very likely to please those of a good understanding. The lovers of truth will question the fidelity of the portrait when they compare it with the conduct of the Queen; and virtuous minds will be as much disgusted with the ill-nature and contempt, which the historian displays in speaking of a princeis, who loaded him with favours, as incensed to see an archbishop stirring up a civil war, merely, as he himself acknowledges, for the pleasure of doing it.

If we are to suspect the fidelity of these portraits, drawn by those who had such opportunities of painting to the life, how can we credit the bare assertion of an historian, who affects to dive into the heart of a prince, that, perhaps, lived six hundred leagues distant from him? In this case, he ought to describe him by his actions, and leave it to those who have long attended his person, to tell the rest.

Harangues or set speeches are another species of oratorical falsehood, in which historians formerly indulged themselves. They made their heroes say, what was possible for them to have said. A liberty of this kind might, indeed, be taken with a personage of remoter times, but at present these fictions are no longer tolerated; nay, we expect much more; for was a writer, at present, to put into the mouth of a prince a speech which he never made, we should consider such author no longer as an historian, but a rhetorician.

A third species of falsehood, and the most gross of all, tho' it has been long the most seducing, is that of the marvellous. This prevails in all the ancient histories, without excepting one.

Some predictions are still to be met with in the history of Charles XII. by Norberg: but we find none in any of historians of the present age. Omens, prodigies, and apparitions, are now sent back to the regions of fable. History stood in need of being enlightened by philosophy.

INTRODUCTION.

AT the beginning of the present century, the vulgar knew no other hero in the north than Charles XII. of Sweden. His personal valour, which was rather that of a private soldier than a great king, the lustre of his victories, and even of his misfortunes, made an impression on those who are easily struck with great events, but are not so clear-sighted in regard to more slow and useful labours. It was even much doubted at that time by foreign nations, whether Czar Peter I. would be able to go thro' with his great undertakings; yet they have not only continued, but been improved, especially under the empress Elizabeth, his daughter. This empire is at present reckoned in the number of the most flourishing states; and Peter is ranked amongst the greatest law-givers: though his undertakings did not stand in need of success in the eyes of wise men, yet his success has perpetuated his glory. We now think that Charles XII. deserved to be the first general under Peter the Great: the one has left only ruins behind him; the other has been a founder of his empire in every sense. I ventured to pass much the same judgment about thirty years ago, when I was writing the history of Charles XII. The memoirs I have been since furnished with from the court of Russia, afford me the means of making this empire known, whose people are of such antiquity, while their laws, manners, and arts, are all of a new creation.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the
GREAT.

CHAP. I.
Description of RUSSIA.

THE empire of Russia is the largest in the whole globe, extending from west to east upwards of two thousand common leagues of France *, and about eight hundred in its greatest breadth from north to south. It borders upon Poland and the Frozen Sea, and joins to Sweden and China. Its length from the island of Dago, in the westernmost part of Livonia, to its most eastern limits, takes in near 170 degrees, so that when it is noon in the western parts of the empire, it is nearly midnight in the eastern. Its breadth from north to south is 3600 wensls, which make 850 of our common French leagues.

The limits of this country were so little known in the last century, that, in 1689, when it

* A French league contains three English miles,

it was reported, that the Chinese and the Russians were at war, and that in order to terminate their differences, the emperor *Cam-bi* on the one hand, and the Czars Ivan (or John) and Peter on the other, had sent their ministers to meet an embassy within three hundred leagues of Pekin, on the frontiers of the two empires. This account was at first treated as a fiction.

The country now comprehended under the name of Russia, or the Russias, is of a greater extent than all the rest of Europe, or than ever the Roman empire was, or that of Darius subdued by Alexander; for it contains upwards of 1,100,000 square leagues. Neither the Roman empire, nor that of Alexander, contained more than 550,000 each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the twelfth part so extensive as the Roman empire; but to make Russia as populous, as plentiful, and as well stored with towns as our southern countries, would require whole ages, and a race of monarchs such as Peter the Great.

The English ambassador who resided at Petersburg in 1733, and who had been at Madrid, says, in his manuscript relation, that in Spain, which is the least populous state in Europe, there may be reckoned 40 persons to every square mile, and in Russia not above five. We shall see in the second chapter, whether this minister was mistaken. Marshal Vauban, the greatest of engineers, and the best of citizens, computes, that, in France, every square mile contains 200 inhabitants. These calculations are never very exact, but they serve to shew the amazing disproportion in the population of two different countries.

I shall

I shall observe here, that from Peterburgh to Pekin, there is hardly one mountain to be met with in the route which the caravans might take thro' independant Tartary, and that from Peterburgh to the north of France, by the road of Dantzick, Hambourg, and Amsterdam, there is not even a hill of any eminence to be seen. This observation leaves room to doubt of the truth of that theory, which makes the mountains to have been formed by the rolling of the waves of the sea, and supposes all that is at present dry land, to have been for a long time covered with water: but how comes it to pass, that the waves, which, according to the supposition, formed the Alps, the Pyrenees, and Mount Taurus, did not likewise form some eminence or hill from Normandy to China, which is a winding space of above 3000 leagues? Geography thus considered, may furnish lights to natural philosophy, or at least give room for rational doubts.

Formerly we called Russia by the name of Muscovy, from the city of Moscow, the capital of that empire, and the residence of the grand dukes: but at present the ancient name of Russia prevails.

It is not my business in this place to enquire, why the countries from Smolensko, to the other side of Moscow, were called White Russia, or why Hubner gives it the name of Black, nor for what reason the government of *Kiow* should be named Red Russia.

It is very likely that *Madies* the Scythian, who made an irruption into Asia, near seven hundred years before our vulgar æra, might have carried his arms into these regions, as Genzis-Kan and Tamerlane did afterwards, and as pro-

probably others had done long before Madies. Every part of antiquity is not deserving of our enquiries; that of the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, and the Egyptians, is ascertained from illustrious and interesting monuments; but these monuments suppose others of a far more ancient date, since it required many ages to teach men the art of transmitting their thoughts by permanent signs, and no less time was required to form a regular language; and yet we have no such monuments, even in this polite part of Europe. The art of writing was a long time unknown to all the north: the patriarch Constantine, who wrote the history of Kiow in the Russian language, acknowledges, that the use of writing was not known in these countries in the fifth century.

Let others examine whether the Huns, the Slavi, and the Tartars, formerly led their wandering and famish'd tribes towards the source of the Boristhenes*; my design is to shew what Czar Peter created, and not to engage in an useless attempt, to clear up the chaos of antiquity. We should always keep in mind, that no family upon earth knows its first founder and consequently, that no nation know its first origin.

I use the name of Russians to designate the inhabitants of this great empire. That of Roxolaniens, which was formerly given them, would indeed be more sonorous, but we should conform to the custom of the language in which

* The Boristhenes or Dnieper is one of the largest rivers in Europe; it rises in the Walchonskei Forest, runs thro' Lithuania, the country of the Zaporag Cossacks and that of the Nagaisch Tartars, and falls into the Black sea near Oczakow. It has 13 cataracts within a small distance.

we write. News-papers and other memoirs have for some time used the word Russians; but as this name comes too near to that of Prussians, I shall abide by that of Rufs, which almost all our writers have given them. Besides it appeared to me, that the most extensive people on the earth ought to be known by some appellation that may distinguish them absolutely from all other nations*.

And here it will be necessary for the reader to have recourse to the annexed map, in order to form a clear idea of this empire, which is at present divided into sixteen large governments, that will one day be subdivided, when the northern and eastern countries come to be more inhabited.

These sixteen governments, which contain several immense provinces, are the following.

LIVONIA.

The nearest province to our part of the world is that of Livonia, one of the most fruitful in the whole north. In the 12th century the inhabitants were pagans; at this time certain merchants of Bremen and Lubeck traded to this country, and a body of religious crusaders, called *Port-glaives*, (or sword bearers) who were afterwards incorporated in the Teutonic order, made themselves masters of this province in the thirteenth century, at the time when the fury of the crusades armed the Christians against every

* The reader will easily perceive, that the whole of this paragraph relates only to the French language, for in English we make no such distinctions in the name of these people, but always call them Russians;

one who was not of their religion. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of these religious conquerors, made himself sovereign of Livonia and of Brandenburg-Prussia, about the year 1514. From that time, the Russians and Poles began to dispute for the possession of this province. Soon afterwards it was invaded by the Swedes, and for a long while continued to be ravaged by these several powers. Gustavus Adolphus having conquered it, it was then ceded to the Swedes in 1660, by the famous treaty of Oliva; and, at length, Czar Peter wrested it from these latter, as will be seen in the course of this history.

Courland, which joins to Livonia, is still in vassalage to Poland, tho' it depends greatly upon Russia. These are the western limits of this empire in Christendom.

Of the governments of REVEL, PETERSBOURG, and WYBOURG.

More northward is the government of Revel and Esthonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the 13th century. The Swedes were in possession of this province, from the time that country put itself under the protection of that crown in 1561. This is another of the conquests of Peter the Great.

On the borders of Esthonia lies the gulph of Finland. To the eastward of this sea, and at the junction of the Neva with the lake Ladoga*, is situated Petersbourg, the most mo-

* A collection of water lying between the gulph of Finland and lake Onega: it is the largest, and said to contain a greater number of fish than any other in Europe.

dern and best built city in the whole empire, founded by Czar Peter, in spite of all the united obstacles which opposed its foundation.

This city is situated on the bay of Kronstat, in the midst of 9 rivers, by which its different quarters are divided. In the centre of this city is almost an impregnable fortress, built on an island, formed by the main-stream of the river Neva; seven canals are cut from the rivers, and wash the walls of one of the royal palaces of the admiralty, of the dock-yard for the gallies, and of several buildings of manufactories. Thirty-five large churches contribute to adorn the city; among which five are allotted for foreigners of the Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran religions: these are as so many temples raised to toleration, and examples to other nations. There are five palaces; the old one, called the summer-palace, situated on the river Neva, has a very large and beautiful stone balustrade, which runs all along the river side. The new summer palace near the triumphal gate, is one of the finest pieces of architecture in Europe. The admiralty buildings, the school for cadets, the imperial college, the academy of sciences, the exchange, and the merchants ware-houses, are all magnificent structures, and monuments of taste and public utility. The town-house, the public dispensary, where all the vessels are of porcelain, the court magazines, the foundery, the arsenal, the bridges, the markets, the squares, the barracks for the horse and foot guards, contribute at once to the embellishment and safety of the city, which is said to contain at present 400,000 souls. In the environs of the city are several villas or country-seats, which surprise all

travellers by their magnificence. There is one in particular which has water-works superior to those of Versailles. There was nothing of all this in 1702, the whole being then an impassable morass. Petersbourg is considered as the capital of Ingria, a small province subdued by Peter I. Wyburg, another of his conquests, and that part of Finland which was lost, and ceded by the Swedes in 1742, makes another government.

A R C H A N G E L.

Higher up, proceeding towards the north, is the province of Archangel, a country entirely new to the southern nations of Europe. It took its name from St. Michael the Archangel, under whose patronage it was put long after the Russians had embraced christianity, which did not happen till the beginning of the 11th century; and they were not known to the other nations of Europe till the middle of the 16th. The English, in 1533, endeavouring to find out a north-east passage to the East Indies, Chancellor, captain of one of the ships fitted out for this expedition, discovered the port of Archangel in the White Sea; at that time it was a desert place, having only one convent, and a little church, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel.

The English sailing up the river Dwina*, arrived at the midland part of the country, and

* We must not confound this river with another of the same name that runs thro' Lithuania in Poland, and dividing Livonia and Courland, falls into the Baltic at Dunamunder-fort below Riga.

RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

9

at length at Moscow. Here they easily made themselves masters of the trade of Russia, which was removed from the city of Novogorod, where it was carried on by land to this sea-port, which is inaccessible indeed during seven months in the year; but, nevertheless, this trade proved more beneficial to the empire, than the fairs of Novogorod, that had fallen to decay in consequence of the wars with Sweden. The English obtained the privilege of trading thither without paying any duties; a manner of trading which is apparently the most beneficial to all nations. The Dutch soon came in for a share of the trade of Archangel, then unknown to other nations.

Long before this time, the Genoese and Venetians had established a trade with the Russians by the mouth of the Tanais or Don*, where they had built a town called Tana. This branch of the Italian commerce was destroyed by the ravages of Tamerlane, in that part of the world: but that of Archangel continued, with great advantages both to the English and Dutch, till the time that Peter the Great opened a passage into his dominions by the Baltic sea.

RUSSIAN LAPLAND.

Of the government of ARCHANGEL.

To the west of Archangel, and within its government, lies Russian Lapland, the third part of this country, the other two belonging to Swe-

* This was by the ancients reckoned among the most famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Asia and Europe. It issues from St. John's lake, not far from Tula, and after a long course, divides itself into three arms, and falls into the sea below Azoph.

den and Denmark. This is a very large tract, occupying about eight degrees of longitude, and extending in latitude from one polar circle to the north cape *. The natives of this country were confusedly known to the ancients, under the name of Troglodytes and northern pigmies; appellations suitable enough to men, who, for the most part, are not above four feet and an half high, and dwell in caverns; they are just the same people they were at that time. They are of a tawny complexion, tho' the other people of the north are white, and for the most part very low in stature; tho' their neighbours, and the people of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall: they seem made for their mountainous country, being nimble, squat, and robust; their skins are hard, the better to resist the cold, their thighs and legs are slender, their feet small, to enable them to run more nimbly amongst the rocks, with which their province is covered; they are passionately fond of their own country, which none but themselves can be pleased with, and are able to live no where else. Some have affirmed, upon the credit of Olaus, that these people were originally natives of Finland, and that they removed into Lapland, where they diminished in stature: but why might they not as well have made choice of lands less northerly, where the conveniencies of life were to be had in greater plenty? How comes it that they differ so totally from their pretended ancestors in features, figure, and complexion? Methinks we might, with as great reason, suppose that the grass which grows in Lapland, is pro-

* A promontory of the island of Maggero in the north of Norway, and is the most northern point in Europe.

duced from that of Denmark, and that the fishes peculiar to their lakes, came from those of Sweden. It is most likely that the Laplanders are like their animals, the produce of their own country, and that nature has made the one for the other.

Those who inhabit the frontiers of Finland, have adopted some of the expressions of their neighbours, as happens to every people: but when two nations give to things of common use, to objects which are continually before their eyes, names absolutely different, it affords a strong presumption, that one of them is not a colony from the other. The Finlanders call a bear *Karu*, the Laplanders *Muriet*: the sun in the Finnish language is called *Auringa*, in the Lapland tongue *Beve*. Here is not the least analogy. The inhabitants of Finland, and Swedish Lapland, formerly worshipped an idol whom they called *Iumalac*, and since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they are indebted for the appellation of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of *Iumalac*. The Muscovite or Russian Laplanders, are at present thought to be of the Greek church; but those who wander about the mountains of the north cape, are satisfied with adoring one God under certain rude forms, as has been the antient custom of all the nations called *Nomades*, or wandering nations.

This race of people, who are inconsiderable in numbers, have but very few ideas, and are happy in not having more, which would only occasion them to have new wants which they could not satisfy: at present they live contented, and free from diseases, notwithstanding the excessive coldness of their climate; they drink no-

thing but water, and attain to a great age. The custom imputed to them of entreating strangers to lie with their wives and daughters, which they esteem as an honour done to them, probably arose from a notion of the superiority of strangers, and a desire of amending, by their means, the defects of their own race. This was a custom established amongst the virtuous Lacedemonians. A husband would entreat as a favour, of a comely young man, to give him handsome children, whom he might adopt. Jealousy, and the laws, prevent the rest of mankind from giving their wives up to the embraces of another; but the Laplanders have few or no laws, and are, in all probability, strangers to jealousy.

M O S C O W.

Ascending the river Dwina from North to South, we travel up the country till we come to Moscow, the capital of the empire. This city was long the centre of the Russian dominions, before they were extended on the side of China and Persia.

Moscow lying in 55 degrees and an half, north latitude, in a warmer climate, and more fruitful soil than that of Petersbourg, is situated in the midst of a large and delightful plain on the river Moskwa, and two lesser rivers, which with the former lose themselves in the Occa, and afterwards help to swell the stream of the Wolga. This city, in the 13th century, was only a collection of huts, inhabited by a set of miserable wretches, oppressed by the descendants of Gengis Khan.

The

The Kremlin, or antient palace of the great dukes, was not built till the 14th century; of such modern date are cities in this part of the world. This palace was built by Italian architects, as were several churches in the Gothic taste, which then prevailed throughout all Europe. There are two built by the famous Aristotle, of Bologna, who flourished in the 15th century; but the private houses were no better than wooden huts.

The first writer who brought us acquainted with Moscow, was Olearius; who, in 1633, went thither as the companion of an embassy from the duke of Holstein. A native of Holstein must naturally be struck with wonder at the immense extent of the city of Moscow, with its five quarters, especially the magnificent one belonging to the czars, and with the Asiatic splendor which then reigned at that court. There was nothing equal to it in Germany at that time, nor any city by far so extensive or well peopled.

On the contrary, the Earl of Carlisle, who was Ambassador from Charles II. to the czar Alexis, in 1633, complains in his relation, that he could not meet with any one convenience of life in Moscow; no inns on the road, nor refreshments of any kind. One judged as a German, the other as an Englishman, and both by comparison. The Englishman was shocked to see most of the Boyards, or Muscovite noblemen, sleep upon boards or benches, with only the skins of animals under them; but this was the ancient practice of all nations. The houses, which were almost all built of wood, had scarcely any furniture; few or none of their

tables were covered with cloth; there was no pavement in the streets; nothing agreeable; nothing convenient; very few artificers, and those few extremely awkward, and employed only in works of absolute necessity. These people might have passed for Spartans, had they been sober.

But on public days, the court displays all the splendour of a Persian monarch. The earl says, he could see nothing but gold and precious stones, on the robes of the czar and his courtiers. These dresses were not manufactured in the country; and yet it is evident, that the people might be rendered industrious long before that time. In the reign of the czar Boris Godonow, the largest bell was cast at Moscow, in Europe; and in the Patriarchal church, there were several ornaments in silver, worked in a very curious manner. These pieces of workmanship, which were made under the direction of Germans and Italians, were only transient efforts. It is daily industry, and the continual exercise of a great number of arts, that makes a nation flourishing. Poland, and the neighbouring nations, were at that time very little superior to the Russians. The handicraft trades were not in greater perfection in the north of Germany, nor were the polite arts much better known, than in the middle of the 17th century.

Tho' the city of Moscow, at that time, had neither the magnificence nor arts of our great cities in Europe, yet its circumference of twenty miles; the part called the Chinese town, where all the rarities of China are exhibited; the spacious quarter of the Kremlin, where stood the palace

palace of the czars; the gilded domes, the lofty and conspicuous turrets; and lastly, the prodigious number of its inhabitants, amounting to near 500,000. All this together, rendered Moscow one of the most considerable cities in the world.

Theodore, or Fædor, eldest brother to Peter the Great, began to improve Moscow. He ordered several large houses to be built of stone, tho' without any regular architecture. He encouraged the principal persons of his court to build, advancing them sums of money, and furnishing them with materials. He was the first who collected studs of fine horses, and made several useful embellishments. Peter, who was attentive to every thing, did not neglect Moscow at the time he was building Petersbourg; for he caused it to be paved, adorned it with noble edifices, and enriched it with manufactures; and within these few years, Mr. de Showalow, high chamberlain to the empress Elizabeth, daughter to Peter the Great, has founded an university in this city. This is the same person who furnished me with the memoirs, from which I have compiled the present history, and who was himself much more capable to have done it, even in the French language, had not his great modesty determined him to resign the task to me, as will evidently appear from his own letters on this subject, which I have deposited in the public library of Geneva.

S M O L E N S K O.

Westward of the duchy of Moscow, is that of Smolensko, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. The duchies of Moscow and Smolensko composed what is properly called White Russia. Smolensko, which at first belonged to the great dukes of Russia, was conquered by the great duke of Lithuania, in the beginning of the 15th century, and was retaken one hundred years afterwards by its old masters. Sigismund III. king of Poland, got possession of it in 1611. The czar Alexis, father of Peter I. recovered it again in 1654, since which time it has always constituted part of the Russian empire. The panegyric of Peter the Great, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, takes notice, that before his time the Russians had made no conquests either to the West or South; but this is evidently a mistake.

*Of the Governments of NOVOGOROD and KIOW,
or the UKRAINE.*

Between Petersbourg and Smolensko, lies the province of Novogorod *; and is said to be the country in which the ancient *Slavi*, or Slavonians, made their first settlements. But from whence came these *Slavi*, whose language has spread over all the north-east part of Europe? *Slav* signifies a chief, and *Slavs* one belonging to a chief. All that we know concerning these ancient *Slaves*, is, that they were a race of conquerors; that they built the city of Novogorod the Great, at the head of a navigable river; and

* Grod or Gorod, signifies city in the Russian language.

that

that this city was for a long time in possession of a flourishing trade, and was a potent ally to the Hanse towns. Czar Iwan Waffiliawitsch (or John Basilowitz) made a conquest of it in 1467, and carried away all its riches, which contributed to the magnificence of the court of Moscow, till then almost unknown.

To the south of the province of Smolensko, we meet with the province of Kiow, otherwise called the Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukraine, thro' which runs the Dnieper, called by the Greeks the Boristhenes. The difference of these two names, the one so harsh to pronounce, and the other so melodious, serves to shew us together, with an hundred other like instances, the rudeness of all the ancient people of the north, in comparison, with the graces of the Greek language. Kiow, the capital city, formerly Kisow, was built by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony: here are still to be seen several Greek inscriptions, upwards of 1200 years old. This is the only city of any antiquity in these countries, where men lived so long together without building walls. Here it was that the great dukes of Russia held their residence in the 11th century, before the Tartars brought it under their subjection.

The inhabitants of the Ukraine, called Cossacks, are a mixture of the ancient Roxolians, Sarmatians, and Tartars, blended together. Rome and Constantinople, tho' so long the mistresses of other nations, are not to compare in fertility of country with the Ukraine. Nature has there exerted her utmost efforts for the service of mankind; but they have not seconded those efforts by industry, living only upon the spontaneous

spontaneous productions of an uncultivated, but fruitful soil, and the exercise of rapine. Tho' fond to a degree of enthusiasm, of that most valuable of all blessings, liberty; yet they were always in subjection, either to the Poles or the Turks, till the year 1654, when they threw themselves into the arms of Russia, but with some limitations. At length they were entirely subdued by Peter the Great.

Other nations are divided into cities and towns; this into ten regiments. At the head of which is a chief, who used to be elected by a majority of votes; and is called by the name of Hetman or Itman. This captain of the nation was not invested with supreme power. At present the Itman is a person nominated by the czar, from among the great lords of the court; and is, in fact, no more than the governor of the province, like governors of the *Pays d'Etats* in France, that have retained some privileges.

At first the inhabitants of this country were all either Pagans or Mahometans; but when they entered into the service of Poland, they were baptised Christians of the Roman communion; and now that they are in the service of Russia, they belong to the Greek church.

Amongst these are comprehended the Zaporavian Cossacks, who are much the same as our Buccaneers or Free-booters, living upon rapine. They are distinguished from all other people, by never admitting women to live among them; as the Amazons are said never to have admitted any man. The women whom they make use of for propagation, live upon other islands on the river; they have no marriages amongst them, nor any domestic oeconomy; they inroll the

the male children in their militia, and leave the girls to the care of their mothers. A brother has frequently children by his sister, and a father by his daughter. They know no other laws than customs introduced by necessity: however, they make use of some prayers from the Greek ritual. Fort St. Elizabeth has been lately built on the Boristhenes, to keep them in awe. They serve as irregulars in the Russian armies, and hapless is the fate of those who fall into their hands.

*Of the Governments of BELGOROD, WORONITZ,
and NISCHGOROD.*

To the north-east of the province of Kiow, between the Boristhenes and the Tanais, or Don, is the government of Belgorod, which is as large as that of Kiow. This is one of the most fruitful provinces of Russia, and furnishes Poland with a prodigious number of that large cattle, known by the name of the Ukrain oxen. These two provinces are secured from the incursions of the petty Tartar tribes, by lines extending from the Boristhenes to the Tanais, and well furnished with forts and redoubts.

Farther northward we cross the Tanais, and come into the government of Worownitz or Veronise, which extends as far as the banks of the Palus Mæotis. In the neighbourhood of the capital of this province; which is called by the Russians, Woronesteh, at the mouth of the river of the same name, which falls into the Don, Peter the Great built his first fleet; an undertaking which was at that time entirely new to the inhabitants of these vast dominions.

From

From thence we come to the government of Nischgorod, abounding with grain, and is watered by the river Wolga.

A S T R A C A N.

From the latter province we proceed southward to the kingdom of Astracan. This country reaches from 43 1-half degrees north latitude (in a most delightful climate) to near 50, including about as many degrees of longitude as of latitude. It is bounded on one side by the Caspian sea, and on the other by the mountains of Circassia, projecting beyond the Caspian, along mount Caucasus. It is watered by the great river Wolga, the Jaick, and several other lesser streams, between which, according to Mr. Perry, the English engineer, canals might be cut that would serve as reservoirs to receive the overflowing of the waters; and by that means answer the same purposes as the canals of the Nill, and make the soil more fruitful: but to the right and left of the Wolga and Jaick, this fine country was inhabited, or rather infected, by Tartars, who never apply themselves to agriculture, but have always lived as strangers and sojourners upon the face of the earth.

The above-named engineer Perry, who was employed by Peter the Great in these parts, found a vast track of land covered with pasture, leguminous plants, cherry and almond trees, and large flocks of wild sheep, who fed in these solitary places, and whose flesh was excellent. The inhabitants of these countries must be conquered and civilized, in order to second the efforts

sorts of nature, who has been forced in the climate of Petersbourg.

The kingdom of Astracan is a part of the ancient Capshak, conquered by Gengis-Khan, and afterwards by Tamerlane, whose dominion extended as far as Moscow. The czar John Basilides, grandson of John Basilowitz, and the greatest conqueror of all the Russian princes, delivered his country from the Tartarian yoke, in the 16th century, and added the kingdom of Astracan to his other conquests in 1554.

Astracan is the boundary of Asia and Europe, and is so situated as to be able to carry on a trade with both, as merchandises may be conveyed from the Caspian sea, up to this town, by means of the Wolga. This was one of the grand schemes of Peter the Great, and has been partly carried into execution. An entire suburb of Astracan is inhabited by Indians.

OREMBOURG.

To the south-east of the kingdom of Astracan, is a small country newly planted, called Orembourg. The town of this name was built in the year 1734, on the banks of the river Jaick. This province is thick covered with hills, that are parts of mount Caucasus. The passes in these mountains, and of the rivers that run down from them, are defended by forts raised at equal distances. In this region, formerly uninhabited, the Persians come at present, to hide from the rapacity of robbers, such of their effects as have escaped the fury of the civil wars. The city of Orembourg is become the asylum of the Persians and their riches, and is grown

grown considerable by their calamities. The natives of Great Bukari come hither to trade, so that it is become the mart of Asia.

Of the Governments of CASAN, and of GREAT PERMIA.

Beyond the Wolga and Jaick, towards the north, lies the kingdom of Casan, which, like that of Astracan, fell by partition to one of the sons of Gengis-Khan, and afterwards to a son of Tamerlane, and was at length conquered by John Basilides. It is still inhabited by a number of Mahometan Tartars. This vast country stretches as far as Siberia; it is allowed to have been formerly very flourishing and rich, and still retains some part of its pristine opulence. A province of this kingdom, called Great Permia, and since Solikam, was the staple for the merchandises of Persia, and the furs of Tartary. There has been found in Permia a great quantity of the coin of the first Caliphs, and some Tartarian idols, made of gold*; but these monuments of ancient opulence were found in the midst of barren deserts and extreme poverty, where there were not the least traces of commerce: revolutions of this nature may easily happen to a barren country, seeing they are so soon brought about in the most fruitful provinces.

The famous Swedish prisoner Strahlemberg, who made such advantageous use of his misfortunes, and who examined those extensive countries with so much attention, was the first who

* Memoirs of Strahlemberg, confirmed by those sent me from Russia.

gave an air of probability to a fact, which before had been always thought incredible; namely, concerning the ancient commerce of these provinces. Pliny and Pomponius-Mela relate, that, in the reign of Augustus, a king of the Suevi made a present to Metellus Celer of some Indians who had been cast by a storm upon the coasts bordering on the Elbe. But how could inhabitants of India navigate the Germanic seas? This adventure was deemed fabulous by all our moderns, especially after the change made in the commerce of our hemisphere, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. But formerly it was no more extraordinary to see an Indian trading to the parts to the north-west of his country, than to see a Roman go from India by the way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, and thence embarked on the Hyrcanian sea, and ascending the Rha, now the Wolga, got to Great Permian thro' the river Kama; from whence they might take shipping again on the Black Sea, or the Baltick. There have, in all times, been enterprising men. The Tyrians undertook most surprising voyages.

If after surveying all these vast provinces, we direct our view towards the east, we shall find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. A new name is wanting for this considerable part of the globe. The ancients divided their known world into Europe, Asia, and Africa; but they had not seen the tenth part of it: hence it happens, that when we pass the Palus Mæotis, we are at a loss to know where Europe ends, or Asia begins; all that tract of country lying beyond mount Taurus was distinguished by the general appellation of Scythia, and afterwards by
that

that of Tartary. It might not be improper, perhaps, to give the name of *Terræ Arcticæ*, or Northern Lands, to the country extending from the Baltic sea, to the confines of China; as that of *Terræ Australes*, or Southern Lands, are to that equally extensive part of the world, situated under the Antarctic Pole, and which serves to counterpoise the globe.

Of the Governments of SIBERIA, of the SAMOJEDES, the OSTIAKS, KAMTSHATKA, &c.

Siberia, with the territories beyond it, extends from the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Resan, and Astracan, eastward as far as the sea of Japan: it joined the southern parts of Russia by mount Caucasus; from thence, to the country of Kamtshatka, is about 1200 computed French leagues; and from southern Tartary, which serves as its boundary to the Frozen sea, about 400, which is the least breadth of the Russian empire. This country produces the richest furs; and this occasioned the discovery of it in the year 1563.

In the 16th century, in the reign of the czar John Basilides, and not in that of Feeder Johannowitz, a private person in the neighbourhood of Archangel, named Anika, one tolerably rich for his condition of life and country, took notice, that certain men of an extraordinary figure, and dressed in a manner unknown to that country, and who spoke a language understood by no one but themselves, came every year down a river which falls into the Dwina*,

* Memoirs sent from Petersbourg.

and brought martens and black foxes, which they trucked for nails and pieces of glass; just as the first savages of America used to exchange their gold with the Spaniards: he caused them to be followed by his sons and servants, as far as their own country. These were the Samojedes, a people who seem to resemble the Laplanders, but are of a different race. They are, like that people, unacquainted with the use of bread; and like them, they yoke rein deer to draw their sledges. They live in caverns and huts, amidst the snow*; but in other respects, nature has made a visible difference between this species of men and the Laplanders. Their upper jaw projects forward, so as to be on a level with their nose, and their ears are placed higher. Both the men and women have no hair in any other part of their bodies, but their heads; and their nipple is of a deep black, like ebony. The Lapland men and women are distinguished by no such marks. By memoirs sent from these countries so little known, I have been informed, that the author of the curious natural history of the king's garden, is mistaken, where, in speaking of the many curiosities in human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that of the Samojedes. There are many more different species of men than is commonly thought. The Samojedes, and the Hottentots, seem to be the two extremes of our continent; and if we observe the black nipples of the Samojedian women, and the apron with which nature has furnished the Hottentot females, and which hangs half way down their thighs, we may have some idea of the great variety of our animal species,

* Idem,

a variety unknown to those inhabiting great cities, who are generally strangers to almost every thing that is not immediately within their view.

The Samojedes are as singular in their moral as in their physical distinctions; they pay no worship to the supreme being; they border upon Manicheism, or rather upon the religion of the ancient Magi in this one point, that they acknowledge a good and an evil principle. The horrible climate they inhabit may in some measure excuse this belief, which is of such antient date, and so natural to those who are ignorant and unhappy.

Theft or murder is never heard of amongst them: being in a manner devoid of passions, they are strangers to injustice; they have no terms in their language to denote vice and virtue, their extreme simplicity has not yet permitted them to form abstract ideas, they are wholly guided by sensation, and this is perhaps an incontestible proof that men naturally love justice, when not blended by inordinate passions.

Some of these savages were prevailed on to suffer themselves to be carried to Moscow, where many things they saw struck them with admiration. They gazed upon the Emperor as their God, and voluntarily engaged for themselves and countrymen a present of two martens or fables every year for each inhabitant. Colonies were soon settled beyond the Oby * and the Irtis

* Called also the Ob. This large river issues from the lake Altin in Calmuck Tartary in Asia, from whence running north it forms the boundary between Europe and Asia, and after

Irtis†, and some forts built. In the year 1595 a Cossack officer was sent into this country, who conquered it for the Czar, with only a few soldiers and some artillery, as Cortez did Mexico; but he only made a conquest of barren deserts.

In sailing up the Oby to the junction of the river Irtis with the Tobol, they found a petty settlement, which they converted into the town of Tobol ‡, now the capital of Siberia, and a considerable place. Who could imagine that this country was for a long time the residence of those very Huns, who under Attila carried their depredations as far as the gates of Rome, and that these Huns came from the north of China? The Usbeck Tartars succeeded the Huns, and the Russians the Usbecks. The possession of these savage countries has been disputed with as much murderous fury, as that of the most fruitful provinces. Siberia was formerly better peopled than it is at present, especially towards the southern parts; if we may judge from the rivers and sepulchral monuments.

All this part of the world, from the 60th deg. of lat. or thereabouts, as far as those mountains of perpetual ice which border the north seas, is totally different from the regions of the temperate zone; the earth produces neither the same plants, nor the same animals, nor are there

after traversing a vast tract of above 2000 miles, it falls into a bay of the Frozen Sea.

† In the Russian language Irtish. This river runs from N. to S. thro' all Russia, and falling into the former river, forms part of the boundary between Asia and Europe.

‡ In the Russian language Tobolskoy.

the

the same sort of fishes in their lakes and rivers.

Below the country of the Samojedes lies that of the Ostiaks, along the river Oby. These people have no resemblance in any respect with the Samojedes, save that like them and all the first race of men they are hunters, fishermen, and shepherds; some of them have no religion, not being formed into any society, and the others who live together in herds or clans, have a kind of worship, and pray to the principal object of their wants; they adore the skin of a sheep, because this creature is of all others the most serviceable to them; just as the Egyptian husbandmen made choice of an ox, as an emblem of the Deity who created that creature for the use of man.

The Ostiaks have likewise other idols, whose origin and worship are as little deserving our notice as their worshippers. There were some converts to Christianity made amongst them in the year 1712; but these, like the lowest of our peasants, are Christians without knowing what they profess. Several writers pretend that these people were natives of Great Permia, but as Great Permia is in a manner a desert, how comes it then its inhabitants should settle themselves at such a distance, and so inconveniently? This is a difficulty not worth clearing up. Every nation which has not cultivated the polite arts, deserves to remain in obscurity.

In the country of the Ostiaks in particular, and amongst their neighbours the Burates and Jakutians, they often discover a kind of ivory under ground, the nature of which is as yet unknown. Some take it to be a sort of fossil, and others the tooth of a species of elephants, the breed

breed of which have been destroyed : but where is the country that does not afford some natural productions, which at once astonish and confound philosophy ?

Several mountains in this country abound with the amianthes or asbestos, a kind of incom-bustible flax, of which a sort of cloth and paper is sometimes made.

To the south of the Ostiaks are the Burates, another people, who have not yet been made christians. Eastward there are several hords, whom the Russians have not as yet entirely subdued.

None of these people have the least knowledge of the kalender. They reckon their time by snows, and not by the apparent motion of the sun : as it snows regularly, and for a long time every winter, they say, 'I am so many snows old,' just as we say, I am so many years.

And here I must relate the accounts given by the Swedish officer Strahlenberg, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Pultowa, and lived fifteen years in Siberia, and made the entire tour of that country. He says, that there are still some remains of an ancient people, whose skin is spotted or variegated with different colours, and that he himself had seen some of them ; and the fact has been confirmed to me by Russians born at Tobolsky. The variety of the human species seems to be greatly diminished, as we find very few of these extraordinary people, and they have probably been exterminated by some other race : for instance, there are very few Albinos, or White Moors ; one of them was presented to the academy of sciences at Paris, which I saw. It is the same with re-

spect to several other species of animals which are rare.

As to the Borandians, of whom mention is made so frequently in the learned history of the king's garden, my memoirs say, that this race of people is entirely unknown to the Russians.

All the southern part of these countries is peopled by numerous hords of Tartars. The antient Turks came from this part of Tartary to conquer these extensive countries, of which they are at present in possession. The Calmucks and Monguls are the very Scythians who, under Madies, made themselves masters of Upper Asia, and conquered Cyaxares king of the Medes. They are the men, whom Gengis Khan and his sons led afterwards as far as Germany, and was termed the Mogul empire under Tamerlane. These people afford a lively instance of the vicissitudes which have happened to all nations; some of their hords, so far from being formidable now, are become vassals to Russia.

Among these is a nation of Calmucks, dwelling between Siberia and the Caspian Sea, where, in the year 1720, there was discovered a subterraneous house of stone, with urns, lamps, earrings, an equestrian statue of an oriental prince, with a diadem on his head, two women seated on thrones, and a roll of manuscripts, which were sent by Peter the Great to the academy of inscriptions at Paris, and proved to be written in the Thibet language: all these are striking proofs, that the liberal arts formerly resided in this now barbarous country, and are lasting evidences of the truth of what Peter the Great was wont several times to say, viz. that the arts had made the tour of the globe.

The

The last province is Kamtschatka, the most eastern part of the continent. The inhabitants were absolutely void of all religion when they were first discovered. The north part of this country likewise affords fine furs, with which the inhabitants clothed themselves in winter, tho' they went naked all the summer season. The first discoverers were surprised to find in the southern parts men with long beards, while in the northern parts, from the country of the Samoje-des, as far as the mouth of the river Amur, they have no more beards than the Americans. Thus, in the empire of Russia, there is a greater number of different species, more singularities, and a greater diversity of manners and customs, than in any country in the known world.

The first discovery of this country was made by a Cossack officer, who went by land from Siberia to Kamtschatka in 1701, by order of Peter the Great, who, notwithstanding his misfortune at Narva, still continued to extend his care from one extremity of the continent to the other. Afterwards, in 1725, some time before death surprised him, in the midst of his great exploits, he sent captain Bering, a Dane, with express orders to find out, if possible, a passage by the sea of Kamtschatka, to the coast of America. Bering did not succeed in his first attempt; but the empress Anne sent him out again in 1733. M. Spengenberg, captain of a ship, his associate in this voyage, set out the first from Kamtschatka, but could not put to sea till the year 1739, so much time was taken up in getting to the port where they were to embark, in building and fitting out the ships, and providing the necessaries. Spengenberg sailed as far as the

north part of Japan, through a streight, formed by a long chain of islands, and returned without having discovered the passage.

In 1741, Bering cruised all over this sea, in company with De Lisse de la Croyere, the astronomer, of the same family of L'Isle, which has produced such excellent geographers: another captain likewise went upon the same discovery. They both made the coast of America, to the northward of California. Thus the north-east passage, so long sought after, was at length discovered, but there was no refreshments to be met with in those barren coasts. Their fresh water failed them, and part of the crew perished with the scurvy. They saw the northern bank of California for above an hundred miles, and saw some leathern canoes, with just such a sort of people in them as the Canadians. All their endeavours, however, proved fruitless: Bering ended his life in an island, to which he gave his name. The other captain happening to be closer in with the Californian coast, sent ten of his people on shore, who never returned. The captain, after waiting for them in vain, found himself obliged to return back to Kamtschatka, and De Lisse died as he was going on shore. Such are the disasters that have generally attended every new attempt upon the northern seas. But what advantages may yet arise from these powerful and dangerous discoveries, time alone can discover.

We have now described all the different provinces that compose the Russian dominions, from Finland to the sea of Japan. The largest parts of this empire have been all united at different times, as has been the case in all other king-

kingdoms in the world. The Scythians, Huns, Massagetes, Slavians, Cimbrians, Getes, and Sarmatians, are now subjects of the Czar. The Russians, properly so called, are the ancient Roxolani or Slavi.

Upon reflection, we shall find that most states were formed in the same manner. The French are an assemblage of Goths, of Danes called Normands, of northern Germans, called Burgundians; of Franks, Allmans, and some Romans mixed with the ancient Celtæ. In Rome and Italy there are several families descended from the people of the north, but none that we know of from the ancient Romans. The supreme pontiff is frequently the offspring of a Lombard, a Goth, a Teuton, or a Cimbrian. The Spaniards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, Jews, Tyrians, Visigoths, and Vandals, incorporated with the ancient inhabitants of the country. When nations are thus intermixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, or even before their language is formed. Some indeed receive these sooner, others latter. Polity and the liberal arts are so difficult to establish, and the new raised structure is so often destroyed by revolutions, that we may wonder all nations are not so barbarous as Tartars.

C H A P. II.

Continuation of the description of Russia, population, finances, armies, customs, religion, state of Russia before Peter the Great.

THE more civilized a country is, the better it is peopled. Thus China and India are more populous than any other empires, because, after a multitude of revolutions, which changed the face of sublunary affairs, these two nations made the earliest establishments in civil society: the antiquity of their government, which has subsisted upwards of four thousand years, supposes, as we have already observed, many essays and efforts in preceding ages. The Russians came very late; but the arts having been introduced amongst them in their full perfection, it has happened, that they have made more progress in fifty years, than any other nation had done before them in five hundred. The country is far from being populous, in proportion to its extent; but such as it is, it has as great a number of inhabitants as any other state in Christendom. From the capitation lists, and the register of merchants, artificers, and male peasants, I might safely assert, that Russia, at present, contains at least 24 millions of male inhabitants: of these 24 millions, the greatest part are villains or bondmen, as in Poland, several provinces of Germany, and formerly throughout all Europe. The estate of a gentleman in Russia and Poland is computed, not by his increase in money, but by the number of his slaves. The

RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

35

The following is a list taken in 1747, of all the males who paid the capitation or poll-tax.

Merchants or tradesmen	-	198000
Handicrafts	-	16500
Peasants incorporated with the merchants and handicrafts	-	1950
Peasants called Odonofkis, who contribute to maintain the militia	-	430220
Others who do not contribute thereto	-	26080
Workmen of different trades, whose parents are not known	-	1000
Others who are not incorporated with the companies of tradesmen	-	4700
Peasants immediately dependent on the crown, about	-	555000
Personsemployed in the mines belonging to the crown, partly Christians, partly Mahometans and Pagans	-	64000
Other peasants belonging to the crown, who work in the mines, and in private manufactures	-	24200
New convents to the Greek church	-	57000
Tartars and Ostiaks (peasants)	-	241000
Mourfes, Tartars, Mordauts, and others, whether Pagans or Christians, employed by the admiralty	-	7800
Tartars subject to contribution, called Tepteris, Bobilitz, &c.	-	28900
Bondmen to several merchants, and other privileged persons, who, tho' not landholders, are allowed to have slaves	-	9100
Carried over		1665450

	Brought over	1665450
Peasants in the lands set apart for the support of the crown	-	418000
Peasants on the lands belonging to her majesty, independently of the rights of the crown	-	60500
Peasants on the lands confiscated to the crown	-	13600
Bondmen belonging to gentlemen	-	3550000
Bondmen belonging to the assembly of the clergy, and who defray other expences	-	37500
Bondmen belonging to bishops	-	116400
Bondmen belonging to convents, whose numbers were reduced by Peter the Great	-	721500
Bondmen belonging to cathedral and parish churches	-	23700
Peasants employed as labourers in the docks of the admiralty, or in other public works, about	-	4000
Labourers in the mines, and in private manufactures	-	16000
Peasants on the lands assigned to the principal manufactures	-	14500
Labourers in the mines belonging to the crown	-	300
Bastards brought up by the clergy	-	40
Sectaries called Raskolniki	-	2200
		6646390

Here we have a round number of six millions six hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and ninety male persons, who pay the poll-tax. In this number are included boys and old men, but

girls and women are not reckoned, nor boys born between the making of one register of the lands and another. Now, if we only reckon triple the number of heads subject to be taxed, including women and girls, we shall find near 20 millions of souls.

To this number we may add the military list, which amounts to 350,000 men. Besides, neither the nobility nor clergy, who are computed at 200,000, are subject to this capitation.

Foreigners, of whatever country or profession, are likewise exempt: as also the inhabitants of the conquered countries, namely, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland, the Ukraine, and the Don Cossacks, the Calmucks, and other Tartars, Samojedes, the Laplanders, the Ostiaks, and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, a country of greater extent than China, are not included in this list.

By the same calculation, it is impossible that the total of the inhabitants of Russia should amount to less than 24 millions. At this rate, there are eight persons to every square mile. The English ambassador, whom I have mentioned before, allows only five; but he certainly was not furnished with such faithful memoirs, as those with which I have been favoured.

Russia therefore is exactly five times less populous than Spain, but contains near four times the number of inhabitants: it is almost as populous as France or Germany; but if we consider its vast extent, the number of souls is thirty times less.

There is one important remark to be made in regard to this enumeration, namely, that out of 6,640,000 people liable to the poll-tax, there

are about 900,000 that belong to the Russian clergy, without reckoning either the ecclesiastics of the conquered countries, of the Ukraine, or of Siberia.

Therefore, out of seven persons liable to the poll-tax, the clergy have one ; but nevertheless they are far from possessing the seventh part of the whole revenues of the state, as is the case in many other kingdoms, where they have at least a seventh of all estates ; for their peasants pay a capitation to the sovereign ; and the other taxes of the crown of Russia, in which the clergy have no share, are very considerable.

This valuation is very different from that of all other writers on the affairs of Russia ; so that foreign ministers, who have transmitted memoirs of this state to their courts, have been greatly mistaken. The archives of the empire are the only things to be consulted.

It is very probable, that Russia has been better peopled than it is at present ; before the small-pox, that came from the extremities of Arabia, and the great pox that came from America, had spread over these climates, where they have now taken root. The world owes these two dreadful scourges, which have depopulated it more than all its wars, the one to Mahomet, and the other to Christopher Columbus. The plague, which is a native of Africa, seldom approached the countries of the north. Besides, the people of those countries, from Sarmatia, to the Tartars who dwell beyond the great wall, having overspread the world by their irruptions, this ancient nursery of the human species must have been surprisingly diminished.

In this vast extent of country, there are said to be about 74,000 monks, and 5000 nuns, notwithstanding the care taken by Peter the Great to reduce their number; a care worthy the legislator of an empire, where the human race is so remarkably deficient. These 13,000 persons, thus immured and lost to the state, have (as the reader may have observed) 72,000 bondmen to till their lands, which is evidently too great a number; there cannot be a stronger proof how difficult it is to eradicate abuses of a long standing.

I find, by a list of the revenues of the empire in 1735, that reckoning the tribute paid by the Tartars, with all taxes and duties in money, the sum total amounted to 13 millions of rubles, which make 65 millions of French livres, exclusive of tributes in kind. This moderate sum was at that time sufficient to maintain 339,500, as well sea as land forces: but both the revenues and troops are augmented since that time.

The customs, diets, and manners of the Russians, ever bore a greater affinity to those of Asia than to those of Europe: such was the old custom of receiving tributes in kind; of defraying the expences of ambassadors on their journies, and during their residence in the country, and of never appearing at church, or in the royal presence with a sword; an oriental custom, directly the reverse of that ridiculous and barbarous one amongst us, of addressing ourselves to God, to our king, to our friends, and to our women, with an offensive weapon, which hangs down to the bottom of the leg. The long robe worn on public days, had a more noble air than the short habits of the western nations of Europe. A vest lined and turned up with fur, with

a long scimar, adorned with jewels for festival days; and those high turbans, which add to the stature, were much more striking to the eye; than our perukes and close coats, and more suitable to cold climates; but this ancient dress of all nations seems to be not so well contrived for war, nor so convenient for working people. Most of their other customs were rustic; but we must not imagine, that their manners were as barbarous as some writers would have us believe. Albert Krants relates a story of an Italian ambassador, whom the czar ordered to have his hat nailed to his head, for not pulling it off while he was making his speech to him. Others attribute this adventure to a Tartar, and others again to a French ambassador.

Olearius pretends, that the czar Michael Theodorowitz, banished the marquis of Exideüil, ambassador from Henry IV. of France, into Siberia; but it is certain, that this monarch sent no ambassador to Moscow, and that there never was a marquis of Exideüil in France. In the same manner do travellers speak about the country of Borandia, and of the trade they have carried on with the people of Nova Zembla, which is scarcely inhabited at all, and the long conversations they have had with some of the Samojedes, as if they understood their language. Were the enormous compilations of voyages to be cleared of every thing that is not true nor useful in them, both the works and the public would be gainers by it.

The Russian government resembled that of the Turks, in respect to the standing forces, or guards, called Strelitzes, who, like the Janissaries, sometimes disposed of the crown, and frequently

frequently disturbed the state as much as they defended it. Their number was about 40,000. Those who were dispersed in the provinces, subsisted by rapine and plunder; those in Moscow lived like citizens, followed trades, did no duty, and carried their insolence to the greatest excess: in short, there was no other way to preserve peace and good order in the kingdom, but by breaking them; a very necessary, and at the same time a very dangerous step.

The public revenue does not exceed five millions of rubles, or about 25 millions of French livres. This was sufficient when czar Peter came to the crown to maintain the ancient mediocrity, but was not a third part of what was necessary to go certain lengths, and to render himself and people considerable in Europe: but at the same time many of their taxes were paid in kind, according to the Turkish custom, which is less burthensome to the people than that of paying their tributes in money.

Of the Title of CZAR.

As to the title of czar, it may possibly come from the Tzars or Tchars of the kingdom of Casan. When John, or Ivan Basilides, completed the conquest of this kingdom in the 16th century, which had been begun by his grandfather, who afterwards lost it, he assumed this title, which his successors have retained ever since. Before John Basilides, the sovereign of Russia, took the title of *Welike Knez*, i. e. *Great prince, great lord, great chief*, which the christian nations afterwards rendered by that of great duke. Czar Michael Theodorowitz, when he received

received the Holstein embassy, took to himself the following titles: "Great *knez*, and great "lord, conservator of all the Russias, prince of "Wolodomer, Moscow, Novogorod, &c. "tzar of Casan, tzar of Astracan, and tzar of "Siberia." *Tzar* was, therefore, a title belonging to these eastern princes; and, therefore, it is more probable to have been derived from the *Tshas* of Persia, than from the Roman Cæsars, whom the Siberian Tzars, on the banks of the Oby, can hardly be supposed to have ever heard.

No title, however pompous, is of any consequence, if those who bear it are not great and powerful of themselves. The word *emperor*, which originally signified no more than *general of the army*, became the title of the sovereign of the Roman republic: it is now given to the supreme governor of all the Russias, more justly than to any other potentate, if we consider the power and extent of his dominions.

R E L I G I O N.

The established religion of this country, has ever since the 11th century been that of the Greek church, so called in opposition to the Latin: tho' there were always a greater number of Mahometan and Pagan provinces, than of those inhabited by christians. Siberia, as far as China, was in a state of idolatry; and in some of the provinces, they were utter strangers to all kind of religion.

Perry, the engineer, and baron Strahlemburg, who both resided so many years in Russia, tell us, that they found more sincerity and probity among

among the Pagans, than the other inhabitants ; not that paganism made them more virtuous, but their manner of living, which was that of the primitive ages, as they are called, freed them from all the tumultuous passions ; and, in consequence, they were known for their integrity.

Christianity did not get footing in Russia, and the other countries of the north, till very late. It is said that a princess, named Olha, first introduced it, about the end of the 10th century, as Clotilda, niece to an Arian prince, did among the Franks ; the wife of Miceslaus, duke of Poland, among the Poles ; and the sister of the emperor Henry II. among the Hungarians. Women are naturally easily persuaded by the ministers of religion, and as easily persuade the other part of mankind.

It is further added, that this princess Olha caused herself to be baptised at Constantinople, by the name of Helena ; and that as soon as she embraced christianity, the emperor John Zimisces fell in love with her. It is most likely that she was a widow ; however, she refused the emperor. The example of the princess Olha, or Olga, as she is called, did not at first make any great number of proselytes. Her son *, who reigned a long time, was not of the same way of thinking as his mother ; but her grandson Woldomer, who was born of a concubine, having murdered his brother and mounted the throne, sued for the alliance of Basiles, emperor of Constantinople, but could obtain it only on condition of receiving baptism : and this event, which happened in the year 987, is the epocha

* His name was Sowaftowslaw.

when

when the Greek church was first established in Russia. Photius, the patriarch, so famous for his immense erudition, his disputes with the church of Rome, and for his misfortunes, sent a person to baptise Wolodomer, in order to add this part of the world to the Patriarchal See *.

Wolodimer, or Wolodomar, therefore completed the work which his grandmother had begun. A Greek was made the first Metropolitan, or Patriarch of Russia; and from this time, the Russians adopted an alphabet, taken partly from the Greek. This would have been of advantage to them, had they not still retained the principles of their own language, which is the Sclavonian in every thing, but a few terms relating to their liturgy and church government. One of the Greek patriarchs, named Jeremiah, having a suit depending before the Divan, came to Moscow to solicit it; where, after some time, he resigned his authority over the Russian churches, and consecrated patriarch, the archbishop of Novogorod, named Job. This was in the year 1588, from which time the Russian church became as independent as its empire. The patriarch of Russia has ever since been consecrated by the Russian bishops, and not by the patriarch of Constantinople. He ranked in the Greek church next to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but he was in fact the only free and powerful patriarch; and consequently, the only real one. Those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, are mercenary chiefs of a

* This anecdote is taken from a private MS. intitled, "The Ecclesiastical Government of Russia," which is likewise deposited in the public library.

church, enslaved by the Turks; and even the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch are no longer considered as such, having no more credit or influence in Turkey, than the rabins of the Jewish synagogues settled there.

It was from a person who was patriarch of all the Russias, that Peter the Great was descended in a direct line. These new prelates soon wanted to share the sovereign authority with the czars. They thought it not enough that their prince walked bare-headed once a year before the patriarch, leading his horse by the bridle. These external marks of respect only served to increase their thirst for rule; a passion which proved the source of great troubles in Russia, as well as no other countries.

Nicon, a person whom the monks look upon as a saint, and who was patriarch in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, wanted to raise his dignity above that of the throne; for he not only assumed the privilege of sitting by the side of the czar in the senate, but pretended that neither war nor peace could be made without his consent. His authority was so great, that being supported by his immense wealth, and by his intrigues with the clergy and the people, he kept his master in a kind of subjection. He had the boldness to excommunicate some senators who opposed his excessive insolence; till at length, Alexis finding himself not powerful enough to depose him by his own authority, was obliged to convene a synod of all the bishops. There the patriarch was accused of having received money from the Poles; and being convicted, was deposed and confined for the remainder of his days in a monastery, after which
the

the prelates chose another patriarch in his stead.

From the first infancy of christianity in Russia, there have been several sects there, as well as in other countries ; for sects are as frequently the fruits of ignorance, as of pretended knowledge : but Russia is the only christian state of any considerable extent, in which religion has not excited civil wars, tho' it has felt some occasional tumults.

The Raskolnikys, who consist at present of about 2000 males, and who are mentioned in the foregoing list *, are the most ancient sect of any in this country. It was established in the 12th century, by some enthusiasts, who had a superficial knowledge of the New Testament : they made use then, and still do, of the old pretence of all sectaries, that of following the letter, and accused all other christians of remissness. They would not permit a priest, who had drank brandy, to confer baptism ; they affirmed, in the words of our Saviour, that there is neither a first nor a last, among the faithful ; and held, that one of the elect might kill himself for the love of his Saviour. According to them, it is a great sin to repeat the halleluja three times ; and, therefore, repeat it only twice. The benediction is to be given only with three fingers. In other respects, no society can be more regular or strict in its morals. They live like the quakers, and, like them, do not admit any other christians into their assemblies, which is the reason that these have accused them of all the abominations of which the heathens accused the primitive Galileans : these latter, the Gnostics, and

* See Page 36.

with

with which the Roman Catholics have charged the Protestants. They have been frequently accused of cutting the throat of an infant, and drinking its blood; and of mixing together in their private ceremonies, without distinction of kindred, age, or even of sex. They have been persecuted at times, and then they shut themselves up in their hamlets, set fire to their houses, and thrown themselves into the flames. Peter took the only method of reclaiming them, which was by letting them live in peace.

But to conclude in all this vast empire, there are but 28 episcopal sees; and in Peter's time, there were but 22. This small number was, perhaps, one of the causes to which the Russian church owes its tranquillity. So very circumscribed was the knowledge of the clergy, that czar Theodore, brother to Peter the Great, was the first who introduced the custom of singing psalms in churches.

Theodore and Peter, especially the latter, admitted indifferently into their councils and their armies, those of the Greek, the Latin, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist communion, leaving every one at liberty to serve God after his own conscience, provided he did his duty to the state. At that time, there was not one Latin church in this great empire of 2000 leagues, till Peter established some new manufactures at Astracan, when there were about sixty Roman Catholic families, under the direction of the capuchins; but the jesuits endeavouring to establish themselves in his dominions, he drove them out by an edict, published in the month of April 1718. He tolerated the capuchins as an insignificant
set

set of monks, but considered the jesuits as dangerous politicians.

The Greek church has at once the honour and satisfaction to see its communion extended throughout an empire of 2000 leagues in length, while that of Rome is not in possession of half that tract in Europe. Those of the Greek communion have, at all times, been particularly attentive to maintain an equality between theirs and the Latin church; and always upon their guard against the zeal of the see of Rome, which they look upon as ambition; because, in fact, that church whose power is very much circumscribed in our hemisphere, and yet assumes the title of *universal*, has always endeavoured to act up to that title.

The Jews never made any settlements in Europe, as they have done in most of the other states of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have carried on their trade by themselves, or by the help of the nations settled amongst them. Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion, where synagogues are not seen by the side of christian temples.

Conclusion of the State of RUSSIA, before PETER the GREAT.

Russia is indebted solely to czar Peter for its great influence in the affairs of Europe; being of no consideration in any other reign, since it embraced christianity. Before this period, the Russians made the same figure on the Black Sea, that the Normans did afterwards on the coasts of the ocean. In the reign of the emperor Heraclius, they fitted out an armament of

40,000

40,000 small barks appeared before Constantinople, which they besieged, and imposed a tribute on the Greek emperors; but the grand knez Wolodimar, being wholly taken up with the care of establishing christianity in his dominions, and wearied out with intestine broils in his own family, weakened his dominions by dividing them between his children. They almost all fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Russia in subjection near two hundred years. At length John Basilides freed it from slavery, and enlarged its boundaries; but after his time, it was ruined again by civil wars.

Before the time of Peter the Great, Russia was neither so powerful, so well cultivated, so populous, nor so rich as at present. It had no possessions in Finland, nor in Livonia; and this latter alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Cossacks were still unsubjected, nor were the people of Astracan reduced to obedience; what little trade was carried on, was rather to their disadvantage. The White Sea, the Baltic, the Pontus Euxinus, the sea of Asoph, and the Caspian sea, were entirely useless to a nation that had not a single ship, nor even a term in their language to express a fleet. If nothing more had been wanting but to be superior to the Tartars, and the other nations of the north, as far as China, the Russians undoubtedly had that advantage, but they were to be brought upon an equality with civilized nations, and to be in a condition one day of even surpassing several of them. Such an undertaking appeared altogether impracticable, inasmuch as they had not a single ship at sea, and were absolutely ignorant of military discipline by land; nay, the
most

most common manufactures were hardly encouraged, and that agriculture itself, the primum mobile of trade, was neglected. This requires the utmost attention and encouragement on the part of a government; and it is to this the English are indebted, for finding in their corn a treasure far superior to their woollen manufacture.

This gross neglect of the necessary arts, sufficiently shews, that the people of Russia had no idea of the polite arts, which become necessary in their turn, when we have cultivated the others. They might indeed have sent some of the natives to gain instruction among foreigners, but the difference of languages, manners, and religion, opposed it. Besides, there was a law of state and religion equally sacred and pernicious, which prohibited any Russian from going out of his country, and thus seemed to devote this people to eternal ignorance. They were in possession of the most extensive dominions in the universe, and yet every thing was wanted amongst them. At length Peter was born, and Russia became a civilized state.

Happily, of all the great lawgivers who have lived in the world, Peter is the only one whose history is well known. Those of Theseus and Romulus, who did far less than him, and of the founders of all well-governed states, are blended with the most absurd fictions; whereas here, we have the advantage of writing truths, which would pass for fictions, were they not so well attested.

C H A P. III.

The ancestors of PETER the GREAT.

THE family of Peter the Great have been in possession of the throne ever since the year 1613. Before that time, Russia had undergone revolutions, which had retarded the reformation of her police, and the introduction of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of all human societies. No kingdom ever experienced more cruel troubles. In the year 1597, the tyrant Boris Godonow assassinated Demetrius (or Demetri, as he was called) the lawful heir, and usurped the empire. A young monk took the name of Demetrius, pretending to be that prince who had escaped from his murderers, and with the assistance of the Poles, and a considerable party (which every tyrant has against him) he drove out the usurper, and seized the crown himself. The imposture was discovered as soon as he came to the sovereignty, because the people was not pleased with him; and he was murdered. Three other false Demetrius's started up one after another. Such a succession of impostors, supposes a country in the utmost distraction. The less men are civilized, the more easily they are imposed on. It may readily be conceived, how much these frauds augmented the public confusion and misfortunes. The Poles, who had begun the revolutions, by setting up the first false Demetrius, were on the point of being masters of Russia. The Swedes shared in the spoils on the coast of Finland, and laid claim to the crown.

crown. The state seemed on the verge of utter destruction.

In the midst of these calamities, an assembly, composed of the principal boyards, chose for their sovereign, a young man of fifteen years of age: this happened in 1613, and did not seem a very likely method of putting an end to these troubles. This young man was Michael Romanow *, grand-father to Czar Peter, and son to the archbishop of Rotow, surnamed Philaret, and of a nun, and related by the mother's side to the ancient Czars.

It must be observed, that this archbishop was a powerful nobleman, whom the tyrant Boris had obliged to become priest. His wife Scheremetow was likewise compelled to take the veil; this was the ancient custom of the western tyrants of the Latin church, as that of putting out the eyes, was with the Greek christians. The tyrant Demetrius made Philaret archbishop of Rostow, and sent him ambassador to Poland, where he was detained prisoner by the Poles, who were then at war with the Russians; so little was the law of nations known to the different people of these times. During his father's confinement, that young Romanow was elected Czar. The archbishop was exchanged against some Polish prisoners; and at his return, his son created him patriarch, and the old man was in fact king under his son's name.

If such a government appears extraordinary to strangers, the marriages of Czar Michael Romanow, will seem still more so. The Russian

* Thus the Russians call this young man, but in all French authors, we find Romano, that language having no such letter as the W; others again call him Romanoff.

prince had never intermarried with foreign states since the year 1490, or after they became masters of Casan and Astracan; they seem to have followed the Asiatic customs in almost every thing, and especially that of marrying only among their own subjects.

This conformity to the ancient customs of Asia, was still more conspicuous at the ceremonies observed at the marriage of a czar. A number of the most beautiful women in the province were sent for to court, where they were received by the grand gouvernante of the court, who provided apartments for them in her own house, where they all eat together. The czar paid them visits, sometimes incognito, and sometimes in his real character. The wedding-day was fixed, without its being declared on whom the choice had fallen. At the appointed time, the happy she was presented with a rich wedding-suit, and other dresses were given to the rest of the fair candidates, who then returned home. There have been four instances of these marriages.

In this manner was Michael Romanow espoused to Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman, named Streschneu. He was employed in ploughing in his grounds with his servants, when the lords of the bed-chamber came to him with presents from the czar, and to acquaint him that his daughter was placed on the throne. The name of the princess is still held in the highest veneration by the Russians. This custom is greatly different from ours, but not the less respectable on that account.

It is necessary to observe, that before Romanow was elected czar, a strong party had made

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choice

choice of prince Ladislaus, son to Sigismund III. king of Poland. At the same time, the provinces bordering on Sweden, had offered the crown to a brother of Gustavus Adolphus: so that Russia was in the same situation then in which we have so frequently seen Poland, where the right of electing a king has been the source of civil wars. But the Russians did not follow the example of the Poles, who entered into a compact with the prince whom they elected; notwithstanding they had smarted from the oppression of tyrants, yet they voluntarily submitted to a young man, without making any conditions with him.

Russia never was an elective kingdom; but the male issue of the ancient sovereigns failing, and six czars, or pretenders, having perished miserably in the late troubles, there was, as we have observed, a necessity for electing a monarch; and this election occasioned fresh wars with Poland and Sweden, who maintained, with force of arms, their pretended rights to the crown of Russia. The right of governing a nation against its own will, can never be long supported. The Poles, on their side, after having advanced as far as Moscow, and exercised all the ravages in which the military expeditions of those times chiefly consisted, concluded a truce for fourteen years. By this truce, Poland remained in possession of the duchy of Smolensko, in which the Boristhenes has its source. The Swedes also made peace, in virtue of which they remained in possession of Ingria, and deprived the Russians of all communication with the Baltic sea, so that this empire was separated more than ever from the rest of Europe.

Michael

Michael Romanow, after this peace, reigned quietly, without making any alteration in the state, either to the improvement or corruption of the administration. After his death, which happened in 1645, his son Alexis Michaelowitz (or son of Michael) ascended the throne by hereditary right. It may be observed, that the czars were crowned by the patriarch of Russia, according to the ceremonies in use at Constantinople, except that the patriarch of Russia was seated on the same ascent with the sovereign, and constantly affected an equality highly insulting to the supreme power.

ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, the son of Michael.

Alexis was married in the same manner as his father, and from among the young women presented to him, he chose the one who appeared the most amiable in his eyes. He married a daughter of the boyard Melossauski in 1647; his second wife, whom he married in 1671, was of the family of Nariskin, and his favorite Morosow was married to another. There cannot be a more suitable title found for this favourite than that of visir, for he governed the empire in a despotic manner, and, by his great power, excited several commotions among the Strelitzes and the populace, as frequently happens at Constantinople.

The reign of Alexis was disturbed by bloody insurrections, and by domestic and foreign wars. A chief of the Don Cossacks, named Stenko-Rasin, endeavoured to make himself king of Astracan, and was for a long time very formidable; but being at length defeated and taken

prisoner, he ended his life by the hands of the executioner; like all those of this stamp, who have nothing to expect but a throne or a scaffold. About 12,000 of his adherents are said to have been hanged, on the high road to Astracan. In this part of the world, men being uninfluenced by morality, were to be governed only by rigour; and from this severity, frequently carried on to a degree of cruelty, arose slavery, and a secret thirst of revenge.

Alexis had a war with the Poles that proved successful, and terminated in a peace, which secured to him the possession of Smolensko, Kiow, and the Ukraine: but he was unfortunate against the Swedes, and the boundaries of the Russian empire were contracted within a very narrow compass on that side of the kingdom.

The Turks were at that time his most formidable enemies: they invaded Poland, and threatened the dominions of the czar that bordered upon Crim Tartary, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus. In 1671, they took the important city of Kaminiek, and all that belonged to Poland in the Ukraine. The Cossacks of that country, ever averse to subjection, knew not whether they belonged to the Turks, Poland, or Russia. Sultan Mahomet IV. who had conquered the Poles, and had just imposed a tribute upon them, demanded, with all the haughtiness of an Ottoman victor, that the czar should evacuate his possessions in the Ukraine, but received as haughtily a denial from that prince. Men did not know at that time how to disguise their pride, by an outside of civility. The sultan, in his letter, styled the sovereign of the Russias only Christian Hospodar, and entitled himself "most gracious
"majesty

“majesty, king of the universe.” The czar replied in these terms, “that he scorned to submit to a Mahometan dog, and that his scimiter was as good as the Grand Seignior’s sabre.”

Alexis at that time formed a design which seemed to presage the influence which the Russian empire would one day obtain in the christian world. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns in Europe, excepting France, (which was in alliance with the Turks) in order to establish a league against the Ottoman Porte. His ambassadors at the court of Rome succeeded only in not being obliged to kiss the Pope’s toe; and in other courts they met only with unprofitable good wishes; the quarrels of the christian princes between themselves, and the jarring interests arising from those quarrels, having constantly prevented them from uniting against the common enemy of christianity.

In the mean time, the Turks threatened to chastise the Poles, who refused to pay their tribute: czar Alexis assisted on the side of Crim Tartary, and John Sobieski, general of the crown, wiped off his country’s stain, in the blood of the Turks, at the famous battle of Choczim * in 1674, which paved his way to the throne. Alexis disputed this very throne with him, and proposed to unite his extensive dominions to Poland, as the Jagellons had done; but in regard to Lithuania, the greatness of his offer was the cause of its being rejected. He is

* Or Chotzin, a town of Upper Moldavia in Europe, Turkey, well fortified both by nature and art, situated on the Dniester, and subject to the Turks, from whom it was taken by the Russians in 1739.

said to have been very deserving of the new kingdom, by the manner in which he governed his own. He was the first who caused a body of laws to be digested in Russia, tho' imperfect; and introduced both linen and silk manufactures, which indeed were not long kept up; nevertheless, he had the merit of their first establishment. He peopled the deserts about the Wolga and the Kama, with Lithuanian, Polish, and Tartarian families, whom he had taken prisoners in his wars: before his reign, all prisoners of war were the slaves of those to whose lot they fell. Alexis employed them in agriculture: he did his utmost endeavours to introduce discipline among his troops: in a word, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great; but he had no time to perfect what he had begun, being snatched away by a sudden death, at the age of 46, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our stile, which is eleven days forwarder than that of Russia.

FOEDOR, or THEODORE ALEXIOWITZ.

Upon the death of Alexis, son of Michael, all fell again into confusion. He left by his first marriage, two princes, and six princesses. Theodore, the eldest, ascended the throne at 15 years of age. He was a prince of a weak and sickly constitution, but of merit superior to his bodily infirmities. His father Alexis had caused him to be acknowledged his successor, a year before his death: a conduct observed by the kings of France from Hugh Capet, down to Lewis the Young, and by many other crowned heads.

The

The second son of Alexis was Iwan or John, who was still worse treated by nature than his brother Theodore, being almost blind and dumb, very infirm, and frequently attacked with convulsions. Of six daughters, born of this first marriage, the only one who made any figure in Europe, was the princess Sophia, who was remarkable for her great talents; but unhappily still more so for the mischief she intended against Peter the Great.

Alexis, by his second marriage with another of his subjects, daughter of the boyard Nariskin, had Peter, and the princess Nathalia. Peter was born the 30th of May (or the 10th of June new stile) in the year 1672; and was but four years old when he lost his father. As the children of a second marriage were not much regarded in Russia, it was little expected that he would one day mount the throne.

It had ever been the character of the family of Romanow to civilize their state. It was also that of Theodore. We have already remarked in speaking of Moscow, that this prince encouraged the inhabitants of that city, to build a great number of stone houses. He likewise enlarged that capital, and made several useful regulations in the general police. But by attempting to reform the boyards, he made them all his enemies: besides, he was not possessed of sufficient knowledge, vigour, or resolution, to venture upon making a general reformation. The war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, in which he was constantly engaged with alternate success, would not permit a prince of his weak state of health, to attempt so great a work. Theodore, like the rest of his predecessors,

married one of his own subjects, a native of the frontiers of Poland; but having lost her in less than a year after their nuptials, he took for his second wife, in 1682, Martha Matweowna, daughter of the secretary Nariskin*. Some months after this marriage, he was seized with the disorder which ended his days, and died without leaving any children. As the czars married without regard to birth, they might likewise (at least at that time) appoint a successor without respect to primogeniture. The dignity of comfort and heir to the sovereign seemed to be entirely the reward of merit; and in that respect, the custom of this empire was much preferable to the customs of more civilized states.

Theodore, before he expired, seeing that his brother Iwan was by his natural infirmities incapable of governing, nominated his younger brother Peter, heir to the empire of Russia. Peter, who was then only in his tenth year, had already given the most promising hopes.

If, on the one hand, the custom of raising a subject to the rank of czarina, was favourable to the females, there was another which was no less hard upon them; namely, that the daughters of the czars were very seldom married, but were most of them obliged to pass their lives in a monastery.

The princess Sophia, third daughter of czar Alexis, by his first marriage, was possessed of abilities, equally great and dangerous. Perceiving that her brother Theodore had not long to live, she

* This must certainly be a mistake of M. de Voltaire, or an error in the press; for the lady here spoken of, was the daughter of Matthias Apraxin, a person on whom Theodore had lately conferred nobility.

did not retire to a convent; but finding herself situated between two brothers, one of whom was incapable of governing, thro' his natural inability; and the other, on account of his youth, she conceived the design of placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence, in the last hours of czar Theodore, she attempted to act the part that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother, the emperor Theodosius.

C H A P. IV.

J O H N and P E T E R.

Horrible sedition among the STRELITZES*.

1682. **C**ZAR Theodore's eyes were scarcely closed; when the nomination of a prince of only ten years old to the throne, the exclusion of the elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia, their sister, excited a most bloody revolt amongst the Strelitzes. Never did the Janissaries, nor the Prætorian guards, exercise more horrible barbarities. The insurrection began two days after the interment of Theodore, when they all ran to arms in the Cremelin, which is the imperial palace at Moscow. There they began with accusing nine of their colonels, for keeping back part of their pay. The ministry was obliged to break the colonels, and to pay the Strelitzes the money they demanded; but this did not satisfy them, they insisted upon having these nine officers deli-

* Extracted wholly from the memoirs sent from Moscow and Petersbourg.

vered up to them, and condemned them by a majority of votes, to suffer the *Battogs* or *Knout*; the manner of which punishment is as follows:

The delinquent is stripped naked, and laid flat on his belly, while two executioners beat him over the back with switches or small canes, till the judge, who stands by to see the sentence put in execution, says, "It is enough." The colonels, after being thus treated by their men, were obliged to return them thanks, according to the custom of the eastern nations; where criminals, after undergoing their punishment, must kiss the judge's hand. Besides complying with this custom, the officers gave them a sum of money, which was something more than the custom.

While the Strelitzes thus began to make themselves formidable, the princess Sophia, who secretly encouraged them, in order to lead them by degrees from crime to crime, held a meeting at her house, consisting of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, the boyards, the patriarch, the bishops, and even some of the principal merchants; where she represented to them, that prince John, by right of birth and merit, was entitled to the empire, the reins of which she intended to keep in her own hands. At the breaking up of the assembly, she caused a promise to be made to the Strelitzes, of an augmentation of pay, besides considerable presents. Her emissaries were in particular employed to stir up the soldiery against the Nariskin family, especially the two brothers of the young dowager czarina, the mother of Peter the First. These persuaded the Strelitzes, that one of the brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes,

robes, had seated himself on the throne, and had attempted to strangle prince John; adding, moreover, that the late czar Theodore had been poisoned by a villain, named Daniel Vongad, a Dutch physician. At last Sophia put into their hands a list of forty noblemen, whom she stiled enemies to their corps, and to the state, and as such worthy of death. These proceedings exactly resembled the proscriptions of Sylla, and the Roman triumvirate, which had been revived by Christian II. in Denmark and Sweden. This may serve to shew, that such cruelties prevail in all countries in times of anarchy and confusion. The mutineers began the tragedy with throwing the two knes, or princes, Dolgorouki and Matheof, out of the palace windows; whom the Strelitzes received upon the points of their spears, then stripped them, and dragged their dead bodies into the great square; after this they rushed into the palace, where meeting with Athanasius Nariskin, a brother of the young czarina, and one of the uncles of czar Peter, they murdered him in like manner; then breaking open the door of a neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed persons had taken refuge, they drag them from the altar, strip them naked, and stab them to death with knives.

They were so blinded with their fury, that seeing a young nobleman of the family of Soltikoff, a great favourite of theirs, and who was not included in the list of the proscribed, and some of them mistaking him for John Nariskin, whom they were in search of, they murdered him upon the spot; and what plainly shews the manners of those times, after having discovered their error, they carried the body of young Soltikoff,

तिकoff, to his father to bury it ; and the wretched parent, far from daring to complain, gave them a considerable reward for bringing him the mangled body of his son. Being reproached by his wife, his daughters, and the widow of the deceased, for his weakness, " Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man. These words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned furiously back into the room, dragged the aged parent by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

Another party of the Strelitzes, who were scouring the city in search of the Dutch physician Vongad, met with his son, of whom they inquired for his father ; the youth trembling, replied, he did not know where he was, upon which they immediately dispatched him. Soon after a German physician falling in their way, " You are a doctor, said they, and if you did not poison our master Theodore, you have poisoned others, and therefore merit death," and thereupon killed him.

At length they found the Dutchman, of whom they were in quest, disguised in the garb of a beggar ; they instantly drag him before the palace : the princesses who loved this worthy man, and placed great confidence in his skill, begged the Strelitzes to spare him, assuring them that he was a very good physician, and had taken all possible care of their brother Theodore. The Strelitzes made answer, that he not only deserved to die as a physician, but also as a forcerer ; and that they had found in his house, a great dried toad, and the skin of a serpent. They furthermore required to have young Nariskin delivered up to them, whom they had searched for in vain for

two days; alledging, that he was certainly in the palace, and that they would set fire to it, unless he was put into their hands. The sister of John Nariskin, and the other princesses, terrified by their menaces, went to acquaint their unhappy brother in the place of his concealment, with what had passed; upon which the patriarch heard his confession, administers the viaticum and extreme unction to him, and then taking an image of the blessed virgin; which was said to perform miracles, he lead the young man forth by the hand, and presents him to the Strelitzes, shewing them, at the same time, the image of the virgin. The princesses, who in tears surrounded Nariskin, falling upon their knees before the soldiers, besought them, in the name of the blessed virgin, to spare their relation's life; but the inhuman wretches tore him from their arms, and dragged him to the foot of the stairs, together with the physician Vongad, where they held a kind of tribunal amongst themselves, and condemned them both to be put to the torture. One of the soldiers, who could write, drew up a form of accusation, and sentenced the two unfortunate princes to be cut in pieces; a punishment inflicted in China and Tartary on parricides, and called the punishment of ten thousand slices. After having thus used Nariskin and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands, on the iron points of a balustrade.

While this party of the Strelitzes were thus glutting their fury in the sight of the princesses, the rest massacred every one who was obnoxious to them, or suspected by the princess Sophia.

This

This horrid tragedy concluded with proclaiming the two princes, John and Peter, in June 1682, joint sovereigns, and associating their sister Sophia with them, in the quality of co-regent; who then publicly approved of all their outrages, gave them rewards, confiscated the estates of the proscribed, and bestowed them upon their murderers. She even permitted them to erect a monument, with the names of the persons they had murdered, as being traitors to their country: and to crown all, she published letters patent, thanking them for their zeal and fidelity.

CHAP. V.

Administration of the princess SOPHIA.

Extraordinary quarrel about religion. A conspiracy.

SUCH were the steps by which the princess Sophia did in effect ascend the throne of Russia, though without being declared czarina; and such the examples that PETER the FIRST had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of a sovereign; her bust was on the public coin; she signed all dispatches, held the first place in council, and enjoyed a power without controul. She was possessed of a great share of understanding, and some wit, made verses in the Russian language, and both spoke and wrote extremely well. These talents were set off by the addition of an agreeable person, and sullied only by her ambition.

She

She procured a wife for her brother John, in the manner already described in several examples. A young lady, named Soltikoff, of the family with the noblemen of that name who had been assassinated by the seditious Strelitzes, was sent for from the heart of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortress, to be presented to czar John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over all the intrigues of her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a czar, we seem to read the history of Ahasuerus, or that of Theodosius the Younger.

In the midst of the rejoicings on account of this marriage, the Strelitzes raised a new insurrection, and (who would believe it?) on account of religion! of a particular tenet! Had they been mere soldiers, they would never have become controvertists, but they were also citizens of Moscow. Whosoever has, or assumes a right of speaking in an authoritative manner to the populace, may found a sect. This has been seen in all ages, and all parts of the world, especially since the passion of dogmatizing has become the instrument of ambition, and the terror of weak minds.

Russia had experienced some previous disturbances on occasion of a dispute, whether the sign of a cross was to be made with three fingers, or with two? One Abakum, who was all the priest, had set up some new tenets at Moscow, in regard to the holy spirit; which, according to the scriptures, enlightened all the faithful; as likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive christians, and these words of Christ, "There shall be amongst you neither first nor last." Several citizens, and many of the Strelitzes,

Strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum. One Raspop* was the chief of this party, which became considerable. The sectaries, at length, entered (July 16, 1682, new stile) the cathedral, where the patriarch and his clergy were officiating; drove them out of the church with stones, and seated themselves very devoutly in their places, to receive the holy spirit. They called the patriarch the "ravenous wolf in the sheepfold;" a title which all sects have liberally bestowed on each other. The princess Sophia, and the two czars, were immediately made acquainted with these disturbances; and the other Strelitzes, who were staunch to the good old cause, were given to understand, that the czars and the church were in danger. Upon this the Strelitzes and burghers of the patriarchal party attacked the Abakumists; but a stop was put to the carnage, by publishing a convocation of a council, which was immediately assembled in a hall of the palace. This took up very little time, for they obliged every priest they met to attend. The patriarch, and a bishop, disputed against Raspop; but at the second syllogism, they began to throw stones at one another. The council ended with ordering Raspop, and some of his faithful disciples, to have their heads struck off; and the sentence was executed by the sole order of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter.

During these troubles, there was a knez, named Chowanskoi, who, having been instrumental in raising the princess Sophia to the dig-

* Here M. de Voltaire seems to have greatly mistaken the sense of this word. Raspop not being a proper name, in which sense he takes it, but signifies a degraded priest.

nity she then held, wanted, as a reward for his services, to have a share in the administration.

It may be supposed, that he found Sophia not so grateful as he could wish; upon which he espoused the cause of religion, and the persecuted Raspopians, and stirred up a party among the Strelitzes and the people, in defence of God's name.

This conspiracy proved a more serious affair than the enthusiastic riot of Raspop. An ambitious hypocrite always carries things farther than a simple fanatic. Chowanskoi aimed at no less than the imperial dignity; and to rid himself of all cause of fear, he resolved to murder the ~~two~~ czars, Sophia, the other princesses, and every one who was attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of Petersbourg *. This was, at the same time, a convent, a palace, and a fortress, like mount Cassino †, Corby ‡, Fulda §, Kempten §, and several others belonging to the Latin church. This monastery of the Trinity belongs to the monks of St. Basil. It is surrounded by deep ditches, and ramparts of

* We suppose the author means Moscow.

† Or Cossano, a small town and abbey in the Milanese. On the Adda, near this place, an obstinate battle was fought between the Germans and French, in 1705, when prince Eugene defeated the duke of Vendome.

‡ A town and abbey on the borders of Westphalia, in Germany; the abbot of which is a sovereign prince, and has a seat in the imperial diet.

§ Or Fuld, a town and abbey of Hesse, in Germany, situate on a river of the same name. It is governed by an abbot, who is a prince of the empire.

§ An imperial city of Suabia, in Germany, situate on the Har.

brick,

brick, on which is planted a numerous artillery. The monks are possessed of all the country round for four leagues. The imperial family were in full safety there, but more on account of the strength, than the sanctity of the place. Here Sophia treated with the rebel knes; and having decoyed him half way, caused his head to be struck off, together with those of one of his sons, and thirty-seven Strelitzes who accompanied him.

The body of Strelitzes upon this news, fly to arms, and march to attack the convent of Trinity, threatening to destroy every thing that come in their way. The imperial family stood upon their defence; the boyards arm their vassals, all the gentlemen flocked in, and a bloody civil war seemed on the point of beginning. The patriarch somewhat pacified the Strelitzes, who began to be intimidated with the number of troops that were marching towards them on all sides: in short, their fury was changed into fear, and their fear into the most abject submission; a change common to the multitude. Three thousand seven hundred of this corps, followed by their wives and children, with ropes tied about their necks, went in procession to the convent of the Trinity, which three days before they had threatened to burn to the ground. In this condition, these unhappy wretches present themselves before the gate of the convent, two by two, one carrying a block, and another an ax; and prostrating themselves on the ground, waited for their sentence. They were pardoned upon their submission; and returned back to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; and still disposed, tho'
unknown.

unknown to themselves, to commit the same crime upon the very first opportunity.

These commotions being subsided, the state resumed an exterior of tranquillity; but Sophia still remained possessed of the chief authority, leaving John to his incapacity, and keeping Peter in the subjection of a ward. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with prince Basil Galitzin, whom she created generalissimo, minister of state, and lord keeper. Galitzin was in every respect superior to any person in that distracted court: he was polite, magnificent, full of great designs, more learned than any of his countrymen, as having received a much better education, and was even master of the Latin tongue, which was, at that time, almost entirely unknown in Russia. He was of an active and indefatigable spirit, had a genius superior to the times he lived in, and capable, had he had leisure and power, as he had inclination, to have changed the face of things in Russia. This is the elogium given of him by La Neuville, at that time the Polish envoy in Russia; and the encomiums of foreigners are seldom to be suspected.

This minister bridled the insolence of the Strelitzes, by distributing the most mutinous of that body, among the several regiments in the Ukraine, in Casan, and Siberia. It was under his administration, that the Poles, long the rivals of Russia, gave up, in 1686, all pretensions to the large provinces of Smolensko and the Ukraine. He was the first who sent an embassy to France, in 1687; a country, which had for upwards of twenty years been in the zenith of its glory, by the conquests, new establishments, and the magnificence of Lewis XIV. and especially by the improvement.

improvement of the arts, there can be only external grandeur, but solid glory. France had not then entered into any correspondence with Russia, or rather was unacquainted with that empire; and the academy of inscriptions ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate this embassy, as if it had come from the most distant part of the Indies; but notwithstanding all this, the ambassador Dolgoroufski miscarried in his negotiation, and even suffered some gross affronts on account of the behaviour of his domestics, whose mistakes it would have been better to have overlooked; but the court of Lewis XIV. could not then foresee, that France and Russia would one day reckon among the number of their advantages, that of being cemented by the closest union.

Russia was now quiet at home, but she was still pent up on the side of Sweden, though enlarged towards Poland, her new ally, in continual alarms on the side of Crim Tartary, and at variance with China in regard to the frontiers.

The most intolerable circumstance for their empire, and which plainly shewed, that it had not yet attained to a vigorous and regular administration was, that the Khan of the Crim Tartars exacted an annual tribute of 6000 rubles, in the nature of that which the Turk had imposed on the Poles.

Crim Tartary is the ancient Taurica Chersonesus, formerly so famous by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more by their fables, a fruitful but barbarous country. It took its name of Crimea or Crim, from the title of its first Khans, who took this name before the conquests.

quests of the sons of Gengis Khan. To free his country from this yoke, and wipe off the disgrace of such a tribute, the prime minister, Galitzin, marched in person into 1687. Crim Tartary, at the head of a numerous army. These armies were not to be compared to the present troops; they had no discipline; there was hardly one regiment completely armed; they had no uniform cloathing, no regularity: their men indeed were inured to hard labour and a scarcity of provisions, but then they carried with them such a prodigious quantity of baggage, as far exceeded any thing of the kind in our camps, where the greatest luxury prevails. Their vast numbers of waggons for carrying ammunition and provisions, in an uninhabitable and desert country, greatly retarded the expedition against Crim Tartary. The army found itself in the midst of the vast deserts, on the river Samara, unprovided with magazines. Here Galitzin did, what, in my opinion, was never done any where else: he employed 30,000 men in building a town on the banks of the Samara, to serve as a place for magazines in the ensuing campaign: it was begun in one year, and finished in the third month of the following; the houses indeed were all of wood except two, which were brick; the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery; and the whole place was in a tolerable state of defence.

This was all that was done of any consequence in this ruinous expedition. In the meanwhile, Sophia continued to govern in Moscow, while John had only the name of czar; and Peter, now at the age of seventeen, had already the

the courage to aim at real sovereignty. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, then resident at Moscow, and who was eye-witness to all that passed, pretends that Sophia and Galitzin had engaged the new chief of the Strelitzes, to sacrifice to them their young czar: it appears, at least, that 600 of these Strelitzes were to have made themselves masters of his person. The private memoirs, which have been entrusted to my perusal, by the court of Russia, affirm, that a scheme had actually been laid to murder Peter the First: the blow was on the point of being struck, and Russia for ever deprived of the new existence she has since received. The czar was once more obliged to take refuge in the convent of the Trinity, the usual asylum of the court when threatened by the soldiers. There he assembled the boyards of his party, raised a body of forces, treats with the captains of the Strelitzes, and called in the assistance of certain Germans, who had been long settled in Moscow, and were all attached to his person, from his having already shewn himself the encourager of strangers. Sophia and John, who continued at Moscow, used every means to engage the Strelitzes, to remain firm to their interests; but the cause of young Peter, who loudly complained of an attempt meditated against himself and his mother, prevailed over that of the princess, and of a czar, whose very aspect alienated all hearts. All the accomplices were punished with a severity to which that country was as much accustomed, as to the crimes which occasioned it. Some were beheaded, after undergoing the punishment of the knout or battocks. The chief of the Strelitzes was put to death in the same manner,

manner, and several other suspected persons had their tongues cut out. Prince Galitzin escaped with his life, through the intercession of one of his relations, who was a favourite of czar Peter; but he was stripped of all his riches, which were immense, and banished to a place in the neighbourhood of Archangel. La Neuville, who was present at the whole of this catastrophe, relates, that the sentence pronounced upon Galitzin, was in these terms. "Thou art commanded, "by the most clement czar, to repair to Karga, "a town under the Pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, "out of his extreme goodness, allows thee three "pence per day for thy subsistence."

There is no town under the Pole. Karga is in the 62d degree of latitude, and only six degrees and an half further north than Moscow. Whoever pronounced this sentence, must have been a very bad geographer. La Neuville was probably imposed upon by a false account.

1689. At length, the Princess Sophia was once more sent back to her monastery at Moscow*, after having so long held the reins of government; and this revolution proved, to a woman of her disposition, a sufficient punishment.

From this instant Peter began to reign in reality; his brother John having no other share in the government, but that of seeing his name to all public acts. He led a retired life, and died in 1646.

* How are we to reconcile this with what the author tells us in the latter part of the third chapter, where he says, that this princess, perceiving that her brother Theodore was near his end, declined retiring to a convent, as was the usual custom of the princesses of the imperial family?

C H A P. VI.

The REIGN of PETER the FIRST.

Beginning of the Grand Reformation.

PETER the Great was tall, genteel, well-made, with a noble aspect, piercing eyes, and a robust constitution, fitted for all kinds of hardship and bodily exercise. He had a sound understanding, which is the basis of all real abilities; and to this was joined an active disposition, which prompted him to undertake and execute the greatest things. His education was far from being worthy of his genius. The princess Sophia was, in a peculiar manner, interested to let him remain in ignorance, and to indulge himself in those excesses which youth, idleness, custom, and the high rank he held, made but too allowable. Nevertheless, June he had been lately married, like others 1689. of his predecessors, to one of his own subjects, the daughter of colonel Lapuchin; but as he was young, and for some time enjoyed none of the prerogatives of the crown, but that of indulging his pleasures without restraint, the ties of wedlock were not always sufficient to keep him within just bounds. The pleasures of the table, in which he indulged himself rather too freely, with foreigners who had been invited to Moscow by prince Galitzin, seemed not to presage that he would one day become the reformer of his country; however, in spite of bad examples, and even the allurements
of

of pleasures, he applied himself to the arts of war and government, and which even then shewed, that he had the seeds of greatness in him.

It was still less expected, that a prince, who was subject to such a constitutional dread of water, as to subject him to cold sweats, and even convulsions, when he was obliged to cross a small river or a brook, should become one of the best seamen, in all the north. In order to get the better of nature, he began by jumping into the water, notwithstanding the horror he felt at it, till at length this aversion was changed into a fondness for that element*.

He often blushed at the ignorance in which he had been brought up. He learned, almost of himself, without the help of a master, enough of grammar and High Dutch, to be able to write and explain himself tolerably well in both those languages. The Germans and Dutch appeared to him as the most civilized nations, because the former had already erected in Moscow, some of those arts and manufactures which he was desirous of seeing established in his empire, and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which

* We find in the memoirs of count Strahleberg, a Swedish officer, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Pultowa, and continued many years at the court of czar Peter, the following account of the true cause of this extraordinary kind of hydrophobia. When Peter was about five years of age, his mother took him with her in a coach for an airing, and having to pass a dam, where there was a great fall of water, the child, who was then sleeping in his nurse's lap, was so terrified by the rushing of the water, (the noise of which waked him suddenly out of his sleep) that he was seized with a violent fever, and after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element, that he could not bear the sight even of any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

he already began to look upon as the most necessary of all others.

Such were the dispositions which Peter cherished, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. At the same time, he found himself disturbed by factions at home, had the turbulent spirit of the Strelitzes to keep under, and an almost uninterrupted war to manage against the Crimean Tartars. For tho' hostilities had been suspended in 1689 by a truce, it had no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter became confirmed in his design of introducing the arts into his country.

His father Alexis had, in his life-time, entertained the same views, but he wanted leisure, and a favourable opportunity to carry them into execution; he transmitted his genius to his son, who was more clear-sighted, more vigorous, and more unshaken by difficulties and obstacles.

Alexis had been at a great expence in sending for Bothler*, a ship-builder and sea captain from Holland, together with a number of shipwrights and sailors. These built a large frigate and a yacht upon the Wolga, which they navigated down that river to Astracan, where they were to be employed in building more vessels, for carrying on an advantageous trade with Persia by the Caspian sea. Just at this time the revolt of Stenko Rasin broke out, and this rebel destroyed these two vessels, which he ought to have preserved for his own sake, and murdered the captain; the rest of the crew fled into Persia, from whence they got to some settlements belonging to the Dutch East India company. A

* Memoirs of Peterbourg and Moscow.

master-builder, who was a good shipwright, staid behind in Russia, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

One day, Peter taking a walk at Ishmaelof, a summer-palace built by his grand-fathers, he perceived, among several other rarities, an old English shallop, which had lain entirely neglected: upon which he asked Timmerman, a German, and his mathematical teacher, how came that little boat to be of so different a construction from any he had seen on the Moskwa? Timmerman replied, that it was made to go with sails and oars. The young prince wanted instantly to make a trial of it; but it was first to be repaired and rigged. Brant, the ship-builder abovementioned, was by accident found out at Moscow, where he lived retired; he soon put the boat in order, and worked her upon the river Yauza, which washes the suburbs of the town.

Peter caused his boat to be removed to a great lake, in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity; he likewise made Brant build two more frigates, and three yachts, and piloted them himself. A considerable time afterwards, viz. in 1694, he made a journey to Archangel, and having ordered a small vessel to be built in that port by the same Brant, he embarked therein on the Frozen sea, which no sovereign beside himself had ever beheld. On this occasion, he was escorted by a Dutch man of war, under the command of captain Jolson, and attended by all the merchant vessels then in the port of Archangel. He had already learned the manner of working a ship; and notwithstanding the pains his courtiers took to imitate their master,

he was the only one who made a proficiency in it.

He found it no less difficult to raise a well-disciplined body of land forces on whom he could depend, than to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation, on a lake, previous to his journey to Archangel, was looked upon only as the amusements of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, likewise appeared as nothing more than that of diversion. This happened during the regency of the princess Sophia; and had he been suspected of meaning any thing serious by this amusement, it might have been attended with fatal consequences to him.

He placed his confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family in Piedmont, transplanted near two centuries ago to Geneva, where they have filled the most considerable posts in the state. He was intended to have been brought up to trade, to which that town is indebted for the figure it now makes, having formerly been known only as the seat of religious controversies.

But his genius, which prompted him to the greatest undertakings, engaged him to quit his father's house at the age of fourteen; and he served four months* in quality of a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles; from thence he went to Holland, where he served some time as a volunteer, and was wounded at the siege of Grave;

* This should certainly be four years, as we can hardly suppose a boy of 14 years and an half, would be received into the military service of any country, and much less by the Dutch at that period of time, when they stood in need of able and experienced soldiers, to withstand the attacks of the French, who breathed nothing less than the utter subversion of their state.

a strong

a strong fortified town on the Meuse, which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Lewis XIV. in 1694. After this, led by hopes of preferment, wherever he could find it, he embarked with a German colonel, named Verstin, who had obtained a commission from Peter's father, the czar Alexis, to raise soldiers in the Netherlands, and bring them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a most fatiguing and dangerous navigation, the czar Alexis was no more; the government was changed, and Russia in confusion. The governor of Archangel suffered Verstin, Le Fort, and his whole troop, to remain a long time, in the utmost poverty and distress, and even threatened to send them into the extremity of Siberia; upon which every man shifted for himself. Le Fort, in want of every thing, repaired to Moscow, where he waited upon the Danish resident, named de Horn, who made him his secretary; there he learned the Russian language, and some time afterwards found means to be introduced to czar Peter; the elder brother Iwan, not being a person for his purpose. Peter was taken with him, and immediately gave him a company of foot. Le Fort had seen very little service, he knew but little of letters, not having studied any particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and had a talent of making the most of what he saw. Like the czar, he owed every thing to his own genius; he understood the German and Dutch languages, which Peter was learning, as those of two nations that might be of service in his designs. Every thing conspired to make him agreeable to Peter, to whom he strictly attached himself.

himself. From being the companion of his pleasures, he became his favourite, and confirmed himself in that station by his abilities. The czar made him his confidant in the most dangerous design, that a prince of that country could possibly form, namely, that of putting himself in a condition to be able one day to break the seditious and barbarous body of forces called the Strelitzes. It had cost the great sultan or bashaw Osman his life, for attempting to disband the Janissaries. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Osman.

He began with forming, at his country-seat at Preobrazinski, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some young gentlemen, the sons of boyards, were chosen for their officers: but in order to teach these young noblemen a subordination, to which they were wholly unaccustomed, he made them pass through all the different military degrees, and himself set them the example, by serving first as a drum, then as a private soldier, a serjeant, and a lieutenant of the company. Nothing was ever more extraordinary, nor more useful than this conduct. The Russians had hitherto made war in the same manner as our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures, when the unexperienced nobles took the field at the head of their vassals, undisciplined, and ill-armed: a barbarous method, sufficient indeed to act against the like armies, but of no use against regular troops.

This company, which was formed wholly by Peter himself, soon increased in numbers, and became afterwards the regiment of Preobrazinski guards. Another regiment, formed on the same plan,

plan, became in time the regiment of Semeniousky guards.

The czar had already a regiment of five thousand men that could be depended upon, trained by general Gordon, a Scotchman, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had borne arms but a short time, but whose capacity was equal to every thing, undertook to raise a regiment of 12,000 men, which he effected: five colonels were appointed to serve under him, and he saw himself on a sudden general of this little army, which had been raised, as much to oppose the Surlitzes, as the enemies of the state.

One thing worthy of being remarked *, and which fully confutes the hasty error of those who pretend, that France lost very few of its inhabitants by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, is, that one-third of his army, which was only called a regiment, consisted of French refugees. Le Fort disciplined his new troops, as if he had been all his lifetime a soldier.

Peter was desirous of seeing one of those images of war, the mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace: a fort was erected, which was to be attacked by one part of his new troops, and defended by the other. The difference between this fight, and others of the like nature, was, that instead of a sham engagement, there was a real one, in which some of his men were slain, and a great many wounded †. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a considerable wound. These bloody sports were intended to initiate the young

* General le Fort's MSS.

† Idem.

troops into the service of the field; but it required much labour, and even some degree of sufferings, to compass this end.

These warlike amusements did not take off the czar's attention to his naval project. As he had made Le Fort a general by land, notwithstanding his having never borne a command; he now made him admiral, though he had never had the direction of a ship, but he knew him deserving both of the one and the other. It is true, that he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general with only his regiment for an army.

By degrees the czar reformed that great abuse in the army, viz. the independence of the boyards, who, in time of war, used to bring into the field a multitude of their vassals and peasants: this was exactly the ancient government of the Franks, Huns, Goths, and Vandals, who indeed subdued the Roman empire in its state of decline, but would have been totally destroyed, had they had the warlike disciplined legions of ancient Rome to encounter, or such armies as are now brought into the field.

Admiral Le Fort was not long, however, before he had something more than an empty title. He employed some Dutchmen and Venetians in building a number of barcolongo's, or kind of long barks, and also two ships of about thirty guns each, at the mouth of the Woronitz, which falls into the Tamais, or Don: these vessels were to fall down the river, and keep in awe the Crim Tartars, with whom hostilities had been renewed.

The czar was now to determine (in 1689) against which of the following powers he would declare

declare war, whether against the Turks, the Swedes, or the Chinese. But here it will be proper to premise on what terms he then stood with China, and which was the first treaty of peace concluded by that nation.

CHAP. VII.

Congress and Treaty with the CHINESE*.

WE must set out by forming a proper idea of the limits of the Chinese and Russian empires at this period. When we leave Siberia, properly so called, and also far behind us to the south, an hundred hords of Tartars, with white and black Calmucks, and mahometan and pagan Moguls, we come to the 130th degree of longitude, and the 52d of latitude, upon the river Amur†. To the northward is a great chain of mountains, that stretches as far as the Frozen Sea, beyond the polar circle. This river, which runs upwards of 500 leagues ‡, through Siberia and Chinese Tartary, falls after many windings into the sea of Kamt-

* Extracted from memoirs sent from China; also from Petersbourg, and from letters published in Du Halde's history of China.

† A famous and considerable river of the Asiatic part of the empire of Russia, which falls into the eastern ocean. It was formerly called Charan Muran; but at present the Chinese and Mauschurs give it the name of Sagalin Ula. It also bears the several appellations of Jamur, Onon, Helong, Kiang, and Skillka. It is formed by the junction of the rivers Skillka and Argun, and is navigable to the sea.

‡ Busching, the famous geographer, says, that its whole length is no more than 400 miles, so that there must be a very great error in the one or other of these authors.

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skatka. It is affirmed for a truth, that at its mouth, which opens with this sea, there is sometimes caught a monstrous fish, much larger than the hypopotamus of the Nile, and that the tooth thereof is the finest ivory. It is furthermore said, that this ivory was formerly an object of trade; that they used to convey it through Siberia, which is the reason why several pieces of it are still found under ground in that country. This is the most probable account of that fossil ivory, of which we have elsewhere spoken; for it appears highly chimerical to pretend, that there were formerly elephants in Siberia.

This Amur is likewise called the Black river by the Mantchoux Tartars, and the Dragons river by the Chinese.

It was in these countries, so long unknown, that the Russians and Chinese contested the limits of their empires*. The Russians had some forts on the river Amur, about three hundred leagues from the great walls. Many hostilities had arisen between these two nations on account of these forts: at length both began to understand their interests better; the emperor Camhi preferred peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, and sent several ambassadors to Niptchou, one of those settlements. The ambassadors had ten thousand men in their retinue, including their escort. This was Asiatic pomp; but what is very remarkable is, that there was not an example in the annals of the empire, of an embassy being sent to another potentate; and what is still more singular, that the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation

* Memoirs of the jesuits Pereira and Gerbillon.

of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who attacked and subjected them, they never made war upon any people, excepting a few hords that were quickly subdued, or as quickly left to themselves, without any treaty. So that this nation, so renowned for morality, knew nothing of what we call the "Law of Nations;" that is to say, of those vague rules of war and peace, of the privileges of foreign ministers, of the formalities of treaties, nor of the obligations resulting from thence, nor of the disputes concerning precedence and point of honour.

But in what language were the Chinese to negotiate with the Russians, in the midst of deserts? This difficulty was removed by two jesuits, the one a Portuguese, named Pereira, the other a Frenchman, whose name was Gerbillion; they set out from Pekin with the Chinese ambassadors, and were themselves the real negotiators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Russian embassy, who understood this language. The chief of that embassy was Golowin, governor of Siberia, who displayed a greater magnificence than the Chinese themselves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Russian empire, to a people who thought themselves the only powerful nation under the sun.

The two jesuits settled the limits of both empires, at the river Kerbechi, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. All the country, to the southward of this line of partition, was adjudged to the Chinese, and the north to the Russians, who only lost a small fort which was found to have been built beyond the limits: a

peace was agreed to, and after some few alterations, both parties swore to observe it, in the name of the same God*; and in these terms, “If any of us shall entertain the least thought of kindling anew the flames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, and who knows all hearts, to punish the traitor with sudden death.”

From this form of treaty, used alike by Chinese and Christians, we may infer two important truths: the first, that the Chinese government is neither atheistical nor idolatrous, as has been so frequently and falsely charged upon it, by contradictory imputations. Secondly, that all nations who cultivate the gift of reason and understanding, do, in effect, acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular deviations of that reason, thro’ the want of being properly instructed.

The treaty was drawn up in Latin, and two copies were made of it. The Russian ambassadors set their names the first to the copy that remained in their possession, and the Chinese also signed their’s the first, agreeable to the custom observed by European nations, when two equal powers conclude a treaty with each other. On this occasion was observed another custom belonging to the Asiatic nations, and which was, indeed, that of the earliest ages. The treaty was engraven on two large marble pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires.

Three years after this, the czar sent Isbrand Ides, a Dane, his ambassador to China; and the commerce he then established between the

* 1689, September 8, New Stile. *Memoirs of China.*

two nations, continued with advantage to each, till the rupture between them in the year 1722; but since this short interruption, it has been revived with redoubled vigour.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition to the PALUS MÆOTIS, conquest of ASOPH.

The czar sends young gentlemen into foreign countries for improvement.

IT was not so easy to have peace with the Turks, and indeed the time seemed come for the Russians to rise upon their ruins. The republic of Venice, that had long groaned under their yoke, began now to rouse itself. The Doge Morosini, the same who had surrendered Candy to the Turks, afterwards took from them the Peloponnesus, which conquest got him the title of *Peloponnesian*, an honour which revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had proved successful against the Ottoman power in Hungary; and the Poles made shift to check the incursions of the Crime Tartars.

Peter took advantage of these circumstances, to discipline his troops, and to procure himself the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais, towards Asoph, with his numerous regiment of 5000 men, followed by general Le Fort, with his regiment of 12,000; by a body of Strelitzes, under the command of Scheremetow,

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Expedition to the PALUS MÆOTIS, conquest of ASOPH.

The czar sends young gentlemen into foreign countries for improvement.

It was not so easy to have peace with the Turks, and indeed the time seemed come for the Russians to rise upon their ruins. The republic of Venice, that had long groaned under their yoke, began now to rouse itself. The Doge Morosini, the same who had surrendered Candy to the Turks, afterwards took from them the Peloponnesus, which conquest got him the title of *Peloponnesian*, an honour which revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had proved successful against the Ottoman power in Hungary; and the Poles made shift to check the incursions of the Crime Tartars.

Peter took advantage of these circumstances, to discipline his troops, and to procure himself the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais, towards Asoph, with his numerous regiment of 5000 men, followed by general Le Fort, with his regiment of 12,000; by a body of Strelitzes, under the command of Scheremetow,

Scheremetow and Schein, natives of Prussia; by a body of Cossacks, and by a large train of artillery: in a word, every thing was 1694 ready for this expedition.

This grand army began its march under the command of marshal Scheremetow, or Scheremetoff, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, to attack the town of Asoph, at the mouth of the Tanais, and at the extremity of the PalusMæotis, now called the Zaback sea. The czar himself was with the army, but only in quality of a volunteer, being determined to learn, some time before he took upon him to command. During their march, they stormed two forts which the Turks had built on the banks of the river.

This expedition was attended with some considerable difficulties. The place was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. A number of barcolongos, resembling the Turkish saicks, and built by Venetians, with two small Dutch ships of war, that were to sail out of the Woronitz, could not be got ready soon enough to enter the sea of Asoph. All beginnings meet with obstacles. The Russians had never yet made a regular siege; and the first attempt did not meet with all the success that could be desired.

One Jacob, a native of Dantzick, had the direction of the artillery, under the command of general Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and none but foreign engineers and pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the bastinado, or *knout*, by Schein, the Russian general. At that time rigorous discipline was thought to be the only method of strengthening command; and the Russians quietly submitted

submitted to it, notwithstanding their natural bent to sedition ; and after the punishment, did their duty as usual. But the Dane thought in a different manner, and resolved to be revenged for the treatment he had received, and thereupon nailed up the cannon, deserted to the Turks, turned Mahometan, and defended Asoph, with great success, against his former masters. This instance shews, that the lenity which is now practised in Russia, is much preferable to the former severities ; and is better calculated to retain those in their duty, who, by a good education, have a proper sense of honour. It was absolutely necessary, at that time, to use the utmost rigour towards the common people ; but since their manners have been changed, the empress Elizabeth * has compleated, by clemency, the work her father begun, by the authority of the laws. This lenity has even been carried, by this princess, to a degree unexampled, in the history of any nation. She has promised, that, during her reign, no person shall be punished with death, and she has kept her word. She is the first sovereign who ever shewed so much regard for the lives of men. By an institution, equally prudent and humane, malefactors are now condemned to serve in the mines, and other public works ; by which means their very punishments prove of service to the state. In other countries, they know only how to put a crimi-

* The present reigning empress Catherine seems even to exceed her aunt in lenity, which, together with the superior qualifications of this princess, affords her people the most happy presage of a glorious reign ; and it is not without reason, that the most sensible amongst them flatter themselves with the hopes, that under this august princess, the Russian empire will arrive at its highest pinnacle of glory.

nal to death, with all the apparatus of execution, without being able to prevent the perpetration of crimes. The apprehension of death makes, perhaps, less impression on those miscreants, who are for the most part bred up in idleness, than the fear of punishment and hard labour, renewed every day.

To return to the siege of Asoph, which place was now defended by the same person who had before directed the attacks against it; the Russians, in vain, attempted to take it by storm; and after losing a great number of men, were obliged to raise the siege.

Perseverance in his undertakings, was the distinguishing character of Peter the Great. In the spring of 1696, he brought a still more considerable army before Asoph. About this time died czar John, his brother, who, tho' he had not, while living, been the least curb to Peter's authority, having enjoyed only the bare title of czar, yet he had been some restraint upon him in regard to appearances. The money which had been appropriated to the support of John's dignity and household, were now applied to the maintenance of the army. This proved no small help to a government, whose revenues were not near so great as they are at present. Peter wrote to the emperor Leopold, to the states-general, and to the elector of Brandenburg, to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took some Calmucks into his pay, whose light-horse are very useful against the Crim Tartars.

The most agreeable of the czar's successes, was that of his little fleet, which was at length completed, and well commanded. It defeated the Turkish saicks, sent from Constantinople, and took

took some of them. The siege was carried on regularly by trenches, but not altogether in our method; the trenches being three times deeper than ours, with parapets as high as ramparts.

1696 At length the garrison surrendered the 28th of July, N. S. without being allowed the honour of war, or to carry out with them either arms or ammunition: they were likewise obliged to deliver up the renegado Jacob to the conquerors.

The czar immediately set about fortifying Afoph, built strong forts to protect it, and made a harbour capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the Streights of Caffa, or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which commands the entrance into the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea; places famous in antient times, by the naval armaments of Mithridates. He left thirty-two armed saicks before Afoph*, and made all the necessary preparations for fitting out a fleet against the Turks, to consist of nine ships of sixty guns, and of forty-one, from thirty to fifty. He obliged his principal nobles, and the richer merchants, to contribute towards this armament; and thinking that the estates of the clergy ought to help towards the common cause, he obliged the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal clergy, to pay down a sum of ready money to forward this expedition, in honour of their country, and the advantage of the christian faith. The Cossacks were employed in building a number of those light boats in use amongst them, and which were excellent for the purpose of cruizing on the coast of Crim Tartary. The Ottoman empire was alarmed at this powerful

* Le Fort's memoirs.

armament ; the first that had ever been attempted on the *Palus Mæotis*. The czar's scheme was to drive the Turks and the Tartars for ever out of the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia through Georgia. This is the very trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to *Colchos*, and to this peninsula of *Crim Tartary*, which Peter now seemed on the point of conquering.

Having subdued the Turks and the Tartars, he was willing to accustom his people to splendid shews, as well as to military labour. He made his army to enter into Moscow, under triumphal arches, in the midst of superb fireworks, and every thing that could add to the lustre of the festival. The soldiers who had fought on board the Venetian saicks against the Turks, and who were a distinct corps of themselves, marched first. Marshal Scheremetow, the generals Gordon and Schein, admiral Le Fort, and the other general officers, all took the precedence of their monarch in this procession, who declared he had no rank in the army, being desirous to convince the nobility, by his example, that the only way to acquire military preferment, was to deserve it *.

* It is in consequence of this glorious and equitable distinction, that at this day we find nobility gives no precedence in the court of Russia ; nor can the son of a prince appear there in any other rank, than that which his situation in the army gives him ; while a private citizen, who by his merit has raised himself above his condition, receives all the honours due to his post ; or more properly speaking, to the merit which obtained him that post. A reputation of this kind would, methinks, be attended with great advantages, both in England and France, as it would be a means to raise in the youth of all ranks a virtuous and noble emulation.

This

This triumphal entry seemed somewhat a-kin to those of the ancient Romans, in which the conquerors were wont to expose the prisoners they had taken, to public view, and sometimes put them to death : In like manner, the slaves taken in this expedition, followed the army; and the deserter Jacob, who had betrayed them, was drawn in an open cart, in which was a gibbet, to which his body was fastened after he had been broke upon the wheel.

On this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia, with this remarkable legend, in the language of the country. "PETER the FIRST, " august emperor of Muscovy." On the reverse was the city of Asoph, with these words : " Victorious by Fire and Water."

Peter felt a sensible concern in the midst of all these successes, that his ships and galleys in the sea of Asoph, had been built entirely by the hands of foreigners ; and wished as earnestly to have a harbour in the Baltic sea, as upon the Pontus Euxinus.

Accordingly, in the month of March 1677, he sent threescore young Russians of Le Fort's regiment, into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, to instruct themselves in the naval art, and the manner of constructing galleys. He likewise sent forty others into Holland *, to learn the method of building and working large ships ; and others likewise into Germany, to serve in the land forces, and instruct themselves in the military discipline of that nation. At length he took a resolution to absent himself for a few years from his own dominions, in order to learn how to govern them the

* General Le Fort's MSS.

better.

better. He had an irresistible inclination to improve himself by his own observation and practice in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he was so desirous to establish in his own country. He proposed to travel *incognito* thro' Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, Venice and Rome. France and Spain were the only countries he did not take into his plan; Spain, because the arts he was in quest of, were too much neglected there; and France, because in that kingdom they reigned with too much ostentation, and that the parade and state of Lewis XIV. which had disgusted so many crowned heads, ill agreed with the private manner in which he proposed to travel. Moreover, he was in alliance with most of the powers, whose dominions he intended to visit, except those of France and Rome. He likewise remembered, with some degree of resentment, the little respect shewn by Lewis XIV. to his embassy in 1687, which had proved more famous than successful: and lastly, he already began to espouse the cause of Augustus, elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti had lately entered into a competition for the crown of Poland.

C H A P. IX.

TRAVELS OF PETER the GREAT.

1697. **H**AVING thus determined to visit the several countries and courts above-mentioned in a private character, he put himself into the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had before mingled in the train of his generals at his triumphant entry into Moscow.

* The three ambassadors were, general Le Fort, the boyard Alexis Gollowin, commissary general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who signed the perpetual treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China, on the frontiers of that empire; and Wonitzin, diak, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. Four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, all of the regiment of Preobrazinski, composed the chief retinue of this embassy, which consisted in the whole of two hundred persons; and the czar, reserving to himself only one valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mingled with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, for a king of five and twenty years of age, to quit his dominions, in order to learn the art of governing. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendour of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the

* The Petersburg memoirs, and memoirs of Le Fort.

number of foreign troops attached to his service, the death of his brother John, his copartner in the empire, and the confinement of the princess Sophia to a cloister, and above all the universal respect shewn to his person, seemed to assure him the tranquillity of his kingdom during his absence. He intrusted the regency in the hands of the boyard Strechnef, and the knez or prince Romadonowski, who were to deliberate with the rest of the boyards in cases of importance.

Two troops raised by general Gordon remained behind in Moscow, to keep every thing quiet in that capital. Those Strelitzes, who were thought likely to create a disturbance, were distributed in the frontiers of Crim Tартary, to preserve the conquest of Asoph, and to check the incursions of the Tartars. Having provided against every incident, he gave a free scope to his passion and desire of improvement.

As this journey proved the cause, or at least the pretext, of the bloody war, which so long traversed, but in the end promoted all the designs of the czar; which drove Augustus king of Poland from the throne; placed that crown on the head of Stanislaus, and then stript him of it; which made Charles XII. king of Sweden, the first of conquerors for nine years, and the most unfortunate of kings for nine more; it is necessary, in order to enter into a detail of these events, to take a view of the state of Europe at that time.

Sultan Mustapha II. sat at that time on the Ottoman throne; the weakness of whose administration would not permit him to make any great efforts, either against Leopold, emperor of Germany, whose arms were successful in Hungary,

Hungary, nor against the czar, who had lately taken Asoph from him, and threatened to make himself master of the Pontus Euxinus; nor even against the Venetians, who had made themselves masters of all the Peloponnesus.

John Sobiesky, king of Poland, for ever famous by the victory of Chocksim, and the deliverance of Vienna, died the 17th of June 1696, and the possession of that crown was in dispute between Augustus elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and Armond prince of Conti, who had only the honour of being elected.

1697. Sweden had lately lost, but without regret, Charles XI. her sovereign, who was the first king, who had ever been really absolute in that country, and who was the father of a prince still more so, and with whom all despotic power ceased. He left the crown to his son Charles XII. a youth of only fifteen years of age. This was in all appearance a conjuncture the most favourable for the czar's design; he had it in his power to extend his dominions on the gulph of Finland, and on the side of Livonia. But he did not think it enough to harass the Turks on the Black Sea; the settlements on the Palus Mæotis, and the borders of the Caspian sea, were not sufficient to answer his schemes of navigation, commerce and power. Besides, glory, which is the darling object of every reformer, was to be found neither in Persia nor in Turkey, but in our parts of Europe, where great talents are rendered immortal. In a word, Peter did not aim at introducing either the Persian or Turkish manners among his subjects.

Germany, then at war both with the Turks and with the French, and united with Spain, England,

England, and Holland, against the single power of Lewis XIV. was on the point of concluding peace, and the plenipotentiaries were already met at the castle of Ryswick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

It was during this situation of affairs, that Peter and his ambassador began their journey in the month of April 1697, by the way of Great Novogorod: from thence they travelled through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, and which the Swedes at last acquired by superiority of arms.

The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of its capital Riga, were temptations to the czar, to possess himself of that country. He expressed a curiosity to see the fortifications of the citadel. But count D'Alberg, governor of Riga, taking umbrage at this request, refused him the satisfaction he desired, and affected to treat the embassy with contempt. This behaviour did not at all contribute to cool the inclination the czar might have, to make himself one day master of those provinces.

From Livonia they proceeded to Brandenburg Prussia, part of which had been inhabited by the ancient Vandals; Polish Prussia had been included in European Sarmatia. Brandenburg Prussia was a poor country, and badly peopled; but its elector, who afterwards took the name of king, displayed a magnificence on this occasion, equally new and destructive to his dominions. He piqued himself upon receiving this embassy in his city of Konigsberg, with all the pomp of royalty. The most sumptuous presents were made on both sides. The contrast between

tween the French dress, which the court of Berlin affected, and the long Asiatic robes of the Russians, with their caps buttoned up with pearls and diamonds, and their scimitars hanging at their belts, produced a singular effect. The czar was dressed after the German fashion. The prince of Georgia, who accompanied him, was clad in a Persian habit, which displayed a different magnificence. This is the same who was taken prisoner afterwards at the battle of Narva, and died in Sweden.

Peter despised all this ostentation; it was to have been wished, that he had shewn an equal contempt for the pleasures of the table, in which the Germans, at that time, placed their chiefest glory. It was at one of these entertainments *, then too much in fashion, and which are alike fatal to health and morality, that he drew his sword upon his favourite Le Fort; but he expressed as much contrition for this sudden fall of passion, as Alexander did for the murder of Clytus; he asked pardon of Le Fort, saying, that he wanted to reform his subjects, and could not yet reform himself. General Le Fort, in his manuscript, praises the czar more for this goodness of heart, than he blames him for his excess of passion.

The ambassadors then went through Pomerania and Berlin; and from thence, one part took its way through Magdebourg, and the other by Hambourg, a city which already began to be considerable by its extensive commerce, but not so rich and populous as it has become since. From thence they directed their route towards

* Le Fort's MS. memoirs.

Minden, crossed Westphalia, and at length, by the way of Cleves, arrived at Amsterdam.

The czar reached this city fifteen days before the ambassadors. At his first coming, he lodged in a house belonging to the East India company; but soon afterwards, he took a small apartment in the dock-yard, belonging to the admiralty. He then put on the habit of a Dutch skipper, and in that dress went to the village of Saardam, a place where a great many more ships were built at that time, than at present. This village is as large, as populous, and as rich, and much neater, than many opulent towns. The czar greatly admired the multitude of people who were constantly employed there, the order and regularity of their times of working, the prodigious dispatch with which they built and fitted out ships, the incredible number of ware-houses, and machines for the greater ease and security of labour. The czar began with purchasing a bark, to which he made a mast with his own hands; after that, he worked upon all the different parts in the construction of a vessel, living in the same manner as the workmen at Saardam, dressing and eating the same as them, and working in the forges, the rope-walks, and in the several mills, which are in prodigious numbers in that village, for sawing timber, extracting oil, making paper, and wire-drawing. He caused himself to be enrolled in the list of carpenters, by the name of Peter Michaelhoff, and was commonly called Peter Bas, or Master Peter: the workmen were at first confounded at having a crowned head for a fellow-labourer, but soon became familiarised to the sight.

While

While he was thus handling the compass and the axe at Saardam, a confirmation was brought him of the division in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Augustus, and the prince of Conti. The carpenter of Saardam immediately promised king Augustus to assist him with 30,000 men, and from his work-loft issued out orders to his army that was assembled in the Ukraine against the Turks.

11th Aug. 1697.] His troops gained a victory over the Tartars near Asoph, and a few months afterwards took from them the city of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Precop *. As to himself, he still continued improving in different arts: he went frequently from Saardam to Amsterdam, to hear the lectures of the celebrated anatomist Ruysch, and made himself master of several operations in surgery, which, in case of necessity, might be of use both to himself and his officers. He went through a course of natural philosophy, in the house of the burgo-master Wirzen, a person for ever estimable for his patriotic virtue, and the noble use he made of his immense riches, which he distributed like a citizen of the world, sending men of abilities, at a great expence, to all parts of the globe, in search of whatever was most rare and valuable, and fitting out vessels at his own charge to make new discoveries.

Peter Bas gave a truce to his labours for a short time, but it was only to pay a private visit

* Precop, or Perekop, once a fortress on the Isthmus, which joins the peninsula of Crim Tartary to the mainland of little Tartary in European Turkey, and thence considered as the key to that country. It has its name from the ditches cut across for the defence of the peninsula.

at Utrecht, and at the Hague, to William king of England, and stadtholder of the united provinces. General Le Fort was the only one admitted to the private conference of the two monarchs. Peter assisted afterwards at the public entry of his ambassadors, and at their audience: they presented in his name to the deputy of the states 600 of the most beautiful fables that could be procured; and the states, over and above the customary presents on these occasions, of a gold chain and a medal, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the first visits of all the plenipotentiaries who were at the congress of Ryswick, excepting those of France, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only because the czar espoused the cause of Augustus against the prince of Conti, but also because king William, whose friendship he was desirous of cultivating, was averse to a peace with France.

At his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his former occupations, and compleated with his own hands a ship of sixty guns, that he had begun himself, and sent her to Archangel, which was the only port he had at that time on the ocean.

He not only engaged in his service several French refugees, Swiss, and Germans; but he also sent all sorts of artists over to Moscow, and he previously made a trial of their several abilities himself. There were few trades or arts which he did not perfectly well understand in their minutest branches: he took a particular pleasure in correcting, with his hands, the geographical maps, which at that time laid down at hazard the positions of the towns and rivers in his vast dominions, then very little known. There is
still

still preserved, a map, on which he marked out, with his own hand, his projected communication of the Caspian and Black seas, the execution of which he had given in charge to Mr. Brekel, a German engineer. The junction of these two seas was indeed a less difficult enterprise than that of the Ocean and Mediterranean, which was effected in France; but the very idea of joining the sea of Asoph with the Caspian, astonished the imagination at that time: but new establishments in that country became the object of his attention, in proportion as his successes begat new hopes.

His troops, commanded by general Shein and prince Dolgorowski, had lately gained a victory over the Tartars near Asoph, and July 1696. likewise over a body of Janissaries sent by sultan Mustapha to their assistance. This success served to make him more respected, even by those who blamed him as a sovereign, for having quitted his dominions, to turn workman at Amsterdam. They now saw, that the affairs of the monarch did not suffer by the labours of the philosopher, the traveller, and the artificer.

He remained at Amsterdam, constantly employed in his usual occupations of ship-building, engineering, geography, and the practice of natural philosophy, till the middle of January 1698, and then he set out for England, but still as one of the retinue of his ambassadors.

King William sent his own yacht to meet him, and two ships of war as convoy. In England, he observed the same manner of living as at Amsterdam and Saardam; he took an apartment near the king's dock-yard at Dept-

ford, where he applied himself wholly to gain instruction. The Dutch builders had only taught him their method, and the practical part of ship-building. In England, he found the art better explained ; for there they work according to mathematical proportion. He soon made himself so perfect in this science, that he was able to give lessons to others. He began to build a ship according to the English method of construction, and it proved a prime sailor. The art of watch-making, which was already brought to perfection in London, next attracted his attention, and he made himself compleat master of the whole theory : captain Perry, the engineer, who followed him from London to Russia, says, that from the casting of cannon, to the spinning of ropes, there was not any one branch of trade belonging to a ship that he did not minutely observe, and even put his hand to, as often as he came into the places where those trades were carried on.

In order to cultivate his friendship, he was allowed to engage several English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland ; but over and above artificers, he engaged likewise some mathematicians, which he would not so easily have found in Amsterdam. Ferguson, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his service, and was the first person who brought arithmetic into use in the exchequer in Russia, where, before that time, they made use only of the Tartarian method of reckoning, with balls strung upon a wire ; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was very perplexing and imperfect, because, after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, in order to discover
any

any error. The Indian cyphers, which are now in use, were not introduced amongst us, till the ninth century, by Arabs; and they did not make their way into the Russian empire, till one thousand years afterwards. Such has been the fate of the arts, to make their progress slowly round the globe. He took with him two young students from a mathematical school*, and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded afterwards by Peter the Great. He observed and calculated eclipses with Ferguson. Perry the engineer, tho' greatly discontented at not being sufficiently rewarded, acknowledges, that Peter made himself a proficient in astronomy; that he perfectly well understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, as well as the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force, now so evidently demonstrated, and before the time of the great Newton so little known, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which retained them in their orbits, was already become familiar to a sovereign of Russia, while other countries amused themselves with imaginary vertices, and, in Galileo's nation, one set of ignorant persons, ordered others, as ignorant, to believe the earth to be immovable.

Perry set out in order to effect a communication between rivers, to build bridges, and construct sluices. The czar's plan was to open a communication by means of canals between the Ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Seas,

* These were two scholars from Christ-church hospital, commonly called blue coat boys.

We must not forget to observe, that a set of English merchants, with the marquis of Caermarthen * at their head, gave Peter 15,000 pounds sterling, for the permission of vending tobacco in Russia. The patriarch, by a mistaken severity, had interdicted this branch of trade; for the Russian church forbid smoaking, as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, amongst his many projected changes, meditated a reformation of the church, introduced this commodity of trade into his dominions.

Before Peter left England, he was entertained by king William with a spectacle worthy such a guest: this was a mock sea-fight. Little was it then imagined, that the czar would one day fight a real battle on this element against the Swedes, and gain naval victories in the Baltic. In fine, William made him a present of the vessel in which he used to go over to Holland, called the Royal Transport, a beautiful yacht, and magnificently adorned. In this vessel Peter returned to Holland the latter end of 1698, taking with him three captains of ships of war, five and twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, as many surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This little colony of persons skilful in all branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel, on board the Royal Transport, and from thence were distributed into all the different places where their services were

* The czar was particularly fond of this nobleman, because he was a great lover of maritime affairs, frequently rowed and sailed with him upon the water, and gave him what information he could concerning shipping.

necessary. Those who had been engaged at Amsterdam, went by the way of Narva, which then belonged to the Swedes.

While he was thus transplanting the arts and manufacture of England and Holland into his own country, the officers, whom he had sent to Rome, and other places in Italy, had likewise engaged some artists in his service. General Sheremetow, who was at the head of his embassy to Italy, took the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta, while the czar proceeded to Vienna with his other ambassadors. He had now only to view the military discipline of the Germans, after having seen the English fleets, and the dock-yards of Holland. Politics had likewise as great a share in this journey as the desire of instruction. The emperor was his natural ally against the Turks. Peter had a private audience of Leopold, and the two monarchs conferred standing, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

There happened nothing worthy remark during his stay at Vienna, except the celebration of the ancient feast of the landlord and landlady, which had been disused for a considerable time, and which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the czar's account. This feast, which, by the Germans, is called Wurtchafft, is celebrated in the following manner:

The emperor is landlord and the empress landlady, the king of the Romans, the arch-dukes and the archduchesses are generally their assistants: they entertain people of all nations as their guests, who come dressed after the most ancient fashion of their respective countries: those who are invited to the feast, draw lots for

tickets, on each of which is written the name of the nation, and the character the person they are to represent. One perhaps draws a ticket for a Chinese mandarin; another for a Tartarian Mirza; a third a Persian satrap; and a fourth for a Roman senator; a princess may, by her ticket, be a gardener's wife, or a milk-maid; a prince a peasant, or a common soldier. Dances are composed suitable to all these characters, and the landlord and landlady with their family wait at table. Such was the ancient institution; but on this occasion * Joseph king of the Romans, and the counts of Traun, represented the ancient Egyptians. The archduke Charles, and the counts of Walsee, were dressed like Flemings in the time of Charles the Fifth. The archduchess Mary-Elizabeth, and count Traun, were in the habits of Tartars; the archduchess Josephina, and the count of Worklow, were habited like Persians, and the archduchess Mariamne, and prince Maximilian of Hanover, in the character of North Holland peasants. Peter appeared in the dress of a Friesland boor, and all who spoke to him addressed him in that character, at the same time talking to him of the great czar of Muscovy. These are trifling particulars; but whatever revives the remembrance of ancient manners and customs, is in some degree worthy of being recorded.

Peter was ready to set out from Vienna, in order to proceed to Venice, to compleat his tour of instruction, when he received the news of a rebellion, which had lately broke out, in his his dominions.

* Le Fort's MSS. and those of Petersburg.

CHAP. X.

A CONSPIRACY punished.

The corps of STRELITZES abolished, alterations in customs, manners, church, and state.

CZAR Peter, when he left his dominions to set out on his travels, had provided against every incident, even that of a rebellion. But the great and serviceable things he had done for his country, proved the very cause of this rebellion.

Certain old boyards, to whom the ancient customs were still dear, and some precepts, to whom the new ones appeared little better than sacrilege, began these disturbances, and the old faction of the princess Sophia took this opportunity to rouse itself anew. It is said, that one of her sisters, who was confined to the same monastery, contributed not a little to excite these seditions. Care was taken to spread abroad the danger to be feared from the introduction of foreigners to instruct the nation. In short, who would believe, that * the permission which the czar had given to import tobacco into his empire, contrary to the inclination of the clergy, was one of the chief motives of the insurrection? Superstition, the scourge of every country, and yet the darling of the multitude, spread itself from the common people to the Strelitzes, who had been scattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they assembled in a body, and marched towards Moscow, with the intent to place the princess

* Le Fort's MSS.

Sophia on the throne, and for ever to prevent the return of a czar who had violated the established customs *, by presuming to travel for instruction among foreigners. The forces commanded by Schein and Gordon, who were much better disciplined than the Strelitzes, met them fifteen leagues from Moscow, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them: but this advantage gained by a foreign general over the ancient militia, among whom were several of the burghers of Moscow, contributed still more to irritate the people.

To quell these tumults, the czar sets out privately from Vienna, passes thro' Poland, has a private interview with Augustus, concert measures with that prince for extending the Russian dominions on the side of the Baltick, and at length arrived at Moscow, where he surprised every one with his presence: he then confers rewards on the troops who had defeated the Strelitzes, of whom the prisons were now full. If the crimes of these unhappy wretches were great, their punishment was no less so. Their leaders, with several of their

* A most extraordinary instance of the obstinate attachment of the Russians to their old customs, happened in the time of the czar Bassiowitz, and undoubtedly it influenced him not a little in the severity with which he treated his people. The king of Poland, Stephen Bateria, having recovered Livenia, went himself into that province to establish a new form of government, according to the constant custom there. When any peasant, all of whom were treated as slaves, had committed a fault, he was whipped with a rod till the blood came. The king was willing to commute this barbarous punishment for one that was more moderate; but the peasants, insensible of the favour designed them, threw themselves at his feet, and intreated him not to make any alterations in their ancient customs, because they had experienced, that all innovations, far from procuring them the least redress, had always made their burthens sit the heavier on them.

officers.

officers and priests, were condemned to death; some were broke upon the wheel*, and two women were buried alive; upwards of two thousand of the Strelitzes were executed, part of whom were hung round about the walls of the city, and others put to death in different manners, and their dead bodies remained exposed for two days in the high roads†, particularly about the monastery where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided‡. Monuments of stone were erected, on which their crimes and punishments were set forth. A great number of them who had wives and children at Moscow, were dispersed with their families into Siberia, the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of Asoph. This punishment was at least of service to the state, as they helped to cultivate and people a large tract of waste land.

Perhaps, if the czar had not found it absolutely necessary to make such terrible examples, he might have employed part of those Strelitzes, whom he put to death, upon the public works; whereas they were now lost both to him and the

* Memoirs of captain Perry the engineer, employed by Peter the Great in Russia, and MSS. of Le Fort.

† Captain Perry, in p. 184. of his memoirs, says, that these executions being performed in the depth of winter, their bodies were immediately frozen: those who were beheaded, were ordered to be left in the same posture as when executed, in ranks upon the ground, with their heads lying by them: and those who were hanged round the three walls of the city, were left hanging the whole winter, to the view of the people, till the warm weather began to come on in the spring, when they were taken down and buried together in a pit, to prevent infection. This author adds, that there were other gibbets placed on all the public roads leading to Moscow, where others of these rebels were hanged.

‡ MSS. of Le Fort,

state: the lives of men ought to be held in great estimation, especially in a country where the increase of inhabitants ought to have been the principal care of the legislature; but he thought it necessary to terrify and break the spirit of the nation by executions, and the parade attending them. The entire corps of the Strelitzes, whose number not one of his predecessors had even dared to think of diminishing, was broke for ever, and their very name abolished. This change was effected without any resistance, because matters had been properly prepared beforehand. The Turkish sultan, Osman, as I have already remarked, was deposed and murdered in the same century, only for giving the Janissaries room to suspect that he intended to lessen their number. Peter had better success, because he had taken better measures.

Of this powerful and numerous body of the Strelitzes, he left only two feeble regiments, from whom there could no longer be any danger; and yet these still retaining their old spirit of mutiny, revolted again in Astracan, in the year 1705, but were quickly suppressed.

But while we are relating Peter's severity in this affair of state, let us not forget to commemorate the more than equal humanity he shewed some time afterwards, when he lost his favourite Le Fort, who was snatched away by an untimely fate, March 12, N. S. 1699, at the age of 46. He paid him the same funeral honours as are bestowed on the greatest sovereigns, and assisted himself in the procession, carrying a pike in his hand, and marching after the captains, in the rank of a lieutenant, which he held in the deceased general's regiment, hereby setting an example

ample to his nobles, of the respect due to merit and the military rank.

After the death of Le Fort, it appeared plainly, that the changes in the state were not owing to that general, but to the czar himself. Peter had indeed been confirmed in his design, by his several conversations with Le Fort; but he had formed and executed them all without his assistance.

As soon as he had suppressed the Strelitzes, he established regular regiments on the German model, who were all cloathed in a short and commodious uniform, in the room of those long and troublesome coats, which they used to wear before; and, at the same time, their exercise was likewise more regular.

The regiment of Preobrazinski guards were already formed: it had taken its name from the first company of fifty men, whom the czar had trained up in his younger days, in his retreat at Preobrazinski, at the time when his sister Sophia governed the state, and the other regiment of guards was also established.

As he had himself passed thro' the lowest degrees in the army, he was resolved that the sons of his boyards and great men, should serve as common soldiers before they were made officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at Woronitz and Asoph, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship as common seamen. No one dared to dispute the commands of a master, who had himself set the example. The English and Dutch he had brought over with him, were employed in equipping this fleet for sea, in constructing sluices, and building docks, for careening the ships, and to resume the
great

great work of joining the Tanais or Don; and the Wolga, which had been dropped by Brekel the German. And now he began to set about his projected reformatations in the council of state, in the revenue, in the church, and even in society itself.

The affairs of the revenue had been hitherto administered much in the same manner as in Turkey. Each boyard paid a stipulated sum for his lands, which he raised upon the peasants, his vassals; the czar appointed certain burghers and burgomasters, to be his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the right of paying only such sums as they thought proper, into the public treasury. This new administration of the finances, was what cost him the most trouble; he was obliged to try several methods before he could fix upon a proper one.

The reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as so dangerous and difficult an attempt, was not so to him. The patriarchs had at times opposed the authority of the crown, as well as the Strelitzes; Nikon with insolence, Joachim, one of his successors, in an attful manner.

The bishops had arrogated the power of life and death, a prerogative directly contrary to the spirit of religion, and the subordination of government. This assumed power, which had been of long standing, was now taken from them. The patriarch Adrian, dying at the close of this century, Peter declared that there should for the future be no other.

This dignity then was entirely suppressed, and the great income belonging thereto was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of
this

this addition. Although the czar did not set himself up as head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great-Britain have done in regard to the church of England; yet he was, in fact, absolute master over it, because the synods did not dare either to disobey the commands of a despotic sovereign, or to dispute with a prince who had more knowledge than themselves.

We need only to cast an eye on the preamble to the edict, concerning his ecclesiastical regulations, issued in 1721, to be convinced that he acted at once as master and legislator: "We should deem ourselves guilty of ingratitude to the most high, if, after having reformed the military and civil orders, we neglected the spiritual, &c. For this cause, following the example of the most ancient kings, who have been famed for piety, we have taken upon us to make certain wholesome regulations, touching the clergy." It is true, he convened a synod for carrying into execution his ecclesiastical degrees; but the members of this synod, at entering upon their office, were to take an oath, the form of which had been drawn up and signed by himself. This was an oath of submission and obedience, and was conceived in the following terms: "I swear to be a faithful and obedient servant and subject to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors whom it shall please him to nominate, in virtue of the incontestable right of which he is possessed: I acknowledge him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college: I swear by the all-seeing God, that I understand and mean this oath in the full force and sense, which the words convey to those who read
" or,

“ or hear it.” This oath is much stronger than that of the supremacy in England. The Russian monarch was not, indeed, one of the fathers of the synod, but he dictated their laws ; and tho’ he did not touch the holy censor, he directed the hands that held it.

Previous to this great work, he thought, that in a state like his, which stood in need of being peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. It was the ancient custom of the Russian church, for secular priests to marry at least once in their lives ; they were even obliged so to do : and formerly they ceased to be priests as soon as they lost their wives. But that a multitude of young people of both sexes, should make a vow of living useless in a cloister, and at the expence of others, appeared to him a dangerous institution. He, therefore, ordered, that no one should be admitted to a monastic life, till they were fifty years old, a time of life very rarely subject to a temptation of this kind ; and he forbid any person to be admitted, of what age soever, who was actually in possession of any public employ.

This regulation has been repealed since his death, because the government has thought proper to shew more complaisance to the monasteries : but the patriarchal dignity has never been revived, and its great revenues are now appropriated to the payment of the troops.

These alterations at first excited some murmurings. A certain priest wrote, to prove that Peter was antichrist, because he would not admit of a patriarch ; and the art of printing, which the czar encouraged in his kingdom, was made use of to publish libels against him : but on the
other

other hand, there was another priest who started up, to prove that Peter could not be antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and that he had not the sign of the Beast. All complaints, however, were soon quieted. Peter, in fact, gave much more to the church, than he took from it; for he made the clergy, by degrees, more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moscow, where they teach the languages, and where those who are designed for the priesthood are obliged to study.

One of the most necessary reforms, was the suppression, or at least the mitigation of the Three Lents, an ancient superstition of the Greek church, and as prejudicial with respect to those who are employed in public works, and especially to soldiers, as was the old Jewish superstition of not fighting on the sabbath day. Accordingly the czar dispensed with his workmen and soldiers at least, observing these Lents, in which, tho' they were not permitted to eat, they were accustomed to get drunk. He likewise dispensed with their observance of meagre days, the chaplains of the fleet and army were obliged to set the example, which they did without much reluctance.

The calendar, another important object, formerly, in all the countries of the world, the chiefs of religion had the care of regulating the year, not only on account of the feasts to be observed, but because, in ancient times, the priests were the only persons who understood astronomy.

The year began with the Russians on the first of September. Peter ordered, that it should for the future commence the first day of January, as
among

among the other nations of Europe. This alteration was to take place in the year 1700, at the beginning of the century, which he celebrated by a jubilee, and other grand solemnities. It was a matter of surprise to the common people, how the czar should be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate persons, persuaded that God had created the world in September, continued their old stile: but the alteration took place in all the public offices in the whole court of chancery, and in a little time throughout the whole empire. Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, because it had been rejected by the English mathematicians; but which must, nevertheless, be one day received in all countries.

Ever since the fifth century, the time when letters first came into use amongst them, they had been accustomed to write upon long rolls, made either of the bark of trees, or of parchment, and afterwards of paper; and the czar was obliged to publish an edict, ordering every one, for the future, to write after our manner.

The reformation now became general. Their marriages were made formerly after the same manner as in Turkey and Persia, where the bridegroom does not see his bride till the contract is signed, and they can no longer go from their words. This custom may do well enough amongst those people, where polygamy prevails, and where the women are always shut up; but it is a very bad one in countries where a man is confined to one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

The czar was willing to accustom his people to the manners and customs of the nations,
which

which he had visited in his travels, and from whence he had taken the masters, who were now instructing them.

It appeared necessary, that the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to strangers, which is but too natural to mankind, is not a little kept up by a difference of dress. The full dress, which at that time partook of the fashions of the Poles, the Tartars, and the ancient Hungarians, was, as we have elsewhere observed, very noble; but the dress of the burghers and common people, resembled those jackets plated round the waist, which are still given to the poor children in some of the French hospitals*. In general, the robe was formerly the dress of all nations, as being a garment that required the least trouble and art; and for the same reason, the beard was suffered to grow. The czar met with but little difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the people was more obstinate, and he found himself obliged to lay a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of close-bodied coats were hung up in public places; and whoever refused to pay the tax, were obliged to suffer their robes, and their beards, to be curtailed: all this was done in a jocular manner, and this air of pleasantry prevented seditions.

It has ever been the aim of all legislators, to render mankind more sociable; but it is not sufficient to effect this end, that they live together in towns; there must be a mutual intercourse of

* Somewhat like those of our blue coat boys in England,
civility.

civility. This intercourse sweetens all the bitterness of life. The czar, therefore, introduced those assemblies, which the Italians call *ridotti*. To these assemblies he invited all the ladies of his court, with their daughters; and they were to appear dressed after the fashions of the southern nations of Europe. He was even himself at the pains of drawing up rules for all the little decors to be observed at these social entertainments. Thus even to good breeding among his subjects, all was his own work, and that of time.

To make his people relish these innovations the better, he abolished the word *golut*, *slave*, always made use of by the Russians when they addressed their czar, or presented any petition to him; and ordered, that, for the future, they should make use of the word *raab*, which signifies *subject*. This alteration in no wise diminished the obedience due to the sovereign, and yet was the most ready means of conciliating their affections. Every month produced some new change or institution. He carried his attention even to the ordering painted posts to be set up in the road between Moscow and Woronitz, to serve as mile stones at the distance of every verst; that is to say, every seven hundred paces, and had a kind of caravanseras, or public inns, built at the end of every twentieth verst.

While he was thus extending his cares to the common people, to the merchants, and to the traveller, he thought proper to make an addition to the pomp and splendor of his own court. For tho' he hated pomp or shew in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. He,
there-

therefore, instituted the order of St. Andrew*, in imitation of the several orders with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golowin, who succeeded Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. It was esteemed an high reward, to have the honour of being admitted a member. It was a kind of badge that entitled the person who bore it, to the respect of the people. This mark of honour costs nothing to the sovereign, and flatters the self-love of a subject, without rendering him too powerful.

These many useful innovations were received with applause by the wiser part of the nation; and the murmurings and complaints of those who adhered to the ancient customs, were drowned in the acclamations of men of sound judgment.

While Peter was thus beginning a new creation in the interior part of his state, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turks, which gave him the liberty to extend his territories on another side. Mustapha the Second, who had been defeated by prince Eugene, at the battle of Zeuta in 1697, stripped of the Morea by the Venetians, and unable to defend Asoph, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies, which peace was concluded at Carlowitz, between Peterwaradin and Sankamoon, places made famous by his 1699. defeats. Temeswaer was made the boundary of the German possessions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kaminiack was restored to the Poles, the Morea, and some towns in

* 20th Sept. 1688. It is to be observed, that I always follow the new stile in my dates,

Dalmatia, which had been taken by the Venetians, remained in their hands for some time; and Peter the First continued in possession of Casaph, and of a few forts built in its neighbourhood.

It was not possible for the czar to extend his dominions on the side of Turkey, without drawing upon him the forces of that empire, before divided, but now united. His naval projects were too vast for the Palus Mæotis, and the settlements on the Caspian sea would not admit of a fleet of men of war: he, therefore, turned his views towards the Baltic sea, but without relinquishing those in regard to the Tanais and Wolga.

CHAP. XI.

War with S W E D E N.

The Battle of NARVA.

1700. **A** GRAND scene was now opened on the frontiers of Sweden. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria, as far as Dresden, and which laid waste to many countries for the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, by Charles XI. king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated, as it concerns every crowned head, and the subjects of every nation, almost all Livonia, with the whole of Esthonia, had been ceded by the Poles to Charles XI. king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X. ex-

X. exactly at the time of the treaty of Oliva. It was ceded in the customary manner, with a reservation of rights and privileges. Charles XI. shewing little regard to these privileges, John Reinhold Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, came to Stockholm in 1692, at the head of six deputies from the province, and laid their complaints at the foot of the throne, in respectful, but strong terms †. Instead of an answer, the deputies were ordered to be imprisoned, and Patkul was condemned to lose his honour and his life; but he lost neither, for he made his escape to the country of Vaud, in Swisserland, where he remained some time; when he afterwards was informed, that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised at his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces that had been wrested from that kingdom; he hastened to Dresden, to represent to that prince, how easily he might make himself master of Livonia, and revenge upon a king, only seventeen years of age, the losses that Poland had sustained by his ancestors.

At this very time czar Peter entertained thoughts of seizing upon Ingria and Carelia. These provinces had formerly belonged to the Russians, but the Swedes had made themselves masters of them by force of arms, in the time of the false Demetrui's, and had retained the possession of them by treaties: another war and

† Norberg, chaplain and confessor to Charles XII. says in his history, "That he had the insolence to complain of oppressions, and that he was condemned to lose his honour and life." This is speaking like the high priest of despotism. He should have observed, that no one can deprive a citizen of his honour, for doing his duty.

new treaties might restore them again to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and by exciting up the two monarchs to avenge his private causes, he cemented a close union between them, and directed their preparations for invading all the places, situated to the east and south of Finland.

Just at this period, the new king of Denmark, Frederick IV. entered into an alliance with the czar and the king of Poland, against Charles, the young king of Sweden, who seemed in no condition to withstand their united forces. Patkul had the satisfaction of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia, and directing the attack in quality of major general.

The czar marched near twenty thousand men into Ingria. It is true, that, in this numerous army, he had not more than 12 000 good soldiers, being those he had disciplined himself; namely, the two regiments of guards, and some few others, the rest being a badly armed militia, with some Cossacks, and Circassian Tartars; but he carried with him a train of 145 pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a small town in Ingria, that had a very commodious harbour, and it was generally thought the place would prove an easy conquest.

Sept.] It is known to all Europe, how Charles XII. when not quite eighteen years of age, made head against all his enemies, and attacked them one after another; he entered Denmark, put an end to the war in that kingdom in less than six weeks, sent succours to Riga, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and marched against the Russians encamped before Narva, through

through the midst of ice and snow, in the month of November.

The czar, who looked upon Narva as already in his possession, was gone to Novogorod, and had taken with him his favourite, Menzikoff, then a lieutenant in the company of Bombardiers, of the Preobazinski 18 Nov. regiment, and afterwards raised to the rank of field marshal, and prince; a man whose singular fortunes entitle him to be spoken of more at large in another place.

Peter left the command of the army, with his instructions for the siege, with the prince of Croy; whose family came from Flanders, and who had lately entered into the czar's service *. Prince Dolgorouki acted as commissary of the army. The jealousy between those two chiefs, and the absence of the czar, were partly the occasion of the unparalleled defeat at Narva.

Charles XII. having landed at Pernau in Livonia with his troops, in the month of October advanced northward to Revel, where he defeated an advanced body of Russians. He continued his march, and meeting with another body routed that likewise. The run-aways returned to the camp before Narva, which they filled with consternation. The month of November was now far advanced; Narva, tho' unskillfully besieged, was on the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had not at that time above 9000 men with him, and could bring only six pieces of cannon to oppose to an hundred and forty-five, with which the Russian entrenchments were defended. All the

* See the history of Charles XII.

relations of that time, and all historians without exception, concur in making the Russian army then before Narva, amount to 80,000 men. The memoirs with which I have been furnished say 60,000; be that as it may, it is certain, that Charles had not quite 9000, and that this battle was one of those, which have proved, that the greatest victories have been frequently gained by inferior numbers, ever since the famed one of Arbelles*.

Charles did not hesitate one moment to attack with his small troop this army, so greatly superior; and taking advantage of a violent wind, and a great storm of snow, which blew directly in the faces of the Russians; Nov. 30. he attacked their entrenchments under cover of some pieces of cannon, which he had posted advantageously for the purpose. The Russians had not time to form themselves in the midst of that cloud of snow, that beat full in their faces, and astonished by the discharge of cannon, that they could not see; and never imagined how small a number they had to oppose.

The duke de Croy attempted to give his orders, but prince Dolgorouki would not receive them. The Russian officers rose upon the German officers; the duke's secretary, with colonel Lyon, and several others, were murdered. Every one abandoned his post, and tumult, confusion, and a panick terror, spread through the whole army. The Swedish troops had nothing

* A town on the river Lycus, in the province of Assyria, now called Curdestan, where Alexander the Great fought his third and decisive battle, with Darius king of Persia.

more to do, but to cut in pieces those who were flying. Some threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers were drowned; others threw down their arms, and fell upon their knees before the conquering Swedes.

The duke de Croy, general Alland, and the rest of the general officers, dreading the Russians more than the Swedes, went in a body and surrendered themselves prisoners to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden now made himself master of all the artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off bare-headed and disarmed before him. Prince Dolgorouki, and all the Russian generals, came and surrendered themselves, as well as the Germans, but did not know till after they had surrendered, that they had been conquered by 8000 men. Amongst the prisoners, was the son of a king of Georgia, whom Charles sent to Stockholm: his name was Mittelefsky Czarovits, or czar's son, an additional proof that the title of czar, for tzar, had not its original from the Roman Cæsars.

Charles XII. did not lose more than 1200 men in this battle. The czar's journal, which has been sent me from Petersbourg, says, that including those who died at the siege of Narva, and in the battle, and those who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than 6000 men. Want of discipline, and a panic that seized the army, did all the work of that fatal day. The number of those made prisoners of war, was four times greater than that of the conquerors; and if we may believe Norberg*, count Piper, who was afterwards taken

* Vol. I. p. 439, of the 4to. edition printed at the Hague.

prisoner by the Russians, reproached them, that the number of their people made prisoners in the battle, exceeded by eight times the number of the whole Swedish army. If this is truth, the Swedes must have made upwards of 72,000 prisoners. This shews how seldom writers are well informed of particular circumstances. One thing, however, equally incontestable and extraordinary is, that the king of Sweden permitted one half of the Russian soldiers to retire back, after having disarmed them, and the other half to repass the river, with their arms; by this unaccountable presumption, restoring to the czar troops that, being afterwards well disciplined, became invincible †.

Charles had all the advantages that could result from a compleat victory. Immense magazines, transports loaded with provisions, posts evacuated or taken, and the whole country at the mercy of the Swedish army, were consequences of the fortune of this day. Narva was now relieved, the shattered remains of the Russian army did not show themselves; the whole country as far as Pleskou lay open; the czar seemed bereft of all resource for carrying on the war; and the king of Sweden, victor in less than twelve months over the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, was looked upon as the first prince in Europe, at an age when after princes hardly presume to aspire at reputation.

† The chaplain Norberg pretends, that, immediately after the battle of Narva, the Grand Seigneur wrote a letter of congratulation to the king of Sweden, in these terms. "The sultan Bassa, by the grace of God, to Charles XII. &c." The letter was dated from the æra of the creation of the world.

But

But the unshaken constancy that made a part of Peter's character, prevented him from being discouraged in any of his projects.

A Russian bishop composed a prayer to St. Nicholas*, on account of this defeat, which was publickly read in all the churches throughout Russia. This composition shews the spirit of the times, and the inexpressible ignorance from which Peter delivered his country. Amongst other things, it says, that the furious and terrible Swedes were forcerers; and complains that St. Nicholas had entirely abandoned his Russians. The prelates of that country would blush to write such stuff at present; and, without any offence to the holy St. Nicholas, the people soon perceived that Peter was the most proper person to be applied to, to retrieve their losses.

* This prayer is printed in most of the journals and historical pieces of those times. And is inserted in the history of Charles XII. king of Sweden.

C H A P. XII.

Resources after the battle of Narva. That disaster entirely repaired. Peter gains a victory near the same place. The person who was afterwards empress, made prisoner at the storming of a town. Peter's successes. His triumph at Moscow *.

The years 1701 and 1702.

THE czar having, as has been already observed, quitted his army before Narva, in the end of November 1700, in order to go and concert matters with the king of Poland, received the news of the victory gained by the Swedes as he was on his way. His constancy in all emergencies was equal to the intrepidity and valour of Charles. He deferred the conference with Augustus, and hastened to repair the disordered state of his affairs. The scattered troops rendezvoused at Great Novgorod, and from thence marched to Pleskow on the Lake Peipus.

It was not a little matter to be able to stand upon the defensive, after so severe a check :
 “ I know very well, said Peter, that the Swedes
 “ will have the advantage of us for some time,
 “ but they will teach us at length to conquer
 “ them.”

1701.] Having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he sent to Moscow to cast new cannon,

* This chapter and the following, are taken entirely from the journal of Peter the Great, sent me from Petersbourg.

his.

his own having been all taken before Narva; There being a scarcity of metal, he took all the bells of the churches, and of the religious houses in Moscow. This action did not favour much of superstition, but at the same time it was no mark of impiety. With those bells he made one hundred large cannon, 143 field pieces, from three to six pounders, besides mortars and hautbitzers, which were all sent to Pleskow. In other countries the sovereign orders, and others execute; but here the czar was obliged to see every thing done himself. While he was hastening these preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furnish him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch could not fulfil.

As soon as this treaty was signed, he hurried to the theatre of war. He had an interview with king Augustus at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. Feb. 27. His object was, to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII. and at the same time to engage the Polish Diet to enter into the quarrel. It is well known, that a king of Poland is no more than the head person in a republic. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed: but the king of Poland, and England, at present the king of Sweden, are all obliged to treat with their subjects*. Patkul and a few Poles in the interest of their monarch assisted

* We must beg leave to remark in this place, that a king of England has the power of doing good in virtue of his own authority, and may do evil if so disposed, by having a majority in a corrupt parliament; whereas, a king of Poland can neither do good nor evil, not having it in his power to dispose even of a pair of colours,

at these conferences. Peter promised to aid them with subsidies, and an army of 25,000 men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, in case the diet would concur with their king, and assist in recovering this province: the diet hearkened more to their fears, than to the czar's proposals. The Poles were apprehensive of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons, and Russians, and were still more afraid of Charles XII. It was therefore agreed by the majority, not to serve their king, and not to fight.

The partisans of Augustus grew enraged against the contrary faction, and a civil war was lighted up in the kingdom; because their monarch had an intention to restore to it a considerable province.

Feb.] Peter then had only an impotent ally in king Augustus, and feeble succours in the Saxon troops; and the terror which Charles XII. inspired on every side, reduced Peter to the necessity of depending entirely upon his own strength.

March 1.] After travelling with the greatest expedition from Moscow to Courland, to confer with Augustus; he posted back from Courland to Moscow, to forward the accomplishment of his promises. He actually dispatched prince Repnin, with 4000 men, to Riga, on the banks of the Duna, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

July.] The general consternation was now encreased; for Charles passing the Duna in spite of all the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite side, gained a compleat victory over them; and then, without waiting a moment, he made himself master of Courland, advanced into Lithuania, and by his presence

encouraged the Polish faction that opposed Augustus.

Peter, notwithstanding all this, still pursued his designs. General Patkul, who had been the soul of the conference at Birzen, and who had engaged in his service, procured him some German officers, disciplined his troops, and supplied the place of general le Fort : consequently what he begun, the czar ordered relays of horses to be provided for all the officers, and even for the German, Livonian, and Polish soldiers, who came to serve in his armies. He likewise inspected in person into every particular relating to their arms, their cloathing and subsistence.

On the confines of Livonia and Esthonia, and to the eastward of the province of Novogorod, lies the great lake Peipus, which receives the waters of the river Velika, from out of the middle of Livonia, and gives rise in its northern part to the river Naiova, that washes the walls of the town of Narva, near which the Swedes gained their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length, and from twelve to fifteen in breadth. It was necessary to keep a fleet there, to prevent the Swedish ships from insulting the province of Novogorod ; to be ready to make a descent upon their coasts, and above all, to be a nursery for seamen. Peter employed the greatest part of the year 1701, in building on this lake, an hundred half gallies, to carry about fifty men each ; and other armed barks were fitted out on the lake Ladoga. He directed all these operations in person, and set his new sailors to work : those who had been employed in 1697, at the Palus Meotis were then stationed near the Baltic. He frequently quitted those occupations to go to Moscow, and

the rest of the provinces; in order to enforce the observance of the late customs he had introduced, or to establish new ones.

Those princes who have employed the leisure moments of peace, in raising public works, have acquired to themselves a name: but that Peter, just after his misfortune at Narva, should apply to the junction of the Baltick, Caspian, and the European seas by canals, has crowned him with more real glory, than the most signal victory. It was in the year 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, intended to join the Tanais and the Wolga. Other communications were likewise to be made, by means of lakes between the Tanais and the Duna; whose waters empty themselves into the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Riga. But this latter project seemed to be still at a great distance, as Peter was far from having Riga in his possession.

While Charles was laying all Poland waste, Peter caused to be brought from that kingdom, and from Saxony, a number of shepherds with their flocks, in order to have wool fit for making good cloth; he likewise erected manufactures of linen and paper: gave orders for collecting a number of artificers; such as smiths, braziers, armourers and founders, and the mines of Siberia were ransacked for ore. Thus was he continually labouring for the embellishment and defence of his dominions.

Charles pursued the course of his victories, and left a sufficient body of troops (as he imagined) on the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to secure all the possessions of Sweden. He had already formed a design to dethrone Augustus, and afterwards to pursue the czar with his victorious army to the very gates of Moscow.

There

There happened several slight engagements, in the course of this year, between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter did not always prove superior; and even in those where they had the advantage, the Russians improved in the art of war. In short, in little more than twelve months, after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so well disciplined, that they defeated one of the best generals belonging to the king of Sweden.

Peter was then at Pleskow, from whence he detached numerous bodies of troops on all sides, to attack the Swedes; who were now defeated by a native of Russia, and not a foreigner. His general Sheremeto, by a skilful manoeuvre, beat up the quarters of the Jan. 11. Swedish general Slippembac, in several places near Derpt; on the frontiers of Livonia; and at last obtained a victory over that officer himself. And now, for the first time, the Russians took from the Swedes four of their colours; which was thought a considerable number. 1702.

The lakes Peipus and Ladoga were for some time afterwards the theatres of sea-fights, between the Russians and Swedes; in which the latter had the same advantages as by land: namely, that of discipline and long practice; but the Russians had some few successes with their half galleys, at the lake Peipus, and the field marshal Sheremeto took a Swedish frigate. May.

By means of this lake the czar kept Livonia and Esthonia in continual alarms; his galleys frequently landed several regiments in those provinces; who re-imbarked whenever they failed

of

of success, or else pursued their advantage: the Swedes were twice beaten in June. the neighbourhood of Derpt, while they were victorious every where else.

In all these actions the Russians were always superior in number: for this reason, Charles XII. who was so successful in every other place, gave himself little concern about these trifling advantages gained by the czar: but he should have considered, that these numerous forces of his rival were every day growing more accustomed to the business of fighting, and might soon become formidable to himself.

While both parties were thus engaged by sea and land in Livonia, Ingria, and Esthonia, the czar is informed, that a Swedish fleet had set sail in order to destroy Archangel; upon which he immediately marched thither, and every one was astonished to hear of him on the coasts of the Frozen sea, when he was thought to be at Moscow. He put the town into a posture of defence, prevented the intended descent, drew the plan of a citadel, called the New Dwina, laid the first stone, and then returned to Moscow, and from thence to the seat of war.

Charles made some alliances in Poland; but the Russians, on their side, made a progress in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Sheremeto marched to meet the Swedish army under the command of Slippembac, gave that general battle near the little river Embac, and defeated him, taking sixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon. Norberg places this action on the 1st December 1701, but the journal of Peter the Great fixes it on the 19th July 1702.

6th August.] After this advantage, the Russian general marched onwards, laid the whole country under contribution, and takes the little town of Mariembourg on the confines of Ingria and Livonia. There are several towns of this name in the north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated in history than all the others, by the adventure of the empress Catharine.

This little town, having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, who defended it, either thro' mistake or design, set fire to the magazine. The Russians, incensed at this, destroyed the town, and carried away all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been brought up in the house of a Lutheran minister of that place, named Gluck, and who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed Russia by the name of the empress Catharine.

There had been many instances before this of private women being raised to the throne; nothing was more common in Russia, and in all Asiatic kingdoms, than for crowned heads to marry their own subjects; but that a poor stranger, who had been taken prisoner in the storming of a town, should become the absolute sovereign of that very empire, whither she was led captive, is an instance which fortune and merit never produced before nor since in the annals of the world.

The Russian arms proved equally successful in Ingria; for their half galleys on the lake Ladoga compelled the Swedish fleet to retire to

Wi-

Wibourg *, a town at the other extremity of this great lake, from whence they could see the siege of the fortress of Notebourg, which was then carrying on by general Sheremeto. This was an undertaking of much greater importance than was imagined at that time, as it might open a communication with the Baltic Sea, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

Notebourg was a strong fortified town, built on an island in the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands, and by that means, whoever is in possession of it, must be masters of that part of the river Neva, which falls into the sea not far from thence. The Russians bombarded the town night and day, from the 18th September to the 12th of October; and at length gave a general assault by three breaches. The Swedish garrison was reduced to an hundred men, only capable of defending the place; and what is very astonishing, they did defend it, and obtained, even in the breach, an honourable capitulation: moreover, colonel Slippembac, who commanded there, would not surrender the town, but on condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, to examine the breaches, in order

Oct. 16. to be witnesses for him to the king his master, that eighty-three men, who were all then left of the garrison capable of bearing arms, besides 156 sick and wounded, did not surrender to a whole army, till it was impossible for them to fight longer, or to

* This seems a mistake; our author probably meant to say Kerschelm, because Wibourg is not on the lake Ladoga, but on the gulph of Finland,

preserve the place. This circumstance alone shews, what sort of an enemy the czar had to contend with, and the necessity there was of all his great efforts and military discipline. He distributed gold medals among his officers on this occasion, and gave rewards to all the private men; except a few, whom he punished for running away during the assault. Their comrades spit in their faces, and afterwards shot them to death, thus adding ignominy to punishment.

Notebourg was repaired, and its name changed to that of Shluffelbourg, or the city of the Key, that place being the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was that Menzikoff whom we have already mentioned, and who was become an excellent officer, and had merited this honour by his gallant behaviour during the siege. His example served as an encouragement to all who have merit, without being distinguished by birth.

After this campaign of 1702, the czar resolved that Sheremeto, and the officers who had signalized themselves, should make a triumphal entry into Moscow. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched Dec. 17. in the train of the victors, who had the Swedish colours and standards carried before them, together with the flag of the Swedish frigate taken on the lake Peipus. Peter assisted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had shared in the great actions it celebrated.

These shews naturally inspired emulation, otherwise they would have been no more than idle ostentation. Charles despised every thing of this kind, and, after the battle of Narva, held his enemies

History of the
enemies, their efforts, and their triumphs, in
equal contempt.

C H A P. XIII.

Reformation at M O S C O W.

Further successes. Founding of Petersburg. The
czar takes Narva, &c.

The year **T**HE short stay which the czar made
1703. at Moscow, in the beginning of
the winter 1703, was employed in seeing all his
new regulations put into execution, and in im-
proving the civil as well as military government.
Even his very amusements were calculated to
inspire his subjects with a taste for the new
manner of living he had introduced amongst
them. In this view he invited all the boyards
and principal ladies of Moscow, to the marri-
age of one of his sisters, at which every one was
required to appear dressed after the ancient fa-
shion. A dinner was served up just in the same
manner as those in the 16th century *. By an
old superstitious custom, no one was to light a
fire on the wedding-day, even in the coldest sea-
son. This custom was rigorously observed upon
this occasion. The Russians formerly never
drank wine, but only mead and brandy; no
other liquors were permitted on this day, and,
when the guests made complaints, he replied,
in a joking manner, " This was a custom with
" your ancestors, and old customs are always

* Taken from the journal of Peter the Great,

" the

“the best.” This raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of those who preferred past times to the present, at least it put a stop to their murmurings; and there are several nations that stand in need of the like example.

A still more useful establishment than any of the rest, was that of a printing press for Russian and Latin types, the implements of which were all brought from Holland. They began by printing translations in the Russian language of several books of morality and polite literature. Ferguson founded schools for geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

Another foundation no less necessary, was that of a large hospital, not one of those houses which encouraged idleness, and perpetuate the misery of the people, but such as the czar had seen at Amsterdam, where old persons and children are employed at work, and where every one within the walls are made useful in some way or other.

He established several manufactures; and as soon as he had put in motion all those arts to which he gave birth in Moscow, he hastened to Woronitz, to give directions for building two ships of 80 guns, each with long cradles or carrens fitted to the ribs of the vessel, to buoy her up, and carry her safely over the shoals and banks of sand that lay about Asoph; an ingenious contrivance, similar to that used by the Dutch in Holland, to get their large ships over the Pampus.

Having made all the necessary preparations against the Turks, he turned his attention in the next place against the Swedes. He went to visit the

the ships that were building at Olonitz, a town between the lakes Ladago and Onega, where he had established a foundry for making all kinds of arms; and when every thing bore a military aspect, at Moscow flourished all the arts of peace. A spring of mineral waters, which has been lately discovered near Olonitz, has added to the reputation of that place. From thence he proceeded to Shluffelbourg, which he fortified.

We have already observed, that Peter was determined to pass regularly thro' all the military degrees: he had served as lieutenant of bombardeers under prince Menzikoff, before that favourite was made governor of Shluffelbourg, and now he took the rank of captain, and served under marshal Sheremeto.

There was an important fortress near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, named Nyantz or Nya*. It was necessary to make himself master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and favour his other designs. He therefore undertook to transport a number of small barks, filled with soldiers, and to drive off the Swedish vessels that were bringing supplies, while Sheremeto had

May 22. the care of the trenches. The citadel surrendered, and two Swedish vessels arrived too late to assist the besieged, being both attacked and taken by the czar. His journal says, that, as a reward for his service, "The captain of bombardeers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew by admiral Golowin, the first knight of that order."

* Some writers call it Nyenschantz.

After the taking of the fort of Nya, he resolved upon building the city of Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the gulph of Finland.

The affairs of king Augustus were in a desperate way; the excessive victories of the Swedes in Poland had emboldened his enemies in the opposition, and even his friends had obliged him to dismiss a body of 20,000 Russians that the czar had sent him to reinforce his army. They thought by this sacrifice to deprive the malcontents of all pretext for joining the king of Sweden: but enemies are disarmed by force, a shew of weakness serving only to make them more insolent. These 20,000 men that had been disciplined by Patkul proved of infinite service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and above all the possession of Nya, enabled the czar to found his new capital.

It was in this barren and marshy spot of ground, which has communication with the main land only by one way, that Peter laid the foundation of Petersburg, in the 60th degree of latitude, and the 44th and an half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nya was made use of for the first stones of the foundation *. They began by building a small fort upon one of the islands, which is now in the center of the city. The Swedes beheld, without apprehension, a settlement in the midst of a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden; but in a very short time they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronstadt,

* Petersburg was founded on Whitsunday, the 27th May 1703.

situated over against it, changed in 1704 into an impregnable fortress, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may ride in safety.

These works, which seemed to require a time of profound peace, were carried on in the very bosom of war, workmen of every sort were called together from Moscow, Astracan, Casan, and the Ukraine, to assist in building the new city. Neither the difficulties of the ground, that was to be rendered firm and raised, the distance of the necessary materials, the unforeseen obstacles which are for ever starting up in all great undertakings; nor, lastly, the epidemical disorder which carried off a prodigious number of the workmen, could discourage the Royal Founder; and, in the space of five months, a new city arose from the ground. It is true, indeed, it was little better than a cluster of huts, with only two brick houses surrounded by ramparts; but this was all that was then necessary. Time and perseverance accomplished the rest. In less than five months after the founding of Petersburg, a Dutch ship came to trade there, Nov. the captain of which was handsomely rewarded, and the Dutch soon found the way to Petersburg.

While Peter was directing the establishment of this colony, he took care to provide every day for its safety, by making himself master of the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel, named Croniort, had taken post on the river Sestra, and thence threatened the rising city.

Peter, without delay, marched against him with his two regiments of guards, defeated him, and obliged him to repass the river. Having thus put his town in safety,

safety, he repaired to Olonitz, to give directions for building a number of small vessels, and afterwards returned to Petersburg, on board a frigate that had been built by his direction, taking with him six transport vessels for present use, till the others could be got ready. Even at this juncture he did not forget his ally the king of Poland, but sent him a reinforcement of 12,000 foot, and a subsidy in money of 300,000 rubles, which make about 1,500,000 French livres*. It has been remarked, that his annual revenue did not exceed then 5,000,000 rubles; a sum, which the expence of his fleets, of his armies, and of his new establishments, seemed more than sufficient to exhaust. He had, almost at one and the same time, fortified Novogorod, Pleskow, Kiow, Smolensko, Asoph, Archangel, and founded a capital. Notwithstanding all which, he had still a sufficiency left to assist his ally with men and money. Cornelius le Bruine, a Dutchman, who was on his travels, and at that time in Russia, and with whom he frequently conversed very freely, as indeed he did with all strangers, says, that the czar himself assured him, that he had still 300,000 rubles remaining in his coffers, after all the expences of the war were defrayed.

In order to put his infant city of Petersburg out of danger of insult, he went in person to sound the depth of water thereabouts, fixed upon a place for building the fort of Cronstadt; and, after making the model of it in wood with his own hands, he employed prince Menzikoff to

* About 60,000 l. sterling.

put it in execution. From thence he went to pass the winter at Moscow, in order Nov. 5. to establish, by degrees, the several alterations he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He regulated the finances, and put them upon a new footing. He expedited the works that were carrying on in the Woronitz, at Asoph, and in an harbour which he had caused to be made on the Palus Mæotis, under the fort of Taganrock.

Jan. 1704.] The Ottoman Porte, alarmed at these preparations, sent an embassy to the czar, complaining thereof: to which he returned for answer, that he was master in his own dominions, as well as the Grand Seignior was in Turkey, and that it was no infringement of the peace, to render the Russian power respectable on the Euxine sea.

March 30.] Upon his return to Petersburg, finding his new citadel of Cronstadt, which had been founded in the bosom of the sea, completely finished, he furnished it with the necessary artillery. But in order to settle himself firmly in Ingria, and entirely to repair the disgrace he had suffered before Narva, he esteemed it necessary to take that city. While he was making preparations for the siege, a small fleet appeared on the lake of Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian half galleys went out to meet them, gave them battle, and took the whole squadron, which had on board 98 pieces of cannon. After this victory, the czar lays siege to Narva both by sea and land, April. and, which was most extraordinary, he lays siege to the city of Derpt in Esthonia at the same time.

Who

Who would have imagined, that there was an university in Derpt? Gustavus Adolphus had founded one there, but it did not render that city more famous, Derpt being only known by these two sieges. Peter was incessantly going from the one to the other, forwarding the attacks, and directing all the operations. The Swedish general Slippembac was in the neighbourhood of Derpt, with a body of 2500 men.

The besiegers expected every instant, when he would throw succours into the place; but Peter, on this occasion, had recourse to a stratagem, worthy of more frequent imitation. He ordered two regiments of foot, and one of horse, to be clothed in the same uniform, and to carry the same standards and colours as the Swedes. These sham Swedes attack the trenches, and the Russian

June 27. ans pretend to be put to flight, the garri-
son, deceived by appearances, make a sally; upon which the mock combatants join their forces, and fall upon the Swedes, one half of whom were left dead upon the place, and the rest made shift to get back to the town. Slippembac arrives soon after with succours to relieve it, but is totally defeated. At
July 23. length Derpt was obliged to capitulate, just as the czar was preparing every thing for a general assault.

At the same time, Peter met with a considerable check on the side of his new city of Petersburg; but this did not prevent him either from going on with the works of that place, or from vigorously prosecuting the siege of Narva. It has already been observed, that he sent a reinforcement of troops and money to king Augustus, when his enemies were driving him from

his throne ; but both these aids proved useless.

The Russians having joined the Lithuanians in the interest of Augustus, July 31. were totally defeated in Courland by the Swedish general Lewenhaupt : and had the victors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, they might have destroyed the czar's new works, and baffled all the fruits of his great undertakings. Peter was every day tapping the breast-work of Sweden, while Charles seemed to neglect all resistance, for the pursuit of a less advantageous, tho' a more brilliant fame.

On the 12th July 1704, only a single Swedish colonel, at the head of his detachment, obliged the Polish nobility to nominate a new king, on the field of election, called Kolo, near the city of Warsaw. The cardinal, primate of the kingdom, and several bishops, submitted to a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff. In short, every thing gave way to force. All the world knows in what manner Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected king, and how Charles XII. obliged the greatest part of Poland to acknowledge him

Peter, however, would not abandon the dethroned king, but redoubled his assistance, in proportion to the necessities of his ally ; and while his enemy was making kings, he beat the Swedish generals one after another in Esthonia and Ingria, from thence he passed to the siege of Narva, and gave several vigorous assaults to the town. There were three bastions, famous at least for their names, called Victory, Honour, and Glory. The czar carried them all
three

three sword-in-hand. The besiegers forced their way into the town, where they pillaged and exercised all those cruelties which were but too customary at that time, between the Swedes and Russians.

Aug. 20.] Peter, on this occasion, gave an example, that ought to have gained him the affections of all his new subjects. He ran every where in person, to put a stop to the pillage and slaughter, rescues several women out of the clutches of the brutal soldiery, and, after having, with his own hand, killed two of those ruffians, who had refused to obey his orders, he enters the town-house, whither the citizens had ran in crowds for shelter, and laying his sword, yet reeking with blood, upon the table, "This sword, said he, is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have spilt to save your lives."

C H A P. XIV.

PETER the GREAT keeps possession of all Ingria, while Charles XII. is triumphant in other places. Rise of Menzikoff. Petersburg secured. The czar executes his designs notwithstanding the victories of the king of Sweden*.

The year 1704. **P**ETER being now master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province upon Menzikoff; and at the same time gave him the title of prince, and the rank of major general. Pride and prejudice might, in other countries, find means to gainsay, that a pastry-cook's boy should be raised to be a general and governor, and to princely dignity; but Peter had already accustomed his subjects to see, without surprise, every thing given to merit, and nothing to mere nobility. Menzikoff, by a lucky accident, had, while a boy, been taken from his original obscurity, and placed in the czar's family †, where he learned several lan-

* All the foregoing chapters, and likewise those which follow, are taken from the journals of Peter the Great, and the papers sent me from Petersburg, carefully compared with other memoirs.

† Menzikoff's parents were vassals of the monastery of Cosmopolis: at the age of thirteen, he went to Moscow, and was taken into the service of a pastry-cook. His employment was singing ballads, and crying puffs and cakes about the streets. One day, as he was following this occupation, the czar happening to hear him, and to be diverted with one of his songs, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his pies and his basket? The boy answered, that his business was to sell his pies,

languages, and acquired a knowledge of public affairs, both in the cabinet and field; and having found means to ingratiate himself with his master, he afterwards knew how to render himself necessary. He greatly forwarded the works at Petersburg, of which he had the direction; several brick and stone-houses were already built, with an arsenal and magazines; the fortifications were compleated, but the palaces were not built till some time afterwards.

Peter was scarcely settled in Narva, when he offered fresh succours to the dethroned king of Poland; he promised him a body of troops over and above the 12,000 men he had already sent him, and actually dispatched general Repnin, from the frontiers of Lithuania, with six thousand horse, and the same number of foot. All this while he did not lose sight of his colony of Petersburg. The buildings went on very fast; his navy encreased daily; several ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olmutz; these he took care to see finished, and brought them Oct. 11. himself into the harbour of Petersburg.

pies, but he must ask his master's leave to sell his basket; yet, as every thing belonged to his prince, his majesty had only to lay his commands upon him. The czar was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately ordered him to court, where he gave him at first a mean employment; but being every day more pleased with his wit, he thought fit to place him about his person, and to make him groom of his bed-chamber, from whence he gradually raised him to the highest preferments. He was tall and well-shaped. At his first coming into the czar's service, he enlisted in le Fort's company, and acquired, under that general's instruction, such a degree of knowledge and skill, as enabled him to command armies, and to become one of the bravest and most successful generals in Russia.

Each time he returned to Moscow, was distinguished by triumphal entries. In Dec. 30. this manner did he revisit it this year, from whence he made only one excursion, to be present at the launching of his first ship of 80 guns upon the Woronitz, of which ship he himself had drawn the dimensions the preceding year.

May 1705.] As soon as the campaign could be opened in Poland, he hastened to the army, which he had sent to the assistance of Augustus, on the frontiers of that kingdom; but while he was thus supporting his ally, a Swedish fleet put to sea to destroy Petersburg, and the fortress of Cronstot, as yet hardly finished. This fleet consisted of 22 ships of war, from 54 to 64 guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fireships. The troops that were sent on this expedition, made a descent on the little island of Kotin; but a Russian colonel, named Tolbogwin, who commanded a regiment there, ordered his soldiers to lie down flat on their bellies, while the Swedes

June 27. were coming on shore, and then suddenly rising up, they threw in so brisk and well directed a fire, that the Swedes were put into confusion, and forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their ships, leaving behind them all their dead, and upwards of three hundred prisoners.

However, their fleet still continued hovering about the coast, and threatened Petersburg. They made another descent, and were repulsed as before; a body of land-forces were also advancing

vancing from Wiburn*, under the command of the Swedish general Meidel, and took their route by Shluffelbourg: this was the most considerable attempt that Charles had yet made upon those territories, which Peter had either conquered or new formed. June 25. The Swedes were every where repulsed, and Petersburg remained in security.

Peter, on the other hand, advanced towards Courland, with a design to penetrate as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles XII. was busied in reducing the Poles entirely under the obedience of the new king he had given them. The czar was still at Wilnaw in Lithuania, and his general Sheremeto was approaching towards Mitau, the capital of Courland; but there he was met by general Lewenhaupt, already famous by several victories, and a pitched battle was fought between the two armies at a place called Gemaverhoff, or Gemavers.

In all those actions, where experience and discipline decide the day, the Swedes, tho' inferior in number, had the advantage. The Russians were totally defeated, June 28. and lost all their artillery. Peter, notwithstanding the loss of three battles, viz. at Gemavers, at Jacobstadt, and at Narva, always retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

* Mr. de Voltaire calls this city Wiburg, in this and some other places of his history. The French are not always very attentive to the right names of places, but here it is of some consequence. Wiburg is the capital of Jutland in Denmark. Wiburn, the city here meant, is the capital of Carelia in Russian Finland.

After the battle of Gemavers, he marched his army into Courland; came before Mittau, made himself master of the town, and afterwards laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation.

Sept. 14. 1705.] The Russian troops at that time had the character of distinguishing their successes, by rapine and pillage; a custom of too great antiquity in all nations. But Peter, at the taking of Narva, had made such alterations in this custom, that the Russian soldiers appointed to guard the vaults, where the grand dukes of Courland were buried, in the castle of Mittau, perceiving that the bodies had been taken out of their tombs, and stript of their ornaments, refused to take possession of their post, till a Swedish colonel had been first sent for to inspect the condition of the place; who gave them a certificate that this outrage had been committed by the Swedes themselves.

A rumour which was spread throughout the whole empire, that the czar had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemayers, proved of greater prejudice to his affairs, than even the loss of that battle. The remainder of the ancient Strelitzers in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this false report, mutinied, and murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send marshal Sheremetow, with a body of forces to quell the insurrection, and punish the mutineers.

Every thing seemed now to conspire against the czar; the success and valour of Charles XII; the misfortunes of Augustus; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the insurrection of the ancient Strelitzers; the murmurs of a people, sensible

sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reform ; the discontent of the grandees, who found themselves subjected to military discipline ; and lastly, the exhausted state of the finances, were sufficient to have discouraged any prince except Peter : but he did not despond, even for an instant. He soon quelled the revolt, and having provided for the safety of Ingria, and secured the possession of the citadel of Mittau, in spite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not troops enough to oppose him ; he found himself at liberty to march an army thro' Samojitia, and Lithuania.

He now shared with Charles XII. the glory of giving laws to Poland. He advanced as far as Tikoczin ; where he had an interview for the second time with king Augustus ; when he endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortunes, promising to revenge his cause, and at the same time made him a present of some colours, which Menzikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. The two monarchs afterwards went together to Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, where they staid till the 15th of December. At their parting, Peter presented him both men and money, and then, according to his usual custom, went to pass some part of the winter at Moscow, to encourage the arts and 30 Dec. sciences there, and to enforce his new laws there, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign.

C H A P. XV.

While Peter is strengthening his conquests, and improving the police of his dominions, his enemy Charles XII. gains several battles: gives laws to Poland and Saxony, and to Augustus, notwithstanding a victory gained by the Russians. Augustus resigns the crown, and delivers up Patkul the czar's ambassador. Murder of Patkul, who is sentenced to be broke upon the wheel.

The year **P**ETER was hardly returned to 1706. Moscow, when he heard that Charles XII. after being every where victorious, was advancing towards Grodno, to attack the Russian troops. King Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and retire with precipitation towards Saxony, with four regiments of Russian dragoons; a step which both weakened and discouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the advances to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

While he was with the greatest difficulty assembling his troops in Lithuania, the famous Schulembourg, who was the last support Augustus had left, and who afterwards gained so much glory by the defence of Corfou against the Turks, was advancing on the side of Great Poland, with about twelve thousand Saxons, and six thousand Russians, taken from the body troops with which the czar had entrusted that unfor-

unfortunate prince. Shulembourg expected with just reason, that he should be able to prop the sinking fortunes of Augustus; he perceived that Charles XII. was employed in Lithuania, and that there were only a body of ten thousand Swedes under general Renschild to interrupt his march; he therefore advanced with confidence as far as the frontiers of Silesia; which is the passage out of Saxony into Upper Poland. When he came near the village of Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was advancing to give him battle.

Whatever care I take to avoid repeating what has been already mentioned in the history of Charles XII. I am obliged in this place to take notice once more, that there was in the Saxon army a French regiment, that had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hocsted (or Blenheim) and obliged to serve in the Saxon troops. My memoirs say, that this regiment had the charge of the artillery, and add, that the French, struck with the fame and reputation of Charles XII. and discontented with the Saxon

service, laid down their arms as soon as Feb. they came in sight of the enemy, and desired to be taken into the Swedish army, in which they continued to the end of the war. This defection was as the beginning, or signal of a total overthrow to the Russian army, of which no more than three battalions were saved, and almost every man of these was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder was cut in pieces.

Norberg the chaplain pretends, that the Swedish word at this battle was, "In the name of God," and that of the Russians, "Kill all;" but

it was the Swedes who killed all in God's name. The czar himself declares in one of his manifestos*, that a number of Russians, Cossacks, and Calmucks, that had been made prisoners, were murdered in cool blood three days after that battle. The irregular troops on both sides had accustomed their generals to these cruelties, than which greater were never committed in the most barbarous times. I had the honour to hear king Stanislaus himself say, that in one of those engagements, which were so frequent in Poland, a Russian officer who had formerly been one of his friends, came to put himself under his protection, after the defeat of the corps he commanded; and that the Swedish general Steinbok shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

This was the fourth battle the Russians had lost against the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's troops that were in Grodno, ran the risk of suffering a still greater disgrace, by being surrounded on all sides; but he fortunately found means to get them together, and even to strengthen them with new reinforcements. But necessitated at once to provide for the safety of this army, and the security of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered prince Menzikoff to march with the army under his command eastward, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

While his men were upon their march, he repairs to Shluffelbourg, from thence to Aug. Narva, and to his colony of Petersburg, and puts those places in a posture of de-

* The czar's manifesto in the Ukraine 1709.

fence: From the Baltic he flies to the banks of the Boristhenes, to enter into Poland by the way of Kiow, making it still his chief care to render those victories of Charles, which he had not been able to prevent, of as little advantage to the victor as possible. At this very time he meditated a new conquest; namely, that of Wiburgh, the capital of Carelia, situated on the gulph of Finland. He went in season to lay siege to this place, but for this Oct. time it withstood the power of his arms; succours arrived in season, and he was obliged to raise the siege. His rival Charles XII. did not in fact make any conquests, tho' he gained so many battles: he was at that time in pursuit of king Augustus in Saxony, being always more intent upon humbling that prince, and crushing him beneath the weight of his superior power and reputation, than upon recovering Ingria, that had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

He spread terror thro' all Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for peace, chusing rather to trust himself to the mercy of his conqueror, than in the arms of his protector. He entered into a treaty which deprived him of the crown of Poland, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This was a private treaty, and was to be concealed from the czar's generals, with whom he had taken refuge in Poland, while Charles XII. was giving laws in Leipstick, and acting as absolute master throughout his electorate.

His

His plenipotentiaries had already signed the fatal treaty, by which he not only divested himself of the crown of Poland, but promised never more to assume the title of king ; at the same time he recognized Stanislaus, renounced his alliance with the czar his benefactor, and, to complete his humiliation, engaged to deliver up to Charles XII. John Reinold Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general in the Russian service, who was then actually fighting his cause. He had sometime before ordered Patkul to be arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations ; and now, in direct violation of these laws, he delivered him up to his enemy. It had been better for him to have died sword-in-hand, than to have concluded such a treaty : a treaty, which not only robbed him of his crown, and of his reputation ; but likewise endangered his liberty, because he was at that time in the power of prince Menzikoff in Posenania, and the few Saxons that he had with him were paid by the Russians.

Prince Menzikoff was opposed in that district by a Swedish army, reinforced with a strong party of Poles, in the interest of the new king Stanislaus, under the command of general Marderfeld ; and not knowing that Augustus had engaged in a treaty with the enemies of Russia, had proposed to attack them, and Augustus did not dare to refuse. The battle was fought near

Kalish, in the palatinate belonging to O&A. 19. Stanislaus ; this was the first pitched battle the Russians had gained against the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff had all the glory of the action, four thousand of the enemy were

were left dead on the field, and 2598 were made prisoners.

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed on, after this battle, to ratify a treaty which deprived him of all the fruits of his victory. But Charles was still triumphant in Saxony, where his very name spread terror. The success of the Russians appeared so considerable, and the Polish party against Augustus was so strong, and, in fine, that monarch was so ill-advised, that he signed that fatal convention. Neither did he stop here : he wrote to his envoy Finkstein a letter, that was if possible more shameful than the treaty itself ; for therein he asked pardon for having obtained a victory, “ protesting, that the battle had been fought “ against his will ; that the Russians and the “ Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to it ; “ that he had with a view of preventing it, actually made some movements to abandon “ Menzikoff ; that Maderfeld might have beaten him, had he had made the most of that “ opportunity ; that he was ready to restore all “ the Swedish prisoners, or to break with the “ Russians ; and that, in fine, he would give the “ king of Sweden all possible satisfaction,” for having dared to beat his troops.

This whole affair, unparalleled and inconceivable as it is, is nevertheless strictly true. When we reflect, that, with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe ; we may plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline of empires, are entirely owing to fortitude of mind.

Two other circumstances concurred to complete the disgrace of the king of Poland elector of Saxony,

Saxony, and heighten the abuse which Charles XII. made of his good fortune; the first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus on his election: the second was terrible, he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general *. It is sufficiently known to all Europe, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at Casimir in the month of September 1707. Norberg the chaplain confesses that the orders for his execution were all written in Charles's own hand.

There is not a civilian in all Europe, nay even the vilest slave, but must feel the whole horror of this barbarous injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man was, the having made an humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country; at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who were sent as deputies from the whole province: having been condemned to die for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country agreeable to her laws. This iniquitous sentence put him in full possession of a right, which all mankind derive from

* The impartiality of an historian obliges us in this place to advertise our readers, that it was not the fault of Augustus, that Patkul was delivered up to the king of Sweden; Augustus having privately sent orders to the commandant of the fort of Konigstein, where Patkul was then confined, to suffer his prisoner to make his escape in time. But the avarice of this officer proved fatal to the life of the unhappy captive, and to the character of his own prince; for while he was endeavouring to make the best bargain he could for himself, the time slipped inconceivably away; and while they were yet debating upon the price of the proposed releasement, the guards sent by Charles came and demanded Patkul in the name of their sovereign. The commandant was forced to obey, and the unhappy victim was delivered up, contrary to the intention of Augustus.

nature,

nature, that of chusing his country. Being made afterwards ambassador to one of the greatest monarchs in the universe, his person thereby became sacred. On this occasion the law of force violated that of nature and nations. In former ages cruelties of this kind were hidden in the blaze of success, but now they fully the glory of a conqueror.

C H A P. XVI.

Attempts made to set up a third king of Poland.

Charles XII. sets out from Saxony with a powerful army, and marches thro' Poland in a victorious manner. Cruelties committed. Conduct of the czar. Successes of the king of Sweden, who at length advances towards Russia.

The year 1707. **C**HARLES XII. enjoyed the fruits of his good fortune in Altranstadt near Leipsick, whither the protestant princes of the German empire repaired in droves to pay homage to him, and implore his protection. He received ambassadors from almost all the potentates of Europe. The emperor Joseph implicitly followed his directions. Peter then perceiving that king Augustus had renounced his protection and his own crown, and that a part of the Polish nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, listened to the proposals Jan. made him by Yolkova of chusing a third king.

A diet was held at Lublin, in which several of the palatines were proposed; and among others, prince Ragotski was put upon the list, that

that prince, who was so long kept in prison when young by the emperor Leopold, and who afterwards when he procured his liberty was his competitor for the throne of Hungary.

This negociation was pushed very far, and Poland was on the point of having three kings at one time. Prince Ragotski not succeeding, Peter thought to bestow the crown on Simiauski, grand general of the republic; a person of great power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king, nor the person elected by the opposed party.

In the midst of these troubles, there was a talk of peace, as is customary on the like occasions. Besséval the French envoy in Saxony interposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. It was thought at that time by the court of France, that Charles, having no longer either the Russians or Poles to fight against, might turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was not on very good terms, and on whom he had even imposed several laws during his stay in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the czar in Moscow. It was on this occasion that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to act the Alexander, but he shall not find a Darius in me."

The Russians however were still in Poland, and were in the city of Warsaw, while the king whom Charles XII. had set over the Poles was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time, Charles was enriching his army with the spoils of Saxony.

Aug.

Aug. 22.] At length he began his march from Altranstادت, at the head of an army of 45,000 men; a force which it seemed impossible for the czar to withstand, seeing he had been entirely defeated by 8,000 only at Narva.

Aug. 27.] It was in passing by the walls of Dresden, that Charles made that very extraordinary visit to king Augustus, which, as Norberg says, "will strike posterity with admiration." It was running an unaccountable risk, to put himself in the power of a prince whom he had deprived of his kingdom. From thence he continued his march thro' Silesia, and re-entered Poland.

This country had been entirely ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and was a prey to every kind of calamity. Charles continued advancing with his army through the province of Muscovia, and chose the most difficult ways he could take. The inhabitants, who had taken shelter in the morasses, resolved to make him at least pay for his passage. Six thousand peasants dispatched an old man of their body to speak to him: this man, who was of a very extraordinary figure, clad in white, and armed with two carabines, made a speech to Charles; but as the standers-by did not very well understand what he said, they, without any further ceremony, dispatched him in the midst of his harangue, and before their king's face. The peasants, in a rage, immediately withdrew, and took up arms. All who could be found were seized, and obliged to hang one another; the last was compelled to put the rope about his neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their houses were burnt to the ground. This fact

fact is attested by Norberg, who was an eye-witness, and therefore cannot be contradicted, as it cannot be related without inspiring horror.

The year 1708, Feb. 6.] Charles being arrived within a few leagues of Grodno in Lithuania, is informed of the czar's being there in person with a body of troops; upon which, without staying to deliberate, he takes only 800 of his guards, and sets out for Grodno. A German officer, named Mulsels, who commanded a body of troops, posted at one of the gates of the town, making no doubt, when he saw Charles, but that he was followed by his whole army, instead of disputing the passage with him, leaves it open, and takes to flight. The alarm is now spread through the whole town; every one imagines the whole Swedish army already entered; the few Russians who made any resistance, are cut in pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers assure the czar, that the victorious army had made itself master of the place. Hereupon Peter retreats behind the ramparts, and Charles plants a guard of thirty men, at the very gate thro' which the czar had just before entered.

In this confusion, some of the jesuits, whose college had been taken to accommodate the king of Sweden, as being the handsomest structure in the place, went by night to the czar, and for this time told the whole truth. Upon this, Peter immediately returns into the town, and forces the Swedish guards. An engagement ensues in the streets and public places; but, at length, the whole Swedish army appearing in sight, the czar is obliged to yield to superior numbers, and leaves the town in the hands

hands of the victor, who made all Poland tremble.

Charles had augmented his forces in Livonia and Finland, and Peter had every thing to fear, not only for his conquests on this side, together with those in Lithuania, but also for his ancient territories, and even for the city of Moscow itself. He was obliged then to provide at once for the safety of all these different places, at such a distance from each other. Charles could not make any rapid conquests to the eastward of Lithuania in the depth of winter, and in a marshy country, subject to epidemical disorders, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warsaw as far as Minski. Peter posted his troops so as to command the passes of the rivers, guarded all the important posts, and did every thing in his power April 8. to impede the marches of his enemy, and afterwards hastened to put things in a proper situation at Petersburg.

Though Charles was lording it in Poland, he took nothing from the czar; but Peter, by the use he made of his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by the taking and dismantling the town of Borgau, and by seizing May 22. a great booty, was procuring many real and great advantages to himself, and distressing his enemy.

Charles, after being detained a long time in Lithuania by continual rains, at length reached the little river of Berezine, some few leagues from the Boristhenes. Nothing could withstand his activity; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the Russians; beat a detachment that guarded the passage, and got to Holozin on the river

river Bibitsch, where the czar had posted a considerable body of troops to check the impetuous progress of his rival. The little river of Bibitsch is only a small brook in dry weather; but at this time it was swelled by the rains to a deep and rapid stream. On the other side was a morass, behind which the Russians had thrown up an intrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large and deep ditch, and covered by a parapet, lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in these lines, so that the passage of the river seemed impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the custom of war, got ready their pontoons, and erected batteries to favour their passage; but Charles, whose impatience to engage would not let him brook the least delay, did not wait till the pontoons were ready. Marshal Schwerin, who served a long time under him, has assured me several times, that one day that they were to come to action, observing his generals to be very busy in concerting the necessary dispositions, said tartly to them, "When will you have done with this trifling?" and immediately advanced in person at the head of his guards, which he did particularly on this memorable day.

He flung himself into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. Their numbers broke the impetuosity of the current, but the water was as high as their shoulders, and they could make no use of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been but tolerably well served, or had the infantry but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a single Swede would have escaped.

July 25.] The king, after wading the river, passed the morass on foot. As soon as the army had surmounted these obstacles within sight of the Russians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the enemies entrenchments seven different times, and it was not till the seventh attack that the Russians gave way. By the accounts of their own historians, the Swedes took but 12 field-pieces, and 24 mortars.

It was therefore evident, that the czar had at length succeeded in disciplining his troops, and this victory of Holozin, while it covered Charles XII. with glory, might have made him sensible of the many dangers he must have to encounter in adventuring into such distant countries, where his army could march only in small bodies, through woods, morasses, and where he would be obliged to fight out every step of his way; but the Swedes, being accustomed to carry all before them, dreaded neither danger nor fatigue*.

* What would those Swedes say, were they living, to see the pitiful figure their descendants have made in this war?

C H A P. XVII.

CHARLES XII. crosses the Boristhenes, penetrates into the Ukraine, but concert his measures badly. One of his armies is defeated by **PETER the GREAT**: he loses his supply of provisions and ammunition: advances forward through a desert country: his adventures on the Ukraine.

The year **A**T last Charles arrives on the borders of the Boristhenes, at a small town called Mohilow. This was the important spot where he was to be determined, whether he should direct his march eastward towards Moscow, or southwards towards the Ukraine. His own army, his friends, his enemies, all expected that he would direct his course immediately for the capital of Russia. Which ever way he took, Peter was following him from Smolensko with a strong army; no one expected that he would turn towards the Ukraine. He was induced to take this strange resolution by Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who being an old man of seventy, and without children, ought to have thought only of ending his days in peace: gratitude should have bound him to the czar, to whom he was indebted for his present dignity; but whether he had any real cause of complaint against that prince, or that he was dazzled with the lustre of Charles's exploits, or whether, in time, he thought to make himself independent, he betrayed his benefactor, and privately espoused the interests of the king

king of Sweden, flattering himself with the hopes of engaging his whole nation in rebellion with himself.

Charles made not the least doubt of subduing the Russian empire, as soon as his troops should be joined by so warlike a people as the Cossacks. Mazeppa was to furnish him with what provisions, ammunition, and artillery he should want; besides these powerful succours, he was to be joined by an army of 16 or 17,000 men out of Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt, who was to bring with him a prodigious quantity of warlike stores and provisions. Charles was not at the trouble of reflecting, whether the czar was within reach of attacking this army, and depriving him of these necessary supplies. He never informed himself whether Mazeppa was in a condition to observe his promises; if that Cossack had credit enough to change the disposition of a whole nation, who are generally guided only by their own opinion; or whether his army was provided with sufficient resources in case of an accident; but imagined, if Mazeppa should prove deficient in abilities or fidelity, he could trust to his own valour and good fortune. The Swedish army then advanced beyond the Boristhenes towards the Desna: it was between these two rivers, that he expected to meet with Mazeppa. His march was attended with many difficulties and dangers, on account of the badness of the road, and the many parties of Russians that were hovering about those regions.

Sept. 11.] Menzikoff, at the head of some horse and foot, attacked the king's advanced guard, threw them into disorder, and killed a

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number

number of his men. He lost a greater number of his own, indeed, but that did not discourage him. Charles immediately hastened to the field of battle, and with some difficulty repulsed the Russians, at the hazard of his own life, by engaging a party of dragoons, by whom he was surrounded. All this while Mazeppa did not appear, and provisions began to grow scarce. The Swedish soldiers, seeing their king share in all their dangers, fatigues, and wants, were not dispirited; but tho' they admired his courage, they could not refrain from murmuring at his conduct.

The orders which the king had sent to Lewenhaupt to march forward with all haste, to join him with the necessary supplies, were not delivered by twelve days so soon as they should have been. This was a long delay as circumstances then stood. However, Lewenhaupt at length began his march. Peter suffered him to pass the Boristhenes; but as soon as his army was got between that river and the lesser ones, which empty themselves into it, he crossed over after him, and attacked him with his united forces, which had followed in different corps at equal distances from one another. This battle was fought between the Boristhenes and the Soffa*.

Prince Menzikoff was upon his return with the same body of horse, with which he had lately engaged Charles XII. General Baur followed him, and the czar himself headed the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had to deal with an army of 40,000 men, and the same

* In the Russian language Soeza.

was believed for a long time on the faith of their relation : but my late memoirs inform me, that Peter had only 20,000 men in this day's engagement, a number not much superior to that of the enemy : but his vigour, his patience, his unwearied perseverance, together with that of his troops, animated by his presence, decided the fate, not of that day only, but of three successive days, during which the fight was renewed at different times.

They made their first attack upon the rear of the Swedish army, near the village of Lesnau, from whence this battle borrows its name.

This first shock was bloody, without Oct. 7. proving decisive. Lewenhaupt retreated into a wood, and thereby saved his baggage. The next morning, when the Swedes were to be driven from this wood, the fight was still more bloody, and more to the advantage of the Russians. Here it was that the czar, seeing his troops in disorder, cried out to fire upon the runaways, and even upon himself, if they saw him turn back. The Swedes were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion.

At length a reinforcement of 4000 dragoons arriving, he fell upon the Swedes a third time, who retreated to a small town called Proslock, where they were again attacked ; they then marched towards the Desna, the Russians still pursuing them ; yet they were never broken, but lost upwards of 8000 men, 17 pieces of cannon, and 44 colours : the czar took 56 officers, and near 900 private men prisoners, and the great convoy of provisions and ammunition that were going to Charles's army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

This was the first time that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy who had distinguished himself by so many victories over his troops: he was employed in a general thanksgiving for his success, when he received advice, that general Apraxin had lately gained an advantage over the enemy in Ingria, some leagues from Narva, an advantage less considerable indeed than that of Lesnau; but this concurrence of fortunate events greatly raised the hopes and courage of his troops.

Charles XII. heard of these unfortunate tidings, just as he was ready to pass the Desna in the Ukraine. Mazeppa at length joined him; but instead of 20,000 men, and an immense quantity of provisions, which he was to have brought with him, he came with only two regiments, and appeared rather like a fugitive applying for assistance, than a prince, who was bringing powerful succours to his ally. This Cossack had indeed begun his march with near fifteen or sixteen thousand of his people, whom he had told at their first setting out, that they were going against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero on his march, and that he would hold himself eternally obliged to them for so great a service.

But when they came within a few leagues of the Desna, he made them acquainted with his real design. These brave people received his declaration with disdain: they refused to betray a monarch, against whom they had no cause of complaint, for the sake of a Swede, who had invaded their country, with an armed force, and who, after leaving it, would be no longer able

to defend them, but must abandon them to the mercy of the incensed Russians, and of the Poles, once their masters, and always their enemies: they accordingly returned home, and gave advice to the czar of the defection of their chief; Mazeppa found himself left with only two regiments, the officers of which were in his own pay.

He was still master of some strong posts in the Ukraine, and in particular of Bathurin, the place of his residence, looked upon as the capital of the country of the Cossacks: it is situated near some forests on the Desna, at a great distance from the place where Peter had defeated general Lewenhaupt. There were always some Russian regiments quartered in these districts. Prince Menzikoff was detached from the czar's army, and got thither by round-about marches. Charles could not secure all the passes; he did not even know them all, and had neglected to make himself master of the important post of Starowdoub, which leads directly to the Bathurin, across seven or eight leagues of forest, thro' which the Desna directs its course. His enemy had always the advantage of him, by being better acquainted with the country.

Menzikoff and prince Galitzin, who had accompanied him, easily made their passage good, and presented them- Nov. 14. selves before the town of Bathurin, which surrendered almost without resistance, was plundered and reduced to ashes. The Russians made themselves masters of a large magazine destined for the use of the king of Sweden, and of all Mazeppa's treasures. The Cossacks chose another Hetman, named Skoropasky, who

was approved by the czar, who being willing to impress a due sense of the enormous crime of treason on the minds of the people, by a striking example of justice, the archbishop of Kiow, and two other prelates, were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa publicly; after which he was hanged in effigy, and some of his accomplices were broken upon the wheel.

In the mean while, Charles XII. still at the head of about 25 or 27,000 Swedes, who were reinforced by the remains of Lewenhaupt's army, and the addition of between 2 and 3000 men, whom Mazeppa had brought with him, and still infatuated with the same notion of making all the Ukraine declare for him, passed

Nov. 15. the Desna, at some distance from Bathurin, and near the Boristhenes, in spite of the czar's troops which surrounded him on all sides; part of whom followed close in the rear, while another part lined the opposite side of the river to oppose his passage.

He continued his march through a desert country, where he met with nothing but burned or ruined villages. The cold began to set in at the beginning of December so extremely sharp, that in one of his marches, near 2000 of his men perished before his eyes: the czar's troops did not suffer near so much, being better supplied; whereas the king of Sweden's army, being almost naked, was necessarily more exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In this deplorable situation, count Piper, chancellor of Sweden, who never gave his master other than good advice, conjured him to halt, and pass at least the severest part of the win-

winter, in a small town of the Ukraine, called Romna, where he might intrench himself, and get some provisions by the help of Mazeppa; but Charles replied, that "he was not a person to shut himself up in a town." Piper then intreated him to repass the Desna and the Boristhenes, to return back into Poland, to put his troops into winter-quarters, of which they stood so much in need, to make use of the Polish cavalry, which was absolutely necessary; to support the king he had nominated, and to keep in awe the partisans of Augustus, who began already to bestir themselves. Charles answered him again, "that this would be flying before the czar, that the season would grow milder, " and that he must reduce the Ukraine, and "march on to Moscow *."

January 1709.] Both armies remained some weeks inactive, on account of the intenseness of the cold, in the month of January 1709; but, as soon as the men were able to make use of their arms, Charles attacked all the small posts that he found in his way; he was obliged to send parties on every side in search of provisions; that is to say, to scour the country twenty leagues round, and rob all the peasants of their necessary subsistence. Peter, without hurrying himself, kept a strict eye upon all his motions, and suffered the Swedish army to dwindle away by degrees.

It is impossible for the reader to follow the Swedes in their march through these countries; several of the rivers which they crossed are not to be found in the maps: we must not suppose,

* This is acknowledged by Norberg himself, vol. ii. p. 263.

that geographers are as well acquainted with these countries, as we are with Italy, France, and Germany; geography is, of all the arts, that which still stands the most in need of improvement: and ambition has hitherto been at more pains to desolate the face of the globe, than to give a description of it.

We must content ourselves then with knowing, that Charles traversed the whole Ukraine in the month of February, burning the villages wherever he came, or meeting with others that had been laid in ashes by the Russians. He, advancing south-east, came to those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains that separate the Nogay Tartars from the Don Cossacks. To the eastward of those mountains, are the altars of Alexander. Charles was now on the other side of the Ukraine, in the road that the Tartars take to Russia; and when he was got there, he was obliged to return back again to procure subsistence: the inhabitants, having retired with all their cattle into their dens and lurking places, would sometimes defend their subsistence against the soldiers, who came to deprive them of it. Such of these poor wretches who could be found, were put to death, agreeable to what are falsely called the rules of war. I cannot here forbear transcribing a few lines from Norberg *.

“ As an instance, says he, of the king’s regard to justice, I shall insert a note, which he wrote with his own hand to colonel Heilmen.

* Vol. II. page 279.

“ Colonel;

“Colonel,

“I am very well pleased that you have taken
“these peasants, who carried off a Swedish sol-
“dier; as soon as they are convicted of the
“crime, let them be punished with death, ac-
“cording to the exigency of the case.

“CHARLES, and lower down, BUDIS.”

Such are the sentiments of justice and huma-
nity shewn by a king's confessor; but had the
peasants of the Ukraine had it in their power
to hang up some of those regimented peasants of
East Gothland, who thought themselves intit-
led to come so far to plunder them, their wives,
and families, of their subsistence, would not the
confessors and chaplains of these Ukrainers have
had equal reason to applaud their justice?

Mazeppa had, for a considerable time, been
in treaty with the Zaporavians, who dwell
about the two shores of the Boristhenes, and of
whom part inhabit the islands on that river. It
is this division that forms the nation, of whom
mention has already been made in the first
chapter of this history, and who have neither
wives nor families, and subsist entirely by rapine.
During the winter they heap up provisions in
their islands, which they afterwards go and sell
in the summer, in the little town of Pultowa;
the rest dwell in small hamlets, to the right and
left of this river. Altogether chuse a particular
Hetman, and this Hetman is subordinate to him
of the Ukraine. The person, at that time, at
the head of the Zaporavians, came to meet Ma-
zeppa; and these two barbarians had an inter-
view, at which each of them had an horse's tail,

and a club born before him, as ensigns of honour.

To shew what this Hetman of the Zaporavians, and his people were, I think it not unworthy of history, to relate the manner in which this treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a great feast to the Hetman of the Zaporavians, and his principal officers, who were all served in plate. As soon as these chiefs had made themselves drunk with brandy, they took an oath (without stirring from table) upon the Evangelists, to supply Charles with men and provisions; after which they carried off all the plate and other table-furniture. Mazeppa's steward ran after them, and remonstrated, that such behaviour ill-suited with the doctrine of the gospels on which they had so lately sworn. Some of Mazeppa's domestics were for taking the plate away from them by force; but the Zaporavians went in a body to complain to Mazeppa, of the unparalleled affront offered to such brave fellows, and demanded to have the steward delivered up to them, that they might punish him according to law. This was accordingly complied with, and the Zaporavians, according to law, tossed this poor man from one to another like a ball, and afterwards plunged a knife to his heart.

Such were the new allies that Charles XII. was obliged to receive, part of whom he formed into a regiment of 2000 men; the remainder marched in separate bodies against the Cossacks and Calmucks of the czar's party, that were stationed about that district.

The little town of Pultowa, with which those Zaporavians carry on a trade, was filled with provisions, and might have served Charles for a place

place of arms. It is situated on the river Worsklaw, near a chain of mountains, which command it on the north-side. To the eastward is a vast desert. The western part is the most fruitful, and the best peopled. The Worsklaw empties itself into the Boristhenes, about fifteen leagues lower down; from Pultowa, one may go northward, throw the defiles which communicate with the road to Moscow, a passage used by the Tartars. It is very difficult of access, and the precautions taken by the czar had rendered it almost impervious; but nothing appeared impossible to Charles, and he depended upon marching to Moscow, as soon as he had made himself master of Pultowa; with this view he laid siege to that town in the beginning of May.

C H A P. XVIII.

Battle of PULTOWA.

The year **H**ERE it was that Peter expected 1709. him ; he had disposed the several divisions of his army at convenient distances for joining each other, and marching all together against the besiegers : he had visited the countries which surround the Ukraine ; namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Desna, already made famous by his victory ; the country of Bolcho, in which the Occa has its source ; the deserts and mountains leading to the Palus Mæotis ; and lately he had been in the neighbourhood of Asoph, where he caused that harbour to be cleansed, new ships to be built, and the citadel of Taganroc to be repaired. Thus did he employ the time that passed between the battles of Lesnaw and Pultowa, in preparing for the defence of his dominions. As soon as he heard the Swedes had laid siege to the town, he mustered all his forces : the horse, dragoons, infantry, cossacks, and calmuks, advanced from different quarters. His army was well provided with necessaries of every kind ; large cannon, field-pieces, ammunition of all sorts, provisions, and even medicines for the sick : this was another degree of superiority which he had acquired over his rival.

On the 15th day of June 1709, he appeared before Pultowa with an army of about 60,000 effective men ; the river Worsklaw was between him and Charles. The besiegers were encamp-
ed

on on the north-west side of that river, the Russians on the south-east.

Peter ascends the river above the town, fixes his barges, marches over with his army, and draws a long line of entrenchments, which were begun and completed in one night in the face of the enemy. Charles might then judge, whether the person whom he had so much despised, and whom he thought of dethroning at Moscow, understood the art of war. This disposition being made, Peter posted his cavalry between two woods, and covered it with several redoubts, lined with artillery. Having thus taken all the necessary measures, he went to reconnoitre the enemies camp in order to form the attack.

This battle was to decide the fate of Russia, Poland, and Sweden, and of two monarchs, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. The greatest part of those nations who were attentive to these important concerns, were equally ignorant of the place where these two princes were, and of their situation: but knowing that Charles XII. had set out from Saxony, at the head of a victorious army, and that he was driving his enemy every where before him, they no longer doubted that he would at length entirely crush him; and that as he had already given laws to Denmark, Poland, and Germany, he would now dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin of Moscow, and make a new czar, after having already made a new king of Poland. I have seen letters from several public ministers to their respective courts, confirming this general opinion.

The

The risk was far from being equal between these two great rivals. If Charles lost a life, which he had so often, and wantonly exposed, there would after all have been but one hero less in the world. The provinces of the Ukraine, the frontiers of Lithuania and of Russia, would then rest from their calamities, and a stop would be put to the general devastation, which had so long been their scourge. Poland would, together with her tranquility, recover her lawful prince, who had been lastly reconciled to the czar his benefactor ; and lastly, Sweden, tho' exhausted of men and money, might find motives of consolation under her heavy losses.

But if the czar perished, those immense labours which had been of such utility to mankind, would be buried with him, and the most extensive empire in the world would again relapse into the chaos from whence it had been so lately taken.

There had already been some skirmishes between the detached parties of the Swedes and Russians, under the walls of the town. In one of these rencounters, Charles had been June 27. wounded by a musket-ball, which had shattered the bones of his foot: he underwent several painful operations, which he bore with his usual fortitude, and had been confined to his bed for some days. In this condition he was informed, that Peter intended to give him battle ; his notions of honour would not suffer him to wait to be attacked in his entrenchments. Accordingly he gave orders for quitting them, and was carried himself in a litter. Peter the Great acknowledges, that the Swedes attacked the redoubts, lined with artillery,

lery, that covered his cavalry, with such obstinate valour, that, notwithstanding the strongest resistance, supported by a continual fire, the enemy made themselves masters of two redoubts. Some writers say, that when the Swedish infantry found themselves in possession of the two redoubts, they thought the day their own, and began to cry out Victory. The chaplain Norberg, who was at some great distance from the field of battle, amongst the baggage (which was indeed his proper place) pretends, that this was a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out victory or not, it is certain they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts was kept up without ceasing, and the resistance made by the Russians in every part, was as firm as the attack of their enemies was vigorous. They did not make one irregular movement; the czar drew up his army without the entrenchments in excellent order, and with surprising dispatch.

The battle now became general. Peter acted as major general; Baur commanded the right wing, Menzikoff the left, and Sheremeto the centre. The action lasted two hours: Charles with a pistol in his hand went from rank to rank, carried in a litter, on the shoulders of his drabans; one of which was killed by a cannonball, and at the same time the litter was shattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon their pikes; for it would have been difficult in so smart an action, let Norberg say as he pleases, to find a fresh litter ready made. Peter received several shot thro' his cloaths and his hat; both princes were continually in the midst of the fire, during the whole action. At length,

length, after two hours desperate engagement, the Swedes were taken on all sides, and fell into confusion, so that Charles was obliged to fly before him, whom he had hitherto held in so much contempt. This very hero, who could not mount his saddle during the battle, now fled for his life on horse-back; necessity lent him strength in his retreat; he suffered the most excruciating pain, which was increased by the mortifying reflection of being vanquished without resource. The Russians reckoned 9224 Swedes left dead on the field of battle, and between two and three thousand made prisoners in the action, the chief of which was cavalry.

Charles XII. fled with the greatest precipitation, attended only by 40,000 men, a few field pieces, and a very small quantity of provisions and ammunition. He directed his march southward, towards the Boristhenes, between the two rivers Worshaw and Psol, or Sol, in the county of Zaporavians. Beyond the Boristhenes, are vast deserts, which lead to the frontiers of Turkey. Norberg affirms, that the victors durst not pursue Charles; and yet he acknowledges, that prince Menzikoff appeared on the neighbouring heights, with 10,000 horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the Boristhenes.

Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these 10,000 Russians; and Lewenhaupt, who commanded them, signed the fatal capitulation, by which he gave up those Zaporavians who had engaged in the service of his master, and were then in the fugitive army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Pirper,

per, the first minister, with two secretaries of state, and two of the cabinet, field marshal Renschild, the generals Lewenhaupt, Shlippenbac, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton, with three general aides-de-camp, the auditor general of the army, fifty-nine staff-officers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of Wirtemberg, 16,942 private men and non-commissioned officers: in short, reckoning the kings own domestics, and others, the conqueror had no less than 18,746 prisoners in his power, to whom, if we add 9224 slain in battle, and near 2000 men that passed the Boristhenes with Charles, it appears plainly, that he had, on that memorable day, no less than 27,000 effective men under his command*.

Charles had begun his march from Saxony with 45,000 men, Lewenhaupt had brought upwards of 16,000 out of Livonia, and yet scarce an handful of men were left of all this powerful army; of a numerous train of artillery, part lost in his marches, and part buried in the morasses; he had now remaining only eighteen brass cannon, two haubitzers, and twelve mortars, and with inconsiderable force, he had undertaken the siege of Pultowa, and had attacked an army provided with a formidable artillery. Therefore he is, with justice, accused of having shewn more courage than prudence, after his leaving Germany. On the side of the Russians, there were

* The memoirs of Peter the Great, by the pretended boyard Iwan Nestefuranoy, printed at Amsterdam in 1739, say, that the king of Sweden, before he passed the Boristhenes, sent a general officer with proposals of peace to the czar. The four volumes of these memoirs are either a collection of untruths and absurdities, or compilations from common news-papers.

no more than fifty-two officers, and 1293 private men killed; an undeniable proof, that the disposition of the Russian troops was better than those of Charles, and that their fire was infinitely superior to that of the Swedes.

We find, in the memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of Russia, that Peter being informed of Charles's design to take refuge in Turkey, wrote a friendly letter to him, entreating him not to take so desperate a resolution, but rather to trust himself into his hands, than in those of the natural enemy to all christian princes. He gave him, at the same time, his word of honour not to detain him prisoner, but to terminate all their differences by a reasonable peace. This letter was sent by an express as far as the river Bug, which separates the deserts of the Ukraine from the Grand Seignor's dominions. As the messenger did not reach that place, till Charles had entered Turkey, he brought back the letter to his master. The same minister adds further, that he had this account from the very person who was charged with the letter *. This anecdote is not altogether improbable, but I do not meet with it either in Peter's journals, or in any of the papers intrusted to my care. What is of greater importance in relation to this battle, was, its being the only one of the many that have stained the earth with blood, that instead of producing only destruction, has proved beneficial to mankind, by enabling the czar to civilize so considerable a part of the world.

* This fact is likewise found in a letter, printed before the anecdotes of Russia, page 23.

There have been more than two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe from the commencement of this century, to the present year. The most signal, and the most bloody victories, have produced no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, ceded afterwards by treaties, and retaken again by other battles. Armies of an hundred thousand men have frequently engaged each other in the field ; but the greatest efforts have been attended with only slight and momentary successes ; the most trivial causes have been productive of the greatest effects. There is no instance in modern history of any war, that has compensated by even a better good for the many evils it has occasioned ; but, from the battle of Pultowa, the greatest empire under the sun has derived its present happiness and prosperity.

C H A P. XIX.

Consequences of the battle of PULTOWA. CHARLES XII. takes refuge among the Turks. AUGUSTUS, whom he had dethroned, recovers his dominions. Conquests of PETER the Great.

The year 1709. **T**HE chief prisoners of rank were now presented to the conqueror, who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. It is a well known fact, that, on drinking to the officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war." However most of his masters, particularly the subaltern officers and all the private men, were soon afterwards sent into Siberia. There was no cartel established here for exchange of prisoners between the Russians and Swedes; the Czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa, but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops were in every thing the victims of his inflexible pride.

It was this unseasonable obstinacy that occasioned all the misfortunes of this prince in Turkey, and a series of adventures more becoming a hero of romance than a wise or prudent king; for as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the Grand Vizir, as is the custom among the Turks; but this he thought would be demeaning himself too far. The like obstinacy embroiled him with all the ministers of the Porte one after another; in short, he knew not

not how to accommodate himself either to times or circumstances.*

The first news of the battle of Pultowa produced a general revolution in minds and affairs in Poland, Saxony, Sweden, and Silesia. Charles, while all-powerful in those parts, had obliged the emperor Joseph to take an hundred and five churches from the catholics in favour of the Silesians of the confession of Augsburg. The catholics then no sooner received news of the defeat of Charles, than they repossessed themselves of all the Lutheran temples. The Saxons now thought of nothing but being revenged for the extortions of a conqueror, who had robbed them, according to their own account, of twenty three millions of crowns.

The king of Poland their elector immediately protested against the abdication that had been extorted from him, and being now reconciled to the Czar, he left no stone unturned to reascend the Polish throne. Sweden, overwhelmed with consternations, thought her king for a long time dead, and in this uncertainty the senate knew not what to resolve.

Peter in the mean time determined to make the best use of his victory, and therefore dispatched marshal Sheremeto with an army into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province that general had so often signalized himself. Prince Menzikoff was sent in haste with a numerous body of cavalry to second the few troops left in Po-

* La Motraye, in the relations of his travels, quotes a letter from Charles XII. to the Grand Vizir; but this letter is false, as are most of the relations of that mercenary writer, and Norberg himself acknowledges that the king of Sweden never could be prevailed on to write to the Vizir.

land,

land, to encourage the nobles who were in the interest of Augustus, to drive out his competitor, who was now considered as no better than a rebel, and to disperse a body of Swedes and troops that were still left in that kingdom under the command of the general Crassau.

The czar soon after sets out in person, marches thro' the province of Kiow, and the palatinates of Chelm and Upper Volhinia, and at length arrives at Lublin, where he concert measures with the general of Lithuania. He then reviews the crown-troops, who all take the oath of allegiance to king Augustus ; from thence

Sept. 18. he proceeds to Warfaw, and at The-
ra enjoyed the most glorious of all
triumphs, that of receiving the
thanks of a king, whom he had reinstated in his
dominions. There it was that he

Octob. 7. concluded a treaty against Sweden,
with the kings of Denmark, Poland,
and Prussia ; in which it was resolved to recover
from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions
of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and
part of Finland ; Denmark laid claim to Scania,
and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

Thus had Charles XII. by his unsuccessful
valour, shook the noble edifice that had been
erected by the prosperous bravery of his ancestor
Gustavus Adolphus. The Polish nobility
came in on all sides to renew their oaths
to their king, or to ask pardon for having de-
feated him ; and almost the whole kingdom ac-
knowledged Peter for its protector.

To the victorious arms of the czar, to these new treaties, and to this sudden revolution, Stanislaus had nothing to oppose but a voluntary resignation: he published a writing called *Universale*, in which he declares himself ready to resign the crown, if the republick required it.

Peter having concerted all the necessary measures with the king of Poland, and rectified the treaty with Denmark, set out directly to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. It was not then usual for sovereign princes to perform the function of their own ambassadors. Peter was the first who introduced this custom, which has been followed by very few. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia, had a conference with the czar at Marenverder, a small town situated in the western part of Pomerania, and built by the old Teutonic knights, and included in the limits of Prussia, lately erected into a kingdom. This country indeed was poor, and of a small extent; but its new king, whenever he travelled, displayed the utmost magnificence; with great splendor he had received czar Peter at his first passing thro' his dominions, when that prince quitted his empire to go in search of instructions among strangers. But he received the conqueror of Charles XII.

in a still more pompous manner.
Oct. 20. Peter for this time concluded only a defensive treaty with him, which afterwards, however, compleated the ruin of Sweden.

Not an instant of time was lost. Peter having proceeded with the greatest dispatch in his negotiations, which elsewhere are wont to take up so much time, goes and joins his army then before

before Riga, the capital of Livonia;
 Nov. 21. he began by bombarding the place,
 and fired off the three first bombs him-
 self; then changed the siege into a blockade,
 and when well assured, that Riga could not
 escape him, he repaired to his city of Peterf-
 burg, to inspect and forward the works carry-
 ing on there, the new buildings, and finishing
 of his fleet; and having laid the keel
 Dec. 3. of a ship of 54 guns, with his own
 hands, he returns to Moscow. Here
 he amused himself with assisting in the prepara-
 tions for the triumphal entry, which he exhibit-
 ed in that capital. He directed every thing re-
 lating to that festival, and was himself the prin-
 cipal contriver and architect.

The year 1710, Jan. 1.] He opened the
 year 1710 with this solemnity, so necessary to his
 subjects, whom it inspired with notions of gran-
 deur, and was highly pleasing to every one who
 had been fearful of seeing those enter their walls
 as conquerors, over whom they now triumphed.
 Seven magnificent arches were erected, under
 which passed in triumph the artillery, standards,
 and colours, taken from the enemy, with their
 officers, generals, and ministers, who had been
 made prisoners, all on foot, amidst the ringing
 of bells, the sound of trumpets, the discharge of
 an hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclama-
 tions of an innumerable concourse of people,
 whose voices rent the air as soon as the cannon
 ceased firing. The procession was closed by the
 victorious army, with the generals at its head;
 and Peter, who marched in his rank of major-
 general. At each triumphal arch stood the de-
 puties of the several orders of the state; and at
 the

the last was a chosen band of young gentlemen, the sons of boyards, clad in Roman habits, who presented a crown of laurels to their victorious monarch.

This public festival was followed by another ceremony, which proved no less satisfactory than the former. In the year 1708 happened an accident the more disagreeable to Peter, as his arms were at that time unsuccessful. Mattheof his ambassador to the court of London, having had his audience of leave of Queen Anne, was arrested for debt at the suit of some English merchants, and carried before a justice of peace to give security for the monies he owed there. The merchants insisted that the laws of commerce ought to prevail before the privileges of foreign ministers; the czar's ambassador, and with him all the publick ministers, protested against this proceeding, alledging, that their persons ought to be always inviolable. The czar wrote to Queen Anne demanding satisfaction for the insult offered him in the person of his ambassador.

But the queen had it not in her power to gratify him, because, by the laws of England, tradesmen were allowed to prosecute their debtors, and there was no law that excepted publick ministers from such prosecution. * The murder of Patkul, the czar's ambassador, who had been executed they ear before by the orders of Charles XII. had encouraged the English to shew

* The czar, says the preface to lord Whitworth's account of Russia, who had been absolute enough to civilize savages, had no idea, could conceive none, of the privileges of a nation civilized in the only rational manner by laws and liberties. He demanded immediate and severe punishment of the offenders: he demanded it of a princess, whom he thought interested to af-

shew so little regard to a character which had been so cruelly prophaned. The other public ministers who were then at the court of London, were obliged to be bound for the czar's am-

sert the sacredness of the persons of monarchs, even in their representatives: and he demanded it with threats of wrecking his vengeance on all English merchants and subjects, established in his dominions. In this light the menaces were formidable, otherwise, happily, the rights of the whole people were more sacred here than the persons of foreign ministers. The czar's memorials urged the queen with the satisfaction which she herself had extorted, when only the boat and servants of the earl of Manchester had been insulted at Venice. That state had broken through the fundamental laws, to content the queen of Great Britain. How noble a picture of government, when a monarch that can force another nation to infringe its constitution, dare not violate his own? One may imagine with what difficulty our secretaries of state must have labour'd through all the ambages of phrase in English, French, German, and Russ, to explain to Muscovite ears and Muscovite understandings, the meaning of indictments, pleadings, precedents, juries and verdicts; and how impatiently Peter must have listened to promises of a hearing next term? With what astonishment must he have beheld a great queen, engaging to endeavour to prevail on her parliament to pass an act to prevent any such outrage for the future? What honour does it not reflect on the memory of that princess to own to an arbitrary emperor, that even to appease him she dare not put the meanest of her subjects to death uncondemned by law. There are, says she, in one of her dispatches to him, insuperable difficulties, with respect to the ancient and fundamental laws of the government of our people; which we fear do not permit so severe and rigorous a sentence to be given, as your imperial majesty at first seem'd to expect in this case: and we persuade ourself that your imperial majesty, who are a prince famous for clemency and exact justice, will not require us, who are the guardian and protectors of the laws, to inflict a punishment upon our subjects, which the law does not empower us to do. Words so venerable and heroic, that this broil ought to become history, and be exempted from the oblivion due to the silly squabbles of ambassadors and their privileges. If Anne deserved praise for her conduct on this occasion, it reflects still greater glory on Peter, that this ferocious man should listen to these details, and had moderation and justice enough to be persuaded by the reason of them,

ambassador;

ambassador; and at length all the queen could do in his favour, was to prevail on her parliament to pass an act, by which no one for the future could arrest an ambassador for debt; but after the battle of Pultowa the English court thought proper to give satisfaction to the czar.

The queen made by a formal embassy an excuse for what had passed. Mr. Whitworth * the person charged with this commission, began his harangue with the following words, "Most High and mighty Emperor." He told the czar, that the person who had presumed to arrest his ambassador, had been imprisoned, and rendered infamous. There was no truth in all this, but it was sufficient that he said so, and the title of Emperor, which the queen had not given Peter before the battle of Pultowa, plainly shewed the consideration he had now acquired in Europe.

This title had been already granted him in Holland, not only by those who had been his fellow-workmen in the dock-yards at Saardam, and seemed to interest themselves most in his glory, but likewise by the principal persons in the state, who unanimously stiled him Emperor, and made public rejoicings for his victory, even in the presence of the Swedish minister.

The universal reputation which he had acquired by his victory of Pultowa, was still further increased by his not suffering a moment to pass without making some advantages of it. In the first place, he laid siege to Elbing, a Hanse town of Regal Prussia in Poland; where the Swedes had still a garrison. The Russians scaled the

* Afterwards created lord Whitworth, by king George I.

walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. This March 11. was one of the largest magazines belonging to Charles XII. The conquerors found therein 183 brass cannon, and 157 mortars. Immediately after the reduction of Elbing, Peter re-marched from Moscow to Petersbourg; as soon as he arrived at this latter place, he took shipping under his new fortress of Cronstot, coasted along the shore of Carelia, and notwithstanding a violent storm, brought his fleet safely before Wyburg, the capital of Carelia in Finland; while his land-forces advanced over the frozen morasses, and in a short time the capital of Livonia beheld itself closely blockaded; and after a breach was made in the walls, Wyburg surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, capitulated, but did not receive the honours of war, being made prisoners notwithstanding the capitulation. Peter charged the enemy with several infractions of this kind, and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as he should receive satisfaction from the Swedes for his complaints. On this occasion the king of Sweden was to be consulted, who continued as inflexible as ever; and those soldiers, whom, by a little concession, he might have delivered from their confinement, remained in captivity. Thus did king William III. in 1695, arrest marshal Boufflers, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There have been several instances of such violations of treaties; but it is to be wished there never had been any.

After

After the taking of this capital, the blockade of Riga was soon changed into a regular siege, and pushed with vigour. They were obliged to break the ice on the river Dwina, which waters the walls of the city. An epidemical disorder, which had raged some time in those parts, now got amongst the besiegers, and carried off 9000; nevertheless the siege was not in the least slackened; it lasted a considerable time, but at length the garrison capitulated, and July 15. were allowed the honours of war; but it was stipulated by the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and soldiers should enter into the Russian service, as natives of a country that had been dismembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles XII. But the Livonians were restored to the privileges, of which his father had stript them, and all the officers entered into the czar's service: this was the most noble satisfaction that Peter could take for the murder of his ambassador Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death, for defending those privileges. The garrison consisted of near 5000 men. A short time afterwards the citadel of Pennamund was taken, and the besiegers found in the town and fort above 800 pieces of artillery of different kinds.

Nothing was now wanting to make Peter entirely master of the province of Carelia, but the possession of the strong town of Kexholm, built on an island in the lake of Ladoga, and deemed impregnable: it was bombarded soon after, and surrendered in a short time. The
 Sep. 19. island of Oesel in the sea, bordering upon the north of Livonia, was
 Sep. 23. subdued with the same rapidity.

On the side of Esthonia, a province of Livonia, towards the north, and on the gulph of Finland, are the towns of Pernau and Revel : by the reduction of these Peter completed the conquest

of all Livonia. Pernau surrendered after a siege of a few days, and Revel

capitulated without waiting to have a single cannon fired against it ; but

the besieged found means to escape out of the hands of the conquerors, at the very time that they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war : for some Swedish ships having anchored in the road, under favour of the night, the garrison and most of the citizens embarked on board, and when the besiegers entered the town, they were surprised to find it deserted. When Charles XII. gained the victory of Narva, little did he expect that his troops would one day be driven to use such artifices.

In Poland, Stanislaus finding his party entirely ruined, had taken refuge in Pomerania, which still belonged to Charles XII. Augustus resumed the government, and it was difficult to decide who had acquired most glory, Charles in dethroning him, or Peter in restoring him to his crown.

The subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than that monarch himself. The contagious distemper, which had made such havock over Livonia, passed from thence into Sweden ; where, in the city of Stockholm, it carried off thirty thousand persons : it likewise desolated the provinces already thinned of their inhabitants ; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men had

had quitted their country to follow their master, and perished in foreign climes.

Charles's ill fortune pursued him also in Pomerania : his army had retired thither from Poland, to the number of 11,000 ; the czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein, joined together to render this army useless, and to compel general Crassau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm hearing no news of their king, and distracted by the mortality that raged in that city, were glad to sign this neutrality, which seemed to deliver one of its provinces at least from the horrors of war. The emperor of Germany favoured this extraordinary convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Swedish army then in Pomerania should not march from thence to assist their monarch in any other part of the world ; nay, it was furthermore resolved in the German empire, to raise an army to enforce the execution of this unparalleled convention. The reason of this was, that the emperor of Germany, who was then in war with France, was in hopes to engage the Swedish army to enter into his service. This whole negotiation was carried on while Peter was subduing Livonia, Esthonia and Carelia.

Charles XII. who was all this time at Bender, putting every spring in motion to engage the divan to declare war against the czar, received this news as one of the severest blows his untoward fortune had dealt him : he could not brook, that his senate at Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army, and it was on this occasion that he wrote them word,

L 4 he

he would send one of his boots to govern them.

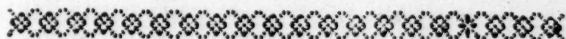
The Danes, in the mean time, were making preparations to invade Sweden ; so that every nation in Europe was now engaged in war. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, were contending for the dominions left by Charles II. of Spain ; and the whole north was up in arms against Charles XII. There wanted only a quarrel with the Ottoman empire, for every village in Europe to be exposed to the ravages of war. This quarrel happened soon afterwards, when Peter had attained to the summit of his glory, and precisely for that reason.

END of the FIRST PART.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
UNDER
PETER THE GREAT:
PART II.



HISTORY OF THE

OF THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE

BY THE

EMPEROR

OF RUSSIA

Advertisement.

THE Russian empire is now become so considerable in Europe, that the history of Peter, its real founder, is thereby rendered still more interesting. This prince gave a new face to the north, and, after his decease, we have seen his nation on the point of changing the fate of Germany, and extending its influence over France and Spain, notwithstanding the immense distance of those kingdoms.

The establishment of this empire forms perhaps the most considerable æra in the annals of Europe, next to that of the discovery of the new world; and it is this consideration alone, which induces the author of the first part of the history of Peter the Great, to present the public with the second.

There are some mistakes in several of the impressions of the first part, of which he thinks necessary to give the reader notice, and are as follows: page 3, after the words *in the route which the caravans might take*, add *in travelling through the Calmuck plains, and over the great desert of Kobi*. Page 6, for *at the junction*, read *at the mouth*. Page 17, for *Red Russia*, read *with a part of Red Russia*. And here it may not be

improper to acquaint those critics, who know little of the matter, that Volhinia, Podolia, and some of the neighbouring countries, have been called Red Russia by all geographers. Page 39. the editor, deceived by the want of a cypher in the MS. copy, has printed 72,000 bondmen belonging to the monks, instead of seven hundred and twenty thousand. Page 44, after the words, *when the Greek church was first established in Russia*, take out what follows, and in its place insert, *Chrysoberg, patriarch of Constantinople, sent a bishop to baptise Wolodimer, in order that he might, by that means, add this part of the world to his patriarchal see; Wolodimer then completed the work that had been begun by his father. One Michael, a native of Syria, was the first metropolitan of Russia.* Page 73, *He looked upon the jesuits as dangerous politicians*, to which may be added, that the jesuits, who introduced themselves into Russia in the year 1685, were driven out of that empire again in 1689, and having a second time got footing, they were finally expelled in 1718.

Page 60. for *daughter of secretary Nariskin*, read *daughter of secretary Apraxin* *.

The title of *small* may be continued to the country of Orembourg, because that government is in effect small in comparison of Siberia, on which it borders. For *the skin of a sheep*, which several travellers affirm to be worshipped by the Ostiacks, may be substituted that of a bear; for if these honest people are supposed to pay divine worship to a thing, because it is use-

* This mistake we have already corrected in the note to that page.

ful to them, the fur of a bear is certainly a greater object of adoration with them than a sheep's skin; but he must surely wear an ass's skin, who would lay any stress on such trifling anecdotes.

Whether the barks built by the czar Peter I. were, or were not called *half galleys*, or whether this prince lived at first in a wooden house, or in one built of brick, will, I believe, be thought an article of very little importance.

There are, however, some things more deserving the attention of a judicious reader. It is said, for instance, in the first volume, that the inhabitants of Kamtschatka have no religion amongst them; but from certain memorials of a latter date, I learn, that this savage people have their divines as well as us, who make the inhabitants of this peninsula to be descended from a superior being, whom they call *Kouthou*. These memorials likewise assert, that they pay no worship to this deity, and express neither love nor fear for him.

Hence it appears, that tho' they have a mythology, yet they have no religion; this may be true, but it is not very probable. Fear is one of the natural attributes of man. It is said, furthermore, that, in the midst of their absurdities, they make a distinction of things allowed, and things forbidden; among the former, they reckon the indulging all their passions; and, among the latter, the sharpening a knife, or an hatchet while they are travelling, or the saving a person from drowning: but if it is held a sin by these people, to save the life of a fellow creature when in danger, they are in that respect certainly different from all other people in the world,

world, who instinctively fly to the assistance of each other, when interest and passion does not get the better of their natural inclination. One would imagine, that they could never have thought of making an action criminal, which in itself is so common and necessary, that it is not even meritorious, but by a philosophy equally false and superstitious, which would inculcate, that we are not in any thing to oppose destiny, and that no one ought to save a man whom God has preordained to be drowned: but these barbarians have not the least knowledge even of a false philosophy; and yet we are told, that they celebrate a great feast, which they call by a word, which in their language signifies *purification*: but from what have they to purify themselves, if they hold every thing to be allowed? and for what, if they neither fear nor love their god *Kouthou*?

Their notions are, doubtless, in many respects contradictory, as are indeed those of almost every other people; with this difference, that theirs arise from a want of understanding, ours from an abuse of it. We abound much more in contradictions, because we are much greater reasoners.

As they acknowledge a kind of God, so they have also their evil spirits. Lastly, they have forcerers and magicians amongst them, as there have always been amongst all nations, even the most civilized. In *Kamtshatka*, old women are looked upon to be witches, as they were amongst us, till we had attained to a clearer knowledge of natural knowledge. Hence we find, it has ever been the lot of human understanding, to entertain absurd notions, founded on our curiosity and on our weakness. The people of
Kam-

Kamtshatka have also their prophets, who explain their dreams ; and it is not long since we had such amongst us.

After the court of Russia had subjected these people, by building five fortresses in their country, they instituted the christian religion of the Greek church amongst them. A Russian gentleman, perfectly well acquainted with these people, informed me, that one of their greatest objections to receiving it was, that they were certain it could not be instituted for them, inasmuch as bread and wine were essential parts of our holy rites, whereas they had neither bread nor wine in their country.

In other respects these people merit very little notice. I shall only make one observation in relation to them, namely, that if we cast our eyes on three-fourths of America, the whole southern part of Africa, and on the north, from Lapland as far as the sea of Japan, we shall find one half of the human race to be very little superior to the people of Kamtshatka.

And here it may be proper to observe to the reader, that the famous geographer De L'Isle calls this country Kamtshat, as the French and Italians generally retrench the *ka* and *kay*, which terminate most of the Russian names.

But there is an article of greater importance, and which may concern the dignity of crowned heads. Olearius, who, in 1634, accompanied the envoy of Holstein into Russia and Persia, relates in the 3d book of his history, that czar Iwan Basilowitz banished the emperor's ambassador into Siberia. This is a fact which I do not know to have found related by any other historian. It is hardly probable that the emperor
would

would have quietly submitted to so extraordinary an insult, and open violation of the laws of nations.

The same Olearius says in another place, " We began our journey the 13th Feb. 1634, " in company with an ambassador from the court " of France, called the count of Tallerand, and " prince of Challais, &c. who had been sent by " Lewis, together with one James Russel, on " an embassy to Turkey and Muscovy; but his " colleague did him so many bad offices with " the patriarch of Russia, that the great duke " banished him into Siberia."

In the same book he says, that this ambassador, the prince of Challais, and the beforementioned Russel his colleague, who was a merchant, were sent as envoys by Henry IV. It is not very likely that Henry IV. who died 1610, should have sent an embassy to Russia in 1634; and if Lewis XIII. had sent as his ambassador, a person of so illustrious a house as that of Tallerand, he would hardly have given him a merchant for his colleague; all Europe would have known of this embassy, and an insult of so singular a nature offered to the king of France would have made still more noise.

I have already disputed this improbable fact, in the first part of this history; but finding that it nevertheless continued to gain some credit, I thought it necessary to search the register of foreign affairs in France, for clearer information on this head; and find that the following incident gave rise to this mistake of Olearius.

There was in fact a person of the family of Tallerand, who having a great passion for travelling,

velling, made a voyage to Turkey, without acquainting his family of his design, or furnishing himself with the necessary letters of recommendation. At the court of Moscow, he met with a Dutch merchant named Russel, who acted as agent for a company of merchants, and who had a correspondence with the French ministry; with this man the marquis of Tallerand joined company to go on a tour to Persia; but having had some dispute with his fellow traveller by the way, this latter accused him falsely to the patriarch of Moscow; and he was actually banished into Siberia. However, having found means to make his situation known to his family, at the end of about three years, Mr. Des Noyers obtained his release of the court of Moscow.

Here then we have this story set in its true light, and which would not merit a place in history, but as it may serve to put the reader upon his guard against the multitude of anecdotes of a similar nature, with which the relations of most travellers abound.

There are historical errors, and historical falsehoods. This relation of Olearius is only an error; but when we are told, that a czar caused an ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, that is a falsehood. A writer may be deceived, in regard to the number or force of the ships that compose naval armament, or in regard to the extent of a country; but these only are errors, and of a very pardonable kind. Again, those who repeat the fabulous accounts of antiquity, in which the origin of all nations is enveloped, may be accused of a weakness common to all the writers of old times; but this is not falsifying, it
is

is properly speaking no more than copying tales.

We are also frequently led by inadvertency into faults, which cannot be called falsehoods: there is, for instance, when we read in Hubner's geography, that the boundaries of Europe are in that place where the river Oby empties itself into the Black sea, and that Europe contains 30 millions of inhabitants; these are inaccuracies, which a reader of any knowledge in history can easily rectify.

The same treatise frequently presents us with large towns strongly fortified and well peopled, which are in reality no other than insignificant villages in a manner uninhabited. But here it is easily perceived that time has totally changed the face of things; that the author has consulted only antient writers, and that what was matter of fact in their time, ceases to be so at present.

Some writers again are mistaken in the inferences they draw from facts. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal dignity. Hubner adds, that he caused himself to be declared patriarch. Certain spurious histories of Russia go still further, and alledge, that he officiated in the pontifical character. Thus, from a known fact, they have drawn erroneous conclusions, which happen but too frequently.

What I have called by the name of historical falsehoods, is still more common, and is the invention of flattery, or a foolish fondness for the marvellous. The historian who, to please a powerful family, prostitutes his pen to praise a tyrant, is a base wretch: he who endeavours to blacken the memory of a good prince, is a villain.

lain; and the romancist who publishes the inventions of his own brain, for real facts, is a contemptible creature. The man who in former times made whole nations pay reverence to his fables, would now hardly be read by the meanest of the people.

There are some critics who deal still deeper in falsehood: such are those who alter passages, or else misconstrue them; and who, inspired by envy, write with ignorance against works of real utility: but let us leave those vipers to gnaw the file, as the fittest punishment for their invidious labours.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the
GREAT.

CHAP. I.
Campaign of PRUTH.

SULTAN Achmet III. declared war against Peter I. not from any regard to the king of Sweden, but, as may readily be supposed, merely from a view to his own interest. The khan of the Crim Tartars could not, without dread, behold a neighbour become so powerful as Peter I. The Porte had, for some time, taken umbrage at the number of ships which this prince had on the Palus Mæotis, and in the Black Sea, at his fortifying the city of Asoph, and at the flourishing state of the harbour of Taganroc, already become famous; and, lastly, at his great series of successes, and at the ambition which success never fails to augment.

It is neither true, nor even probable, that the Porte should have begun the war against the
czar,

czar, on the Palus Mæotis, for no other reason than because a Swedish ship had taken a bark on the Baltic, on board of which was found a letter from a minister, whose name has never been mentioued. Norberg tells us, that this letter contained a plan for the conquest of the Turkish empire; that it was carried to Charles XII. who was then in Turkey, and was by him sent to the divan; and that, immediately after the receipt of this letter, war was declared: But this story carries the mark of fiction with it. It was the remonstrances of the khan of Tartary, who was more uneasy about the neighbourhood of Asoph, than the Turkish divan, that induced this latter to give orders for taking the field*.

It was in the month of August, and before the czar had compleated the reduction of Livonia, when Achmet III. resolved to declare war against him. The Turks, at that time, could hardly have had the news of the taking of Riga, and, therefore, the proposal of restoring

* The account this chaplain gives of the demands of the Grand Signior is equally false and puerile. He says, that sultan Achmet, previous to his declaring war against the czar, sent to that prince a paper, containing the conditions on which he was willing to grant him peace. These conditions, Norberg tells us, were as follows: "That Peter should renounce his alliance with Augustus, reinstate Stanislaus in the possession of the crown of Poland, restore all Livonia to Charles XII. and pay that prince the value in ready money of what he had taken from him at the battle of Pultowa; and, lastly, that the czar should demolish his newly-built city of Petersbourg." This piece was forged by one Brazey, a half-starved pamphleteer, and author of a work intitled, *Memoirs Sæyricical, Historical, and Entertaining*. It was from this fountain Norberg drew his intelligence; and however he may have been the confessor of Charles XII. he certainly does not appear to have been his confidant.

to the king of Sweden the value in money, of the effects he had lost at the battle of Pultowa, would have been the most absurd thing imaginable, if not exceeded by that of demolishing Petersbourg. The behaviour of Charles XII. at Bender, was sufficiently romantic; but the conduct of the Turkish divan would have been much more so, if we suppose it to have made any demands of this kind.

Nov. 1710.] The khan of Tartary, who was the principal instigator of this war, payed Charles a visit in his retreat at Bender. They were connected by the same interests, inasmuch as Europe makes part of the frontiers of Little Tartary. Charles and the khan were the two greatest sufferers by the successes of the czar; but the khan did not command the forces of the Grand Signior. He was like one of the feudatory princes of Germany, who served in the armies of the empire, with their own troops, and were subject to the authority of the emperor's generals for the time being.

Nov. 29, 1710.] The first step taken by the divan, was to arrest Tolstoy the czar's ambassador at the Porte in the streets of Constantinople, together with thirty of his domesticks, who with their master were all confined in the prison of the Seven Towers. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, is owing to the Turks having always a number of foreign ministers residing amongst them from other courts, whereas they never send any in return. They look upon the ambassadors of christian princes in no other light than as merchants or consuls; and having naturally as great a contempt for christian as they have for Jews, they

they seldom condescend to observe the laws of nations, in respect to them, unless forced to it; at least, they have hitherto persisted in this barbarous pride.

The famous vizir Achmet Cuprogli, the same who took the island of Candia, under Mahomet IV. insulted the son of the French ambassador, and even carried his brutality so far as to strike him, and afterwards to confine him in prison, without Lewis XIV. proud and lofty as he was, daring to resent it, otherwise than by sending another minister to the Porte. The christian princes, who are so remarkably delicate on the point of honour amongst themselves, and have even made it a part of the law of nations, seem to be utterly insensible on this head in regard to the Turks.

Never did a crowned head suffer greater affronts in the persons of his ministers, than czar Peter. In the space of a few years, his ambassador at the court of London was thrown into jail for debt, his plenipotentiary at the courts of Poland and Saxony was broke upon the wheel, by order of the king of Sweden; and now his minister at the Ottoman Porte was seized and thrown into a dungeon at Constantinople, like a common felon*.

We

* The new vizir embraced every opportunity of affronting the czar, in the person of his envoy, and particularly in giving the French ambassador the precedence. It was customary, on the promotion of a grand vizir, for all the foreign ministers to request an audience of congratulation. Count Tolstoy was the first who demanded that audience; but was answered, "that the precedence had always been given to the ambassador of France;" whereupon Tolstoy informed the vizir, "that he must be deprived of the pleasure of waiting on him at all;" which, being maliciously represented, as expressing the utmost contempt

We have already observed, in the first part of this history, that he received satisfaction from queen Anne of England, for the insult offered to his ambassador at London. The horrible affront he suffered, in the person of Patkul, was washed away in the blood of the Swedes slain at the battle of Pultowa; but fortune permitted the violation of the laws of nations by the Turks to pass unpunished.

Jan. 1711.] The czar now found himself obliged to quit the theatre of war in the west, and march towards the frontiers of Turkey. He began by causing ten regiments, which he had in Poland, to advance towards Moldavia *. He then ordered marshal Sheremetow to set out from Livonia, with his body of forces, and, leaving prince Menzikof at the head of affairs at Peterfbourg, he returned to Moscow, to give orders for opening the ensuing campaign.

Jan. 18.] He now establishes a senate of regency, the regiment of guards begin their march, he issues orders for all the young nobility to follow him to the field, to learn the art of war, and places some of them in the station of cadets, and others in that of subaltern officers. Admiral Appraxin goes to Asoph to take the command by sea and land. These several measures being taken, the czar publishes an ordonnance in Moscow for acknowledging a new empress. This was the person who had

contempt of his person, and the khan of Tartary being at the same time instigated to make several heavy complaints against the conduct of the Russians on the frontiers, count Tolstoy was immediately committed to the castle of the Seven Towers.

* It is very strange that so many writers always confound Walachia and Moldavia together.

been taken prisoner in Marienbourg, in the year 1702. Peter had, in 1696, repudiated his wife Eudoxia Lapoukin (or Lapouchin) by whom he had two children. The laws of his church allow of divorces; but had they not, Peter would have enacted a new law to permit them.

The fair captive of Marienbourg, who had taken the name of Catherine, had a soul superior to her sex and her misfortunes. She rendered herself so agreeable to the czar, that this prince would have her always near his person. She accompanied him in all his excursions, and most fatiguing campaigns; sharing in his toils, and softening his uneasinesses by her natural gaiety, and the great attention she shewed to oblige him on all occasions, and the indifference she expressed for the luxury, dress, and other indulgences, of which the generality of her sex are, in other countries, wont to make real necessities. She frequently softened the passionate temper of the czar, and, by making him more clement and merciful, rendered him more truly great. In a word, she became so necessary to him, that he married her privately, in 1707. He had already two daughters by her, and the following year she bore him a third, who was afterwards married to the duke of Holstein*.

March

* This duke of Holstein, at the time he married the daughter of Peter I. was a prince of very inconsiderable power, tho' of one of the most ancient houses in Germany. His ancestors had been stripped of great part of their dominions by the kings of Denmark, so that, at the time of this marriage, he found himself greatly circumscribed in point of possessions; but, from this epoch of his alliance with the czar of Muscovy, we may date the rise of the ducal branch of Holstein, which

March 17, 1711.] The czar made this private marriage known the very day he set out with her to try the fortune of his arms against the Turks. The several dispositions he had made seemed to promise a successful issue. The hetman of the Cossacks was to keep the Tartars in awe, who had already began to commit ravages in the Ukraine. The main body of the Russian army was advancing towards Niefter, and another body of troops, under prince Galitzin, were in full march through Poland. Every thing went on favourably at the beginning; for Galitzin having met with a numerous body of Tartars near Kiow, who had been joined by some Cossacks and some Poles of king Stanislaus's party, as also a few Swedes, he defeated them

now fills the thrones of Russia and Sweden, and is likewise in possession of the bishoprick of Lubec, which, in all probability, will fall to this house, notwithstanding the late election, which at present is the subject of litigation, the issue of which will, to all appearance, terminate in favour of the prince, son to the present bishop, through the protection of the courts of Vienna and Peterbourg. The empress Catherine, who now sits on the throne of Russia, is herself descended from this august house, by the side of her mother, who was sister to the king of Sweden, to the prince-bishop of Lubec, and to the famous prince George of Holstein, whose achievements made so much noise during the late war. This princess, whose name was Elizabeth, married the reigning prince of *Anbalt Zerbst*, whose house was indisputably the most ancient; and, in former times, the most powerful in all Germany, since they can trace their pedigree from the dukes of Ascania, who were formerly masters of the two electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, as appears by their armorial bearings, which are, quarterly, the arms of Saxony and Brandenburg. Of this branch of *Zerbst* there is remaining only the present reigning prince, brother to the empress Catherine, who, in case he should die without issue, will succeed to the principality of Yevern, in East Friesland; from all which it appears already, that the family of Holstein is at present the most powerful in Europe, as being in possession of three crowns in the North.

entirely, and killed near five thousand men. These Tartars had, in their march through the open country, made about ten thousand prisoners. It has been the custom of the Tartars, time immemorial, to carry with them a much greater number of cords than scimitars, in order to bind the unhappy wretches they surprise. The captives were all set free, and those who had made them prisoners were put to the sword. The whole Russian army, if it had been assembled together, would have amounted to sixty thousand men. It was to have been farther augmented by the troops belonging to the king of Poland. This prince, who owed every thing to the czar, came to pay him a visit at Jaroslaw, on the river Sana, the 3d of June 1714, and promised him powerful succours. War was now declared against the Turks, in the name of these two monarchs; but the Polish diet, not willing to break with the Ottoman Porte, refused to ratify the engagement their king had entered into. It was the fate of the czar to have, in the king of Poland, an ally who could never be of any service to him. He entertained the same hopes of assistance from the princes of Moldavia and Walachia, and was, in like manner, disappointed.

These two provinces ought to have taken this opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke. These countries were those of the ancient Daci, who, together with the Gepidi, with whom they were intermixed, did, for a long time, disturb the Roman empire. They were at length subdued by the emperor Trojan, and Constantine the First made them embrace the christian religion. Dacia was one of the provin-

ces of the eastern empire, but shortly after these very people contributed to the ruin of that of the west, by serving under the Odiacres and Theodorics.

They afterwards continued to be subject to the Greek empire, and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, were governed and oppressed by particular princes; at length, they were totally subjected by the Padiſha or Turkish emperor, who now granted them in investiture. The Hospodar or Waiwod, chosen by the Ottoman Porte to govern these provinces, is always a christian of the Greek church. The Turks, by this choice, give a proof of their toleration, while our ignorant declaimers are accusing them of persecution. The prince nominated by the Porte is tributary to, or rather farms these countries of the grand seignior; this dignity being always conferred on the best bidder, or him who makes the greatest presents to the vizir, in like manner as the office of Greek patriarch at Constantinople. Sometimes this government is bestowed on a dragoman, that is to say, the interpreter to the divan. These provinces are seldom under the government of the same Waiwod, the Porte chusing to divide them, in order to be more sure of retaining them in subjection. Demetrius Cantemir was at this time Waiwod of Moldavia. This prince was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's true name was *Timur*, and Timur was a Tartarian khan; and so, from the name *Tamurkan*, say they, came the family of *K. ntemir*.

Bassaraba Brancovan had been invested with the principality of Walachia, but had not found
any

any genealogist to deduce his pedigree from the Tartarian conqueror; Centamir thought the time now come to shake off the Turkish yoke, and render himself independent by means of the czar's protection. In this view he acted in the very same manner with Peter as Mazeppa had done with Charles XII. He even engaged Bassaraba for the present to join him in the conspiracy, of which he hoped to reap all the benefit himself: his plan being to make himself master of both provinces. The bishop of Jerusalem, who was at that time at Walachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised the czar to furnish him with men and provisions, as Mazeppa did the king of Sweden, and kept his word no better than he had done.

General Sheremeto advanced towards Jassi, the capital of Moldavia, to inspect and occasionally assist the execution of these great projects. Cantemir came thither to meet him, and was received with all the honours due to a prince: but he acted as a prince in no one circumstance, but that of publishing a manifesto against the Turkish empire. The hospodar of Walachia, who soon discovered the ambitious views of his colleague, quitted his party, and returned to his duty. The bishop of Jerusalem dreading, with reason, the punishment due to his perfidy, fled and concealed himself: the people of Walachia and Moldavia continued faithful to the Ottoman Porte, and those who were to have furnished provisions for the Russian army, carried them to the Turks.

The vizir Baltagi Mahomet had already crossed the Danube at the head of 100,000 men, and was advancing towards Jassi, along the banks

of the river Pruth (formerly the Hierafus) which falls into the Danube, and which is nearly the boundary of Moldavia and Bassarabia. He then dispatched count Poniatowski *, a Polish gentleman, attached to the fortunes of the king of Sweden, to desire that prince to make him a visit, and see his army. Charles, whose pride

* This same count Poniatowski, who was at that time in the service of Charles XII. died afterwards Castellan of Cracovia, and first senator of the republic of Poland, after having enjoyed all the dignities to which a nobleman of that country can attain. His connections with Charles XII. during the prince's retirement at Bender, first made him taken notice of; and it is to be wished, for the honour of his memory, that he had waited till the conclusion of a peace between Sweden and Poland, to be reconciled to king Augustus; but following the dictates of ambition, rather than those of strict honour, he sacrificed the interests of both Charles and Stanislaus, to the care of his own fortune; and while he appeared the most zealous in their cause, he secretly did them all the ill services he could at the Ottoman Porte; to this double dealing, he owed the immense fortune of which he was afterwards possessed. He married the princess Czartoriska, daughter of the Castellan of Vilna, a lady, for her heroic spirit, worthy to have been born in the times of ancient Rome; when her eldest son, the present grand chamberlain of the crown, had that famous dispute with count Tarlo, palatine of Lublin, a dispute which made so much noise in all the public papers in the year 1742, this lady, after having made him shoot at a mark every day for three weeks, in order to be expert at firing, said to him, as he was mounting his horse, to go to meet his adversary, "Go, my son, but if you do not acquit yourself with honour in this affair, never appear before me again." This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the character of our heroine. The family of Czartoriski is descended from the ancient Jagellins, who were, for several ages, in lineal possession of the crown of Poland; and is, at this day, extremely rich and powerful by the alliances it has contracted, but they have never been able to acquire popularities; and so long as count Tarlo (who was killed in a duel with the young count Poniatowski) lived, had no influence in the Dietines, or lesser assembly of the states, because Tarlo, who was the idol of the nobles, and a sworn enemy to the Czartoriski family, carried every thing before him, and nothing was done but according to his pleasure.

always

always got the better of his interest, would not consent to this proposal: he insisted, that the grand vizir should make him the first visit, in his azylum near Bender: when Poniatowski returned to the Ottoman camp, and endeavoured to excuse this refusal of his master, the vizir, turning to the khan of the Tartars, said, "This is the very behaviour I expected from this proud pagan." This mutual pride, which never fails of alienating the minds of those in power from each other, did no service to the king of Sweden's affairs; and indeed that prince might have easily perceived from the beginning, that the Turks were not acting for his interest, but for their own.

While the Turkish army was passing the Danube, the czar advanced by the frontiers of Poland, and passed the Boristhenes, in order to relieve marshal Sheremeto, who was then on the banks of the Pruth, to the southward of Jassi, and in danger of being daily surrounded by an army of 10,000 Turks, and an army of Tartars. Peter, before he passed the Boristhenes, was in doubt whether he should expose his beloved Catherine to these dangers which seemed to encrease every day; but Catherine, on her side, looked upon this solicitude of the czar for her ease and safety, as an affront offered to her love and courage, and pressed her comfort so strongly on this head, that he found himself under a necessity to consent that she should pass the river with him. The army beheld her with eyes of joy and admiration, marching on horseback at the head of the troops, for she rarely made use of a carriage. After passing the Boristhenes, they had a tract of desert country to pass thro'

and then to cross the Bog; and afterwards the river Tiras, now called the Niefter, and then another desert to traverse, before they came to the banks of the Pruth. Catherine, during this fatiguing march, animated the whole army by her cheerfulness and affability. She sent refreshments to such of the officers who were sick, and extended her care even to the meanest soldier.

[July 4, 1711.] At length the czar brought his army in sight of Jassi. Here he was to establish his magazine. Bassaraba, the Hospodar of Walachia, who had again embraced the interest of the Ottoman Porte, but still, in appearance, continued a friend to the czar, proposed to that prince to make peace with the Turks, altho' he had received no commission from the grand vizir for that purpose. His deceit, however, was soon discovered, and the czar contented himself with demanding only provisions for his army, which Bassaraba neither could nor would furnish. It was very difficult to procure any supplies from Poland; and these, which prince Cantemir had promised, and which he vainly hoped to procure from Walachia, could not be brought from thence. These disappointments rendered the situation of the Russian army very disagreeable; and, as an addition to their afflictions, they were infected with an immense swarm of grasshoppers, that covered the face of the whole country, and devoured or spoiled every thing where they alighted. They were likewise frequently in want of water during their march through sandy deserts, and beneath a scorched sun; what little they could procure, they were obliged to have brought in vessels to the camp from a considerable distance.

During

During this dangerous and fatiguing march, the czar, by a singular fatality, found himself in the neighbourhood of his rival and competitor Charles, Bender not being above twenty-five leagues from the place where the Russian army was encamped near Jassi. Some parties of Cossacks made excursions even to the place of that unfortunate monarch's retreat; but the Crimean Tartars, who hovered round that part of the country, sufficiently secured him from any attempt that might be made to seize his person; and Charles waited in his camp with impatience, and not fear the issue of the war.

Peter, as soon as he had established some magazines, marched in haste with his army to the right of the river Pruth. His essential object was to prevent the Turks, who were posted to the left, and towards the head of the river, from crossing it, and marching towards him. This effected, he would then be master of Moldavia and Wallachia: with this view he dispatched general Janus with the van-guard of the army, to oppose the passage of the Turks; but the general did not arrive till they had already begun to cross the river upon their bridges, upon which he was obliged to retreat, and his infantry was closely pursued by the Turks, till the czar came up in person to his assistance.

The grand vizir now marched directly along the river towards the czar. The two armies were very unequal in point of time: that of the Turks, which had been reinforced by the Tartarian troops, consisted of near 250,000 men, while that of the Russians hardly amounted to 35,000. There was indeed a considerable body of troops, headed by general Renne, on

their march from the other side of the Moldavian mountains; but the Turks had cut off all communication with those parts.

The czar's army now began to be in want of provisions, nor could, without the greatest difficulty, procure water, tho' encamped at a very small distance from the river, being exposed to a furious discharge from the batteries, which the grand vizir had caused to be erected on the left side of the river, under the care of a body of troops that kept up a constant fire against the Russians. By this relation, which is strictly circumstantial and true, it appears; that Baltagi Mahomet, the Turkish vizir, far from being the pusillanimous or weak commander which the Swedes have represented him, gave proofs on this occasion that he perfectly well understood his business. The passing the Pruth in the sight of the enemy, obliging him to retreat, and harrassing him in that retreat; the cutting off all communication between the czar's army, and a body of cavalry that was marching to reinforce it, the hemming in this army, without the least probability of a retreat, and the cutting off all supplies of water and provisions, by keeping it constantly under the check of the batteries on the opposite side of the river, were manœuvres that in no ways bespoke the unexperienced or indolent general.

Peter now saw himself in a situation even worse than that to which he had reduced his rival Charles XII. at Pultowa, being, like him, surrounded by a superior army, and in greater want of provisions, and, like him, having confided in the promises of a prince, too powerful to be bound by those promises, he resolved upon
a re-

a retreat, and endeavoured to return towards Jassi, in order to chuse a more advantageous situation for his camp.

July 20, 1711.] He accordingly decamped under favour of the night; but his army had scarcely begun its march, when, at break of day, the Turks fell upon his rear; but the Preobalinski regiment falling about, and standing firm, did, for a considerable time, check the fury of their onset. The Russians then formed themselves, and made a line of entrenchments with their waggons and baggage. The same day the Turks returned again to the attack with the whole body of their army; and as a proof that the Russians knew how to defend themselves, let what will be alledged to the contrary, they also made head against this very superior force for a

July 21. considerable time, killed a great number of their enemies, who in vain endeavoured to break in upon them.

There were in the Ottoman army two officers belonging to the king of Sweden, namely, count Pomiatowski, and the count of Spare, who had the command of a body of Cossacks in that prince's interest. My papers informs me, that these two generals advised the grand vizir to avoid coming to action with the Russians, and content himself with depriving them of supplies of water and provisions, which would oblige them either to surrender prisoners of war, or to perish with famine: other memoirs pretend, on the contrary, that these officers would have persuaded Mahomet to fall upon this feeble and half-starved army, in a weak and distressed condition, and put all to the sword. The first of these seem to be the most prudent and circum-

pest ; but the second is more agreeable to the character of generals, who had been trained up under Charles XII.

The real fact is, that the grand vizir fell upon the rear of the Russian army at the dawn of day, which was thrown into confusion, and there remained only a line of 400 men to confront the Turks. This small body formed itself with amazing quickness, under the orders of a German general, named Alard, who, to his immortal honour, made such rapid and excellent disposition on this occasion, that the Russians withstood, for upwards of three hours, the repeated attack of the whole Ottoman army, without losing a foot of ground.

The czar now found himself amply repaid for the immense pains he had taken to enure his troops to strict discipline. At the battle of Narva, 60,000 men were defeated by only 8000, because the former were undisciplined ; and here we behold a rear-guard, consisting of only 8000 Russians, sustaining the efforts of 150,000 Turks, killing 7000 of them, and obliged the rest to return back.

After this sharp engagement, both armies entrènced themselves for that night : but the Russians still continued enclosed, and deprived of all provisions, even water ; for notwithstanding they were so near the river Pruth, yet they did not dare approach its banks ; for as soon as any parties were sent out to find water, a body of Turks posted on the opposite shore drove them back by a furious discharge from their cannon loaded with chain shot : and the body of the Turkish army which had attacked that of the czar the day before, continued to play upon them

them from another quarter with the whole force of their artillery.

The Russian army appeared now to be lost beyond resource, by its position, by the inequality of numbers, and by the want of provisions. The skirmishes on both sides were frequent and bloody: the Russian cavalry being almost all dismounted, could no longer be of any service, unless by fighting on foot: in a word, the situation of affairs were desperate. It will be sufficient to cast our eyes on the following exact chart of the situation of the czar's camp, and that of the Ottoman army, to perceive that there could not possibly be a more dangerous position than the former. It was out of their power to retreat, they had nothing left but to gain a compleat victory, to perish to the last man, or to be made slaves by the infidels.

All the accounts and memoirs of those times unanimously agree, that the czar, divided within himself, whether or not he should expose his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruits of all his labours, to almost inevitable destruction; retired to his tent oppressed with grief, and seized with violent convulsions, to which he was naturally subject, and which the present desperate situation of his affairs brought upon him with redoubled violence. In this condition he remained alone in his tent, having given positive orders, that no one should be admitted to be a witness to the distraction of his mind. But Catherine hearing of his disorders, forced her way into him, and on this occasion Peter found how happy it was for him that he had permitted his wife to accompany him in this expedition.

A wife

A wife who like her had faced death in its most horrible shapes, and had exposed her person like the meanest soldier, to the fire of the Turkish artillery, for the sake of her husband, had an undoubted right to speak to her husband, and to be heard. The czar accordingly listened to what she had to say, and in the end suffered himself to be persuaded to try and send to the vizir with proposals of peace.

It has been a custom for time immemorial throughout the east, that when any people applies for an audience of the sovereign or his representative, they must not presume to approach them without a present. On this occasion therefore Catherine mustered the few jewels that she had brought with her on this military tour, in which no magnificence or luxury were admitted; to these she added, two black foxes skins, and what ready money she could collect; the latter was designed for a present to the Kiaia. She made choice herself of an officer, in whose fidelity and understanding she thought she could depend, who, accompanied with two servants, was to carry the presents to the grand vizir, and afterwards to deliver the money intended for the Kiaia into his own hand. This officer was likewise charged with a letter from marshal Sheremeto to the grand vizir. The memoirs of czar Peter mention this letter, but they take no notice of the other particulars of Catherine's conduct in this business; however, they are sufficiently confirmed by the declaration issued by Peter himself in 1723, when he caused Catherine to be crowned empress, wherein we find these words; "She has been of the greatest assistance to us in all our dangers, and particularly

"ticularly in the battle of Pruth, when our army was reduced to 22,000 men." If the czar had then indeed no more men capable of bearing arms, the service which Catherine did him on that occasion, were fully equivalent to the honours and dignities conferred upon her. The MS. journal of Peter the Great observes, that the day of the bloody battle, (on the 20th July) he had 31,554 foot, and 6692 horse, the latter almost all dismounted, he must then have lost 16,246 men in that engagement. The same memoirs affirm, the loss sustained by the Turks greatly exceeded that of the Russians; for as the former rushed upon the czar's troops pell-mell, and without observing any order, hardly a single fire of the latter missed its effect. If this is fact, the affair of the 20th and 21st of July was one of the most bloody that had been known for many ages.

We must either suspect Peter the Great of having been mistaken, in his declaration at the crowning of the empress when he acknowledges "his obligations to her for having saved his army, which was reduced to 22,000 men," or accuse him of a falsity in his journal, wherein he says, that the day on which the above battle was fought, his army, exclusive of the succours he expected from the other side the Moldavian mountains, *amounted to 31,554 foot, and 6692 horse.* According to this calculation, the battle of Pruth must have been by far more terrible than the historians or memorialists have represented on either side. There must certainly be some mistake here, which is no uncommon thing in the relations of campaigns, especially when the writer enters into a minute detail of circumstances.

circumstances. The surest method therefore on these occasions, is to confine themselves to the principal events, the victory, and the defeat; as we can very seldom know with any degree of certainty the exact loss on either side.

But however here the Russian army might be reduced in point of numbers, there were still hopes, that the grand vizir, deceived by their vigorous and obstinate resistance, might be induced to grant them peace upon such terms as might be honourable to his master's arms, and at the same time not absolutely disgraceful to those of the czar. It was the great merit of Catherine to have perceived this possibility, at a time when her consort and his generals expected nothing less than inevitable destruction.

Norberg, in his history of Charles XII. quotes a letter, sent by the czar to the grand vizir, in which he expresses himself thus. "If, contrary to my intentions, I have been so unhappy as to incur the displeasure of his highness, I am ready to make reparation for any cause of complaint he may have against me; I conjure you, most noble general, to prevent the further effusion of blood, give orders, I beseech you, to put a stop to the dreadful and destructive fire of your artillery, and accept of the hostage I herewith send you."

This letter carries all the marks of falsity with it, as do indeed most of the random pieces of Norberg: it is dated 11th July N. S. whereas no letter was sent to Baltagi Mahomet, till the 21st N. S. neither was it the czar who wrote to the vizir, but his general Sheremeto: there were no such expressions made use of as

"if

“ if the czar has had the misfortune to incur the
“ displeasure of his highness,” such terms being
suitable only to a subject who implores the pardon
of his sovereign, whom he has offended. There was
no mention made of any hostage, nor was any one
sent. The letter was carried by an officer, in the
midst of a furious cannonade on both sides. Sheremeto
in this letter only reminded the vizir, of certain overtures of
peace, that the Porte had made at the beginning of
the campaign thro’ the mediation of the Dutch and
English ministers, and by which the divan demanded
that the fort and harbour of Taganroc should be
given up, which were the real subjects of the war.

Some hours elapsed before the messenger received
an answer from the grand vizir, 21st July. and it
was apprehended that he had either been killed by
the enemy’s cannon, or that they detained him
prisoner. A second courier was therefore dispatched
with duplicates of the former letters, and a council
of war was immediately held, at which Catherine
was present. At this council ten general officers
signed the following resolution.

“ Resolved, if the enemy will not accept the
“ conditions proposed, and should insist upon
“ our laying down our arms, and surrendering
“ at discretion, that all the ministers and general
“ officers are unanimously of opinion, to
“ cut their way thro’ the enemy sword-in-hand.”

In consequence of this resolution, a line of
entrenchments was thrown round the baggage,
and the Russians marched some few paces out
of their camp, towards the enemy, when the
grand

grand vizir caused a suspension of arms to be proclaimed between the two armies.

All the writers of the Swedish party have treated the grand vizir as a cowardly and infamous wretch, who had been bribed to sell the honour of his master's arms. In the same manner have several authors accused count Piper of receiving money from the duke of Malborough, to persuade the king of Sweden to continue the war against the czar; and have laid to the charge of the French minister, that he purchased the peace of Seville for a stipulated sum. Such accusations ought never to be advanced but on very strong proofs. It is very seldom that a minister will stoop to such meannesses, which are always discovered sooner or later by those who have been entrusted with the payment of the money, or by the public registers, which never lie. A minister of state stands as a public object to the eyes of all Europe. His credit and influence depend wholly upon his character, and he is always sufficiently rich to be above the temptation of becoming a traitor.

The place of viceroy of the Turkish empire is so illustrious, and the profits annexed to it, in time of war, so immense, there was such a profusion of every thing necessary, and even luxurious, in the camp of Baltagi Mahomet, and, on the other hand, so much poverty and distress in that of the czar, that surely the grand vizir was rather in a condition to give than to receive. The trifling present of a woman who had nothing to send but a few skins and some jewels, in compliance with the established custom of all courts, or rather those in particular of the east, can never be considered in the light of a bribe.

The

The frank and open conduct of Baltagi Mahomet seems at once to give the lie to the black accusations with which so many writers have stained their relations. Vice-chancellor Shafiroff paid the vizir a public visit in his tent: every thing was transacted in the open manner, on both sides, and indeed it could not be otherwise. The very first article of the negotiation was entered upon in the presence of a person wholly devoted to the king of Sweden, a domestic of count Poniatowski, who was himself one of that monarch's generals. This man served as interpreter, and the several articles were publicly reduced to writing by the vizir's chief secretary, Hummer Effendi. Moreover, count Poniatowski was there in person. The present sent to the kiaia was offered probably in form, and every thing was transacted agreeably to the oriental customs. Other presents were made by the Turks in return; so that there was not the least appearance of treachery or contrivance. The motives which determined the vizir to consent to the proposals offered him, were, first, that the body of troops under the command of general Renne, on the borders of the river Sireth, in Moldavia, had alrerady crossed three rivers, and were actually in the neighbourhood of the Danube, where Renne had already made himself master of the town and castle of Brahila, defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of a bashaw. Secondly, the czar had likewise another body of troops advancing through the frontiers of Poland; and, lastly, it is more than probable that the vizir was not fully acquainted with the extreme scarcity that was felt in the Russian camp. One enemy seldom furnishes another

other with an exact account of his provisions and ammunition; on the contrary, either side are accustomed rather to make a parade of plenty, even at a time when they are in the greatest necessity. There can be no artifices practised to gain intelligence of the true state of an adversary's affairs, by means of spies, between the Turks and the Russians. The difference of their dress, of their religion, and of their language, will not permit it. They are moreover strangers to that desertion which prevails in most of our armies, and consequently the grand vizir could not be supposed to know the desperate condition to which the czar's army was reduced.

Baltagi, who was not fond of war, and who, nevertheless, had conducted this very well, thought that his expedition would be sufficiently successful if he put his master in possession of the towns and harbours which made the subject of the war, stoppt the progress of the victorious army under Renne, and obliged that general to quit the banks of the Danube, and return back into Russia, and for ever shut the entrance of the Palus Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, against an enterprising prince; and, lastly, if he avoided taking these certain advantages, on the hazard of a new battle (in which, after all, despair might have got the better of superiority of numbers.) The preceding day only he had beheld his janissaries repulsed, with loss; and there wanted not examples of many victories having been gained by the weaker over the strong. Such there were Mahomet's reasons for accepting the proposals of peace. His conduct, however, did
not

not merit the approbation of Charles's officers, who served in the Turkish army, nor of the khan of Tartary. It was the interest of the latter, and his followers, to reject all terms of accommodation which would deprive them of the opportunity of ravaging the frontiers of Russia and Poland. Charles XII. desired to be revenged on his rival the czar; but the general, and the first minister of the Ottoman empire, was neither influenced by the private thirst of revenge, which animated the Christian monarch, nor by the desire of booty, which actuated the Tartar chief.

As soon as the suspension of arms was agreed to, and signed, the Russians purchased of the Turks the provisions, of which they stood in need. The articles of the peace were not signed at that time, as is related by La Motraye, and which Norberg has copied from him. The vizir, among other conditions, demanded that the czar should promise not to interfere any more in the Polish affairs. This was a point particularly insisted upon by count Poniatowski; but it was, in fact, the interest of the Ottoman crown, that the kingdom of Poland should continue in its then defenceless and divided state; accordingly this demand was reduced to that of the Russian troops evacuating the frontiers of Poland. The khan of Tartary, on his side, demanded a tribute of forty thousand sequins. This point, after being long debated, was at length given up.

The grand vizir insisted a long time, that prince Cantemir should be delivered up to him, as Patkul had been to the king of Sweden. Cantemir was exactly in the same situation as Ma-

zeppa had been. The czar caused that hetman to be arraigned and tried for his defection, and afterwards to be executed in effigy. The Turks were not acquainted with the nature of such proceeding; they knew nothing of trials for contumacy, nor of public condemnations. The affixing a sentence on any person, and executing him in effigy, were the more unusual amongst them, as their law forbids the representation of any human likeness whatever. The vizir in vain insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up, Peter peremptorily refused to comply, and wrote the following letter with his own hand, to his vice-chancellor Shaffiroff.

"I can resign to the Turks all the country, as far as Curzka, because I have hopes of being able to recover it again; but I will, by no means, violate my faith, which, once forfeited, can never be retrieved. I have nothing I can properly call my own, but my honour. If I give up that, I cease to be longer a king."

At length the treaty was concluded, and signed, at a village called Falksen, on the river Pruth. Among other things, it was stipulated, that Azoph, and the territories belonging thereto, should be restored, together with all the ammunition and artillery that were in the place, before the czar made himself master thereof, in 1696. That the harbour of Taganroc, in the Zabach Sea, should be demolished, as also that of Samara, on the river of the same name; and several other fortresses. There was likewise another article added, respecting the king of Sweden, which article alone sufficiently shews the little regard the vizir had for that prince; for

for it was therein stipulated, that the czar should not molest Charles, in his return to his dominions, and that afterwards the czar and he might make peace with each other, if they were so inclined.

It is pretty evident by the wording of this extraordinary article, that Baltagi Mahomet had not forgot the haughty manner in which Charles XII. had behaved to him a short time before, and it is not unlikely that this very behaviour of the king of Sweden might have been one inducement with Mahomet to comply so readily with his rival's proposals for peace. Charles's glory depended wholly on the ruin of the czar; but we are seldom inclinable to exalt those who express a contempt for us: however this prince, who refused to pay the vizir a visit in his camp, on his invitation, when it was certainly his interest to have been upon good terms with him, now came thither in haste and unasked, when the work which put an end to all his hopes was on the point of being concluded. The vizir did not go to meet him in person, but contented himself with sending two of his bashaws, nor would he stir out of his tent, till Charles was within a few paces of it.

This interview passed, as every one knows, in mutual reproaches. Several historians have thought that the answer which the vizir made to the king of Sweden, when that prince reproached him with not making the czar prisoner, when he might have done it so easily, was the reply of a weak man. "If I had taken him prisoner, said Mahomet, who would there be to govern his dominions."

It

It is very easy however to comprehend, that this was the answer of a man who was piqued with resentment; and these words which he added, "for it is not proper that every crowned head should quit his dominions," sufficiently shewed that he intended to mortify the refugee of Bender.

Charles gained nothing by his journey, but the pleasure of tearing the vizir's robe with his spurs, while the officer who was in a condition to make him repent this splenetic insult seemed not to notice it, in which he was certainly greatly superior to Charles. If any thing could have made that monarch sensible in the midst of his life, how easily fortune can put greatness to the blush, it would have been the reflection, that at the battle of Pultowa a pastry-cook's boy had obliged the whole army to surrender at discretion, and in this of Pruth a wood-cutter was the arbiter of his fate, and that of his rival the czar; for the vizir Baltagi Mahomet had been a cutter of wood in the grand seignior's seraglio, as his name implied; and far from being ashamed of that title, he gloried in it: so much do the manners of the Eastern people differ from our's.

When the news of this treaty reached Constantinople, the grand seignior was so well pleased, that he ordered publick rejoicings to be made for a whole week, and Mahomet, kiaia or lieutenant general, who brought the tidings to the divan, was instantly raised to the dignity of Boujouk Imraour, or master of the horse, a certain proof that the sultan did not think himself ill served by his vizir.

Norberg

Norberg seems to have known very little of the Turkish government, when he says, that "the grand seignior was obliged to keep fair with Baltagi Mahomet, that visir having rendered himself formidable." The janissaries indeed have often rendered themselves formidable to their sultans; but there is not one example of a visir who has not been easily sacrificed to the will or orders of his sovereign, and Mahomet was in no condition to support himself by his own power. Besides, Norberg manifestly contradicts himself, by affirming in the same page, that the janissaries were irritated against Mahomet, and that the sultan stood in dread of his power.

The king of Sweden was now reduced to the necessity of forming cabals in the Ottoman court; and a monarch, who had so lately made kings by his own power, was now seen waiting for audience, and offering memorials and petitions which were refused.

Charles ran through all the ambages of intrigue, like a subject who endeavours to make a minister suspected by his master. In this manner he acted against Mahomet, and against those who succeeded him. At one time he addressed himself to the sultana Valide by means of a Jewess, who had admission into the seraglio; at another, he employed one of the eunuchs for the same purpose. At length he had recourse to a man who was to mingle among the grand seignior's guards, and, by counterfeiting a person out of his senses, to attract the attention of the sultan, and by that means deliver into his own hand a memorial from Charles. From all these various schemes, the king of Sweden drew

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only

only the mortification of seeing himself deprived of his thaim; that is to say, of the daily pension which the Porte of its generosity had assigned him for his subsistence, and which amounted to about 1500 French livres †. The grand visir, instead of remitting this allowance to him as usual, sent him an order, in the form of a friendly advice, to quit the grand seignior's dominions.

Charles, however, was absolutely determined not to depart, still flattering himself with the vain hopes that he should once more re-enter Poland and Russia with a powerful army of Turks. Every one knows what was the issue of his inflexible boldness in the year 1724, and how he engaged an army of janissaries, Spahis and Tartars, with only himself, his secretaries, his valet de chambre, cook, and stable-men; that he was taken prisoner in that country, where he had been treated with the greatest hospitality; and that he at length got back to his own kingdom in the disguise of a courier, after having lived five years in Turkey: from all which it remains to be acknowledged, that if there was reason in the conduct of this extraordinary prince, it was a reason of a very different nature to that of other men.

† About 70 l. sterling.



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THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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THE

W O R K S

OF

NOEL HOLMES

BY F. B. HOLMES, M.D.

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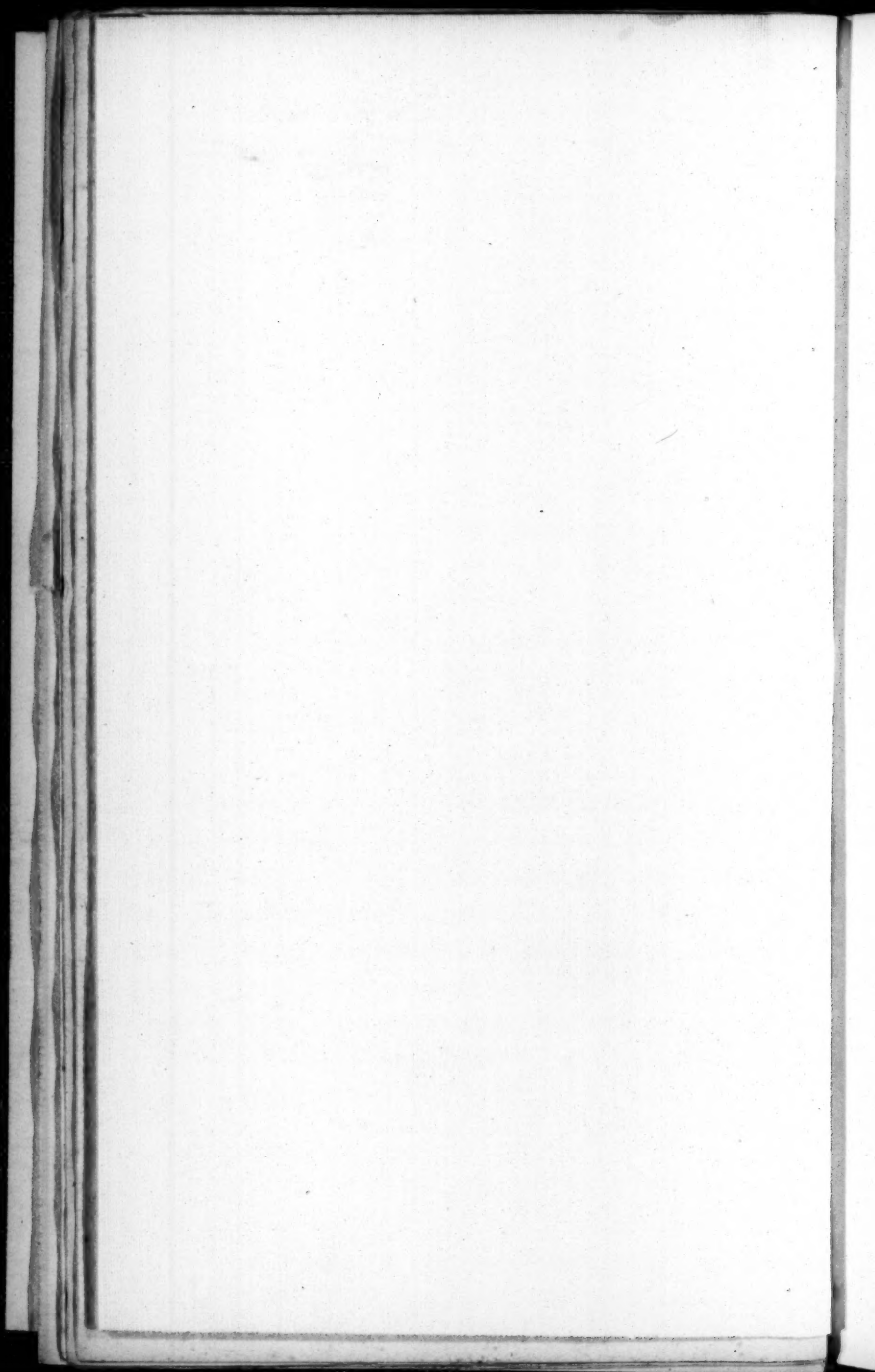
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RUSSIAN Empire under PETER the
GREAT.

PART II.

CHAP. II.

Conclusion of the Affairs of PRUTH:

IT is necessary in this place to repeat an event already related in the history of Charles XII. It happened during the suspension of arms which preceded the treaty of Pruth, that two Tartarian soldiers surprized and took prisoners two Italian officers belonging to the czar's army, and sold them to an officer of the Turkish janissaries. The vizir being informed of this breach of public faith, punished the two Tartars with death. How are we to reconcile this severe delicacy with the violation of the laws of nations in the person of Tolstoy the czar's ambassador, whom this very vizir caused

B

to

to be arrested in the streets of Constantinople and afterwards imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers? There is always some reason for the contradictions we find in the actions of mankind. Baltagi Mahomet was incensed against the khan of Tartary, for having opposed the peace he had lately made, and was resolved to shew that chieftain that he was his master.

The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the czar quitted the borders of the Pruth, and returned towards his own dominions, followed by a body of 8000 Turks, whom the vizir had sent as an army of observation to watch the motions of the Russian army during its march, and also to serve as an escort or safeguard to them against the wandering Tartars which infested those parts.

Peter instantly set about accomplishing the treaty, by demolishing the fortresses of Samara and Kamienka; but the restoring of Asoph and the demolition of the port of Tangaromet met with some difficulties in the execution. According to the terms of the treaty it was necessary to distinguish the artillery and ammunition which belonged to the Turks in Asoph before that place was taken by the czar, from those which had been sent thither after it fell into his hands. The governor of the place spun out this affair to a tedious length, at which the Porte was greatly incensed, and not without reason the Sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Asoph. The vizir promised they should be sent from time to time, but the governor always found means to delay the delivery of them. Baltagi Mahomet lost the good graces of his master, and with them his place. The khan

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of Tartary and his other enemies made ſuch
good uſe of their intereſt with the ſultan, that
the grand vizir was depoſed, ſeveral baſhaws
were diſgraced at the ſame time ; but the grand
ſeignor, well convinced of this miniſter's fidelity,
did not deprive him either of his life or eſtate,
but only ſent him to Mytilene to take on him
the command of that iſland.

Nov. 1711. This ſimple removal from the
helm of affairs, and the continu-
ing to him his fortunes, and above all, the
giving him the command in Mytilene, ſuffi-
ciently contradicts all that Norberg has advan-
ced to induce us to believe that this vizir had
been corrupted with the czar's money.

Norberg aſſerts furthermore, that the Boſtan-
gi baſhaw, who came to divest him of his office,
and to acquaint him of the grand ſeignor's ſen-
tence, declared him at the ſame time, “ a trai-
“ tor, one who had diſobeyed the orders of
“ his ſovereign lord, had ſold himſelf to the
“ enemy for money, and was found guilty of
“ not having taken proper care of the intereſts
“ of the king of Sweden.” In the firſt place,
theſe kind of declarations are not at all in uſe
in Turkey : the orders of the grand ſeignor al-
ways being iſſued privately, and executed with
ſecrecy. Secondly, if the vizir had been decla-
red *a traitor, a rebel, and a corrupted perſon*,
crimes of this nature would have been inſtantly
punished with death in a country where they
are never forgiven. Laſtly, if he was puniſh-
able for not having ſufficiently attended to the
interreſts of the king of Sweden, it is evident
that this prince muſt have had ſuch a degree of
influence at the Ottoman Porte, as to have
made

made the other ministers to tremble, who would consequently have endeavoured to gain his good graces; whereas, on the contrary, the bashaw Jusuf, aga of the janissaries, who succeeded Mahomed Baltagi as grand vizir, had the same sentiments as his predecessor, in relation to Charles's conduct, and was so far from doing him any service that he thought of nothing but how to get rid of so dangerous a guest; and when count Poniatowski, the companion and confidant of that monarch, went to compliment the vizir on his new dignity, the latter spoke to him thus: "Pagan, I forewarn thee, that if ever I find thee hatching any intrigues, I will upon thy first notice cause thee to be thrown into the sea with a stone about thy neck."

This compliment count Poniatowski himself relates in the memoirs which he drew up at my request, and is a sufficient proof of the little influence his master had in the Turkish court. All that Norberg has related touching the affairs of that empire, appear to come from a prejudiced person, and one who was very ill informed of the circumstances he pretends to write about. Among we may count among the errors of a party-spirit and political falsehoods, every thing which the writer advances unsupported by proofs, concerning the pretended corruption of a grand vizir, that is, of a person who had the disposal of upwards of sixty millions per annum, without being subject to the least account. * I have not before me the letter which count Poniatowski wrote to King Stanislaus immediately after the

* French money, which is always counted by livres, makes about three millions sterling.

signing the treaty of Pruth, in which he upbraids Baltagi Mahomet with the flight: he shewed to the king of Sweden, his dislike to the war, and the unsteadiness of his temper; but never once hints the least charge of corruption, for he knew too well what the place of grand vizir was, to entertain an idea that the czar was capable of setting a price upon the infidelity of the second person in the Ottoman empire.

Schaffirow and Sheremetow, who remained at Constantinople as hostages on the part of the czar for his performance of the treaty, were not used in the manner they would have been if known to have purchased this peace, and to have joined with the vizir in deceiving his master. They were left to go at liberty about the city, escorted by two companies of janissaries.

The czar's ambassador Tolstoy having been released from his confinement in the Seven Towers, immediately upon the signing the treaty of Pruth, the Dutch and English ministers interposed with the new vizir to see the several articles of that treaty put into execution.

Asoph was at length restored to the Turks, and the fortresses mentioned in the treaty were demolished according to stipulation. And now the Ottoman Porte, though very little inclinable to interfere in the differences between christian princes, could not without vanity behold himself made arbitrator between Russia, Poland, and the king of Sweden; and insisted that the czar should withdraw his troops out of Poland, and deliver the Turkish empire from so dangerous a neighbour; and desirous that the christian princes might continually be at war with each other,

wished for nothing so much as to send Charles home to his own dominions, but all this while had not the least intention of furnishing him with an army. The Tartars were still for war, as an artificer is willing to seize every opportunity to exercise his calling. The janissaries likewise wished to be called into the field, but more out of hatred against the christians, their naturally restless disposition, and from a fondness for rapine and licentiousness, than from any other motives. Nevertheless the English and Dutch ministers managed their negotiations so well, that they prevailed over the opposite party: the treaty of Pruth was confirmed, but with the addition of a new article, by which it was stipulated, that the czar should withdraw his forces from Poland within three months, and that the sultan should immediately send Charles XII. out of his dominions.

We may judge from this new treaty whether the king of Sweden had that interest at the Porte which some writers would have us to believe. He was evidently sacrificed on this occasion by the new vizir bashaw Jussuf, as he had been before by Baltagi Mahomet. The historians of his party could find no other expedient to colour over this fresh affront, but that of accusing Jussuf of having been bribed like his predecessor. Such repeated imputations, unsupported by any proofs, are rather the clamours of an impotent cabal, than the testimonies of history. But faction, when driven to acknowledge facts, will ever be endeavouring to alter circumstances and motives; and unhappily it is thus that all the histories of our times will be handed down to posterity.

posterity so altered, that they will be unable to distinguish truth from falsehoods.

CHAP. III.

Marriage of the czarowitz. The marriage of Peter and Catherine publicly solemnized: Catherine finds her brother.

THIS unsuccessful campaign of Pruthi proved more hurtful to the czar than ever the battle of Narva was; for after that defeat he had found means not only to retrieve his losses, but also to wrest Ingria out of the hands of Charles XII. but by the treaty of Falksten, in which he consented to give up to the sultan his forts and harbours on the Palus Mæotis, he for ever lost his projected superiority in the Black Sea. He had besides an infinite deal of work on his hands; his new establishments in Russia were to be perfected, he had to prosecute his victories over the Swede, to settle king Augustus firmly on the Polish throne, and to manage affairs properly with the several powers with whom he was in alliance; but the fatigues he had undergone having impaired his health, he was obliged to go to Carelsbad* to drink the waters of that place. While he was there he gave orders for his troops to enter Pomerania, who blockaded Stralsund, and took five other towns in the neighbourhood.

Pomerania is the most northern province of Germany, bounded on the east by Prussia and Poland, on the west by Brandenburg, on the south by Mecklenburg, and on the north by the

* A town in Bohemia famous for its mineral springs.

Baltic sea. It has changed masters almost every century : Gustavus Adolphus got possession of it in his famous thirty years war, and it was afterwards solemnly ceded to the crown of Sweden by the treaty of Westphalia, with a reservation of the little bishopric of Camin, and a few other small towns lying in Upper Pomerania. The whole of this province properly belongs to the elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of a family-compact made with the dukes of Pomerania, whose family being extinct in 1637, consequently by the laws of the empire the house of Brandenburg had an undoubted right to the succession ; but necessity, the first of all laws, occasioned this family-compact to be set aside by the treaty of Osnabrug ; after which almost the whole of Pomerania fell to the lot of the victorious Swedes.

The czar's intention was to wrest from Sweden all the provinces that crown was possessed of in Germany ; and, in order to accomplish his design, he found it necessary to enter into a confederacy with the electors of Hanover and Brandenburg and the king of Denmark. Peter drew up the several articles of the treaty he projected with these powers, and also a complete plan of the necessary operations for rendering him master of Pomerania.

In the mean while he went to Torgau to be present at the nuptials of his son the czarowitz Alexis with the Octob. 23, princess of Wolfenbittel, sister to 1711. the consort of Charles VI. emperor of Germany ; nuptials, which in the end proved

proved fatal to his own peace of mind, and to the lives of the unfortunate pair.

The czarowitz was born of the first marriage of Peter the Great with Eudocia Lapoukin, to whom he was espoused in 1689: she was at this time shut up in the monastery of Susdal; their son Alexis Petrowitz, who was born the 1st of March 1690, was now in his 22d year. This prince was not then at all known in Europe: a minister, whose memoirs of the court of Russia have been printed, says in a letter he writes to his master, dated August 25, 1711, that “ this prince was tall and well-made, resembled “ his father greatly, was of an excellent disposition, very pious, had read the Bible five “ times over, took great delight in the ancient “ Greek historians, appeared to have a very “ quick apprehension and understanding, was “ well acquainted with the mathematics, the “ art of war, navigation, and hydraulics; that “ he understood the German language, and “ was then learning the French, but that his “ father would never suffer him to go through “ a regular course of study.”

This character is very different from that which the czar himself gives of his son some time afterwards, in which we shall see with how much grief he reproaches him with faults directly opposite to those good qualities for which this minister seems so much to admire him.

We must leave posterity therefore to determine between the testimony of a stranger, who may have formed too slight a judgment, and the declaration of a parent, who thought himself under a necessity of sacrificing the dictates of nature to the good of his people. If the mini-

ster was no better acquainted with the disposition of Alexis than he seems to have been with his outward form, his evidence will have but little weight ; for he describes this prince as tall and well-made, whereas the memoirs sent from Petersburg say that he was neither one nor the other.

His mother-in-law Catherine was not present at his nuptials ; for though she was already looked upon as czarina, yet she had not been publickly acknowledged as such ; and moreover, as she had only the title of highness given her at the czar's court, her rank was not sufficiently settled to admit of her signing the contract, or to appear at the ceremony in a station befitting the consort of Peter the Great. She therefore remained at Thorn in Polish Prussia. Soon after the nuptials were celebrated, the czar sent the new-married couple away to Wolfen-

Jan. 9, buttel, and brought back the czarina to
1712. Petersburg with that dispatch and privacy which he observed in all his journies.

Feb. 19, 1712.] Having now disposed of his son, he publickly solemnized his own nuptials with Catherine, which had been declared in private before. The ceremony was performed with as much magnificence as could be expected in a city but yet in its infancy, and from a revenue exhausted by the late destructive wars against the Turks, and that which he was still engaged in against the king of Sweden. The czar gave orders for, and assisted himself in, all the preparations for the ceremony, according to his usual custom ; and Catherine was now publickly

lickly declared czarina, in reward for having saved her husband and his whole army.

The acclamations with which this declaration was received at Petersburg were sincere: the applauses which subjects confer on the actions of a despotic sovereign are generally suspected; but on this occasion they were confirmed by the united voice of all the thinking part of Europe, who beheld with pleasure on the one hand the heir of a vast monarchy with no other glory than that of his birth, married to a petty princess; and, on the other hand, a powerful conqueror, and a law-giver, publicly sharing his bed and his throne with a stranger and a captive, who had nothing to recommend her but her merit: and this approbation became more general as the minds of men grew more enlightened by that sound philosophy which has made so great a progress in our understandings within these last forty years; a philosophy, equally sublime and discerning, which teaches us to pay only the exterior respect to greatness and authority, while we reserve our esteem and veneration for shining talents and meritorious services.

And here I think myself under an obligation to relate what I have met with touching this marriage in the dispatches of count Bassewitz, Aulic counsellor at Vienna, and long time minister from Holstein at the court of Russia; a person of great merit, and whose memory is still held in the highest esteem in Germany. In some of his letters he speaks thus: "The czarina had not only been the main instrument of procuring the czar that reputation which he enjoyed, but was likewise essentially necessary

“ in the preservation of his life. This prince
“ was unhappily subject to violent convulsion-
“ fits, which were thought to be the effects of
“ poison which had been given him while he
“ was young. Catherine alone had found the
“ secret of alleviating his sufferings by an un-
“ wearied assiduity and attention to whatever
“ she thought would please him, and made it
“ the whole study of her life to preserve an
“ health so valuable to the kingdom and to her-
“ self, insomuch, that the czar finding he could
“ not live without her, made her the compa-
“ nion of his throne and bed.” I here only
repeat the express words of the writer him-
self.

Fortune, which has furnished us with many extraordinary scenes in this part of the world, and who had raised Catherine from the lowest abyss of misery and distress to the pinnacle of human grandeur, wrought another extraordinary incident in her favour some few years after her marriage with the czar, and which I find thus related in a curious manuscript of a person who was at that time in the czar’s service, and who speaks of it as a thing to which he was eye-witness.

An envoy from King Augustus to the court of Peter the Great, being on his return home through Courland, and having put up at an inn by the way, heard the voice of a person who seemed in great distress, and whom the people of the house were treating in that insulting manner which is but too common on such occasions: the stranger, with a tone of resentment, made answer, that they would not dare to use him thus, if he could but once get to the
speech

speech of the czar, at whose court he had perhaps more powerful protectors than they imagined.

The envoy, upon hearing this, had a curiosity to ask the man some questions, and from certain answers he let fall, and a close examination of his face, he thought he found in him some resemblance of the empress Catherine; and when he came to Dresden, he could not forbear writing to one of his friends at Petersburg concerning it. This letter, by accident, came to the czar's hands, who immediately sent an order to prince Repnin, then governor of Riga, to endeavour to find out the person mentioned in the letter. Prince Repnin immediately dispatched a messenger to Mittau in Courland, who, on enquiry, found out the man, and learned that his name was Charles Scavronsky; that he was the son of a Lithuanian gentleman, who had been killed in the wars of Poland, and had left two children then in the cradle, a boy and a girl, who had neither of them received any other education than that which simple nature gives to those who are abandoned by the world. Scavronsky, who had been parted from his sister while they were both infants, knew nothing further of her than that she had been taken prisoner in Marienbourg, in the year 1704, and supposed her to be still in the household of prince Menzikoff, where he imagined she might have made some little fortune.

Prince Repnin, agreeable to the particular orders he had received from the czar, caused Scavronski to be seized, and conducted to Riga, under pretence of some crime laid to his charge; and to give a better colour to the matter, at his
ar-

arrival there, a sham information was drawn up against him, and he was soon after sent from thence to Petersburg, under a strong guard, with orders to treat him well upon the road.

When he came to that capital, he was carried to the house of an officer of the emperor's palace named Shepleff, who having been previously instructed in the part he was to play, drew several circumstances from the young man in relation to his condition; and, after some time, told him, that although the information, which had been sent up from Riga against him, was of a very serious nature, yet he would have justice done him; but that it would be necessary to present a petition to his majesty for that purpose; that one should accordingly be drawn up in his name, and that he (Shepleff) would find means that he should deliver it into the czar's own hands.

The next day the czar came to dine with Shepleff at his own house, who presented Scavronsky to him; when his majesty, after asking him abundance of questions, was convinced, by the natural answers he gave, that he was really the czarina's brother: they had both lived in Livonia when young, and the czar found every thing that Scavronsky said to him, in relation to his family-affairs, to tally exactly with what his wife had told him concerning her brother, and the misfortunes which had befallen her and her brother in the earlier part of their lives.

The czar, now satisfied of the truth, proposed the next day to the empress to go and dine with him at Shepleff's; and when dinner was over, he gave orders, that the man whom he had

had examined the day before, should be brought in again. Accordingly he was introduced, dressed in the same cloaths he had worn while on his journey from Riga, the czar not being willing that he should appear in any other garb than what his unhappy circumstances had accustomed him to.

He interrogated him again in the presence of his wife ; and the MS. adds, that, at the end, he turned about to the empress, and said these very words, " This man is your brother ; come hither, Charles, and kiss the hand of the empress, and embrace your sister."

The author of this narrative adds further, that the empress fainted away with surprise ; and that when she came to herself again, the czar said to her, " There is nothing in this but what is very natural. This gentleman is my brother-in-law ; if he has merit, we will make something of him ; if he has not, we must leave him as he is."

I am of opinion, that this speech shews as much greatness as simplicity, and a greatness not very common. My author says, that Scavronsky remained a considerable time at Shepleff's house ; that the czar assigned him a handsome pension, but that he led a very retired life. He carries his relation of this adventure no further, as he made use of it only to disclose the secret of Catherine's brother : but we know, from other authorities, that this gentleman was afterwards created a count ; that he married a young lady of quality, by whom he had two daughters, who were married to two of the principal noblemen in Russia. I leave to those who may be better informed of the particulars, to distinguish what

what is fact in this relation, from what may have been added, and shall only say, that the author does not seem to have told this story out of a fondness for entertaining his readers with the marvellous, since his papers were not intended to be published. He is writing freely to a friend about a thing of which he says he was an eye-witness. He may have been mistaken in some circumstances, but the fact itself has all the appearance of truth; for if this gentleman had known that his sister was raised to so great dignity and power, he would not certainly have remained so many years without having made himself known to her. And this discovery, however extraordinary it may seem, is certainly not more so than the exaltation of Catherine herself; and both the one and the other are striking proofs of the force of destiny, and may teach us to be cautious how we treat as fabulous, several events of antiquity, which perhaps are less contradictory to the common order of things, than the adventures of this empress.

The rejoicings made by czar Peter for his own marriage, and that of his son, were not of the nature of those transient amusements, which exhaust the public treasure, and are presently lost in oblivion. He completed his grand foundery for cannon, and finished the admiralty buildings. The highways were repaired, several ships built, and others put upon the stocks; new canals were dug, and the finishing hand put to the grand warehouses, and other public buildings, and the trade of Petersburg began to assume a flourishing face. He issued an ordinance for removing the senate from Moscow to Petersburg, which was executed in the month
of

of April 1712. By this step he made his new city the capital of the empire, and early he employed a number of Swedish prisoners in beautifying this city, whose foundation had been laid upon their defeat.

CHAP. IV.

Taking of STETIN.

Descent upon FINLAND. Events of the year 1712.

PETER, now seeing himself happy in his own family, and in his state, and successful in his war against Charles XII. and in the several negotiations which he had entered into with other powers, who were resolved to assist him in driving out the Swedes from the continent, and cooping them up for ever within the narrow isthmus of Scandinavia, began to turn his views entirely towards the north-west coasts of Europe, not laying aside all thoughts of the Palus Mæotis, or the Black Sea. The keys of Asoph, which had been so long withheld from the bashaw, who was to have taken possession of that place for the sultan his master, were now given up, and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the king of Sweden, the intrigues of his friends at the Ottoman Porte, and even some menaces of a new war on the part of the Turks, both that nation and the Russian empire continued at peace.

Charles XII. still obstinate in his resolution not to depart from Bender, tamely submitted his hopes

hopes and fortunes to the caprice of a grand vizir ; while the czar was threatening all his provinces, arming against him the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, and had almost persuaded the king of Prussia, and even the Poles and Saxons, to declare openly for him.

Charles, ever of the same inflexible disposition, behaved in the like manner towards his enemies, who now seemed united to overwhelm him, as he had done in all his transactions with the Ottoman Porte ; and from his lurking place in the deserts of Bessarabia, defied the czar, the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, the elector of Hanover (soon afterwards king of England) and the emperor of Germany, whom he had so greatly offended, when he was traversing Silesia with his victorious troops, and who now shewed his resentment, by abandoning him to his ill-fortune, and refused to take under his protection any of those countries, which as yet belonged to the Swedes in Germany.

It would have been no difficult matter for him to have broken the league which was forming against him, would he have consent-
 1712. ed to cede Stetin in Pomerania, to Frederick (the first) king of Prussia, and elector of Brandenburg, who had a lawful claim thereto ; but Charles did not then look upon Prussia as a power of any consequence ; and indeed neither he, nor any other person, could at that time foresee, that this petty kingdom, and the electorate of Brandenburg, either of which were little better than deserts, would one day become formidable. Charles therefore would not listen to any proposal of accommodation ; but, determined rather to take all than give up
 any

any thing, sent orders to the regency of Stockholm, to make all possible resistance both by sea and land: and these orders were obeyed, notwithstanding that his dominions were almost exhausted of men and money. The senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, and every person capable of bearing arms came voluntarily to offer their service: in a word, the inflexible courage and pride of Charles seemed to be infused into all his subjects, who were almost as unfortunate as their master.

It can hardly be supposed, that Charles's conduct was formed upon any regular plan. He had still a powerful party in Poland, which, assisted by the Crim Tartars, might indeed have desolated that wretched country, but could not have replaced Stanislaus on the throne; and his hopes of engaging the Ottoman Porte to espouse his cause, or convincing the divan, that it was their interest to send 10 or 12,000 men to the assistance of his friends, under pretence that the czar was supporting his ally Augustus in Poland, was vain and chimerical.

Sept. 1712.] Nevertheless, he continued still at Bender, to wait the issue of these vain projects, while the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were over-running Pomerania. Peter took his wife with him on this expedition. The king of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a sea-port town in the duchy of Bremen, and the united forces of Russia, Saxony, and Denmark, were already before Stralsund.

Oct. 1712.] And now king Stanislaus, seeing the deplorable state of so many provinces, the impossibility of his recovering the crown of Poland,

Poland, and the universal confusion occasioned by the inflexibility of Charles, called a meeting of the Swedish generals, who were covering Pomerania with an army of 11,000 men, as the last resource they had left in those provinces.

When they were assembled, he proposed to them to make their terms with king Augustus, offering himself to be the victim of this reconciliation. On this occasion, he made the following speech to them in the French language, which he afterwards left in writing, and which was signed by nine general officers, amongst whom happened to be one Patkul, cousin-german to the unfortunate Patkul, who lost his life on the wheel by the order of Charles XII.

“ Having been hitherto the instruments of procuring glory to the Swedish arms, I cannot think of proving the cause of their ruin. I therefore declare myself ready to sacrifice the crown, and my personal interests, to the preservation of the sacred person of their king, as I can see no other method of releasing him from the place where he now is.”

Having made this declaration (which is here given in his own words) he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hopes of being able to soften the inflexible temper of his benefactor, by the sacrifice he had made for him. His ill-fortune would have it, that he arrived in Bessarabia, at the very time that Charles, after having given his word to the sultan, that he would depart from Bender, and having received the necessary remittances for his journey, and an escort for his person, took the mad resolution to continue there, and opposed a whole army of Turks and Tartars, with only his own domestics.

messics. The former, tho' they might easily have killed him, contented themselves with taking him prisoner. At this very juncture, Stanislaus arriving, was seized himself, so that two Christian kings were prisoners at one time in Turkey.

At this time, when all Europe was in commotion, and that France had just terminated a war equally fatal against one part thereof, in order to settle the grandson of Lewis XIV. on the throne of Spain, England gave peace to France, and the victory gained by Marshal Villars at Denain in Flanders saved that state from its other enemies. France had been for upwards of a century the ally of Sweden, and it was the interest of the former that its ally should not be stripped of his possessions in Germany. Charles unhappily was at such a distance from his dominions, that he did not even know what was transacting in France.

The regency of Stockholm, by a desperate effort, ventured to demand a sum of money from the French court at a time when its finances were at so low an ebb, that Lewis XIV. had hardly money enough to pay his household-servants. Count Sparre was sent with a commission to negotiate this loan, in which it was not to be supposed he would succeed. However, on his arrival at Versailles, he represented to the marquis de Torci the inability of the regency to pay the little army which Charles had still remaining in Pomerania, and which was ready to break up and dispute of itself an account of the long arrears due to the men; and that France was on the point of beholding the only ally she had left, deprived of those provinces which were so necessary

cessary to preserve the balance of power; that indeed his master Charles had not been altogether so attentive to the interests of France in the course of his conquests as might have been expected, but that the magnanimity of Lewis XIV. was at least equal to the misfortunes of his royal brother and ally. The French minister, in answer to this speech, so effectually set forth the incapacity of his court to furnish the requested succours, that count Sparre despaired of success.

It so happened however, that a private individual did that which Sparre had lost all hopes of obtaining from the court. There was at that time in Paris a banker named Samuel Bernard, who had accumulated an immense fortune by making remittances for the government to foreign countries, and other private contracts. This man was intoxicated with a species of pride very rarely to be met with from people of his profession. He was immoderately fond of every thing that made an *éclat*, and knew very well that one time or another the government would repay with interest those who hazarded their fortune to supply its exigencies. Count Sparre went one day to dine with him, and took care to flatter his foible so well, that before they rose from table the Banker put 600,000 livres * into his hand; and then immediately waiting on the marquis de Torci, he said to him, "I have lent the crown of Sweden 600,000 livres in your name, which you must repay me when you are able."

* About 50,000*l.* sterling.

Count Steinbock, who at that time commanded Charles's army in Pomerania, little expected so seasonable a supply; and seeing his troops ready to mutiny, to whom he had nothing to give but promises, and that the storm was gathering fast upon him, and being moreover apprehensive of being surrounded by the three different armies of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, desired a cessation of arms, on the supposition that Stanislaus's abdication would soften the obstinacy of Charles, and that the only way left him to save the forces under his command, was by spinning out the time in negotiations. He therefore dispatched a courier to Bender, to represent to the king of Sweden the desperate state of his finances and affairs, and the situation of the army, and to acquaint him that he had under these circumstances found himself necessitated to apply for a cessation of arms, which he should think himself very happy to obtain. The courier had not been dispatched above three days, and Stanislaus was not yet set out on his journey to Bender, when Steinbock received the 600,000 livres from the French banker above-mentioned; a sum which was at that time an immense treasure in a country so desolated. Thus unexpectedly reinforced with money, which is the grand panacea for all disorders of state, Steinbock found means to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiery; he supplied them with all they wanted, raised new recruits, and in a short time saw himself at the head of 12,000 men, and dropping his former intention of procuring a suspension of arms, he sought only for an opportunity of engaging the enemy.

This

This was the same Steinbock, who, in the year 1710, after the defeat at Pultowa, had revenged the Swedes on the Danes by the eruption he made into Scania, where he marched against and engaged them with only a few militia, whom he had hastily gathered together, with their arms slung round them with ropes, and totally defeated the enemy. He was like all the other generals of Charles XII. active and enterprising; but his valour was sullied by his brutality: as an instance of which it will be sufficient to relate, that having, after an engagement with the Russians, given orders to kill all the prisoners, and perceiving a Polish officer in the service of the czar who had caught hold on King Stanislaus's stirrup, then on horseback, in order to save his life, he (Steinbock) shot him dead with his pistol in that prince's arms, as has been already mentioned in the life of Charles XII. and King Stanislaus has declared to the author of this history, that had he not been withheld by his respect and gratitude to the king of Sweden, he should immediately have shot Steinbock dead upon the spot.

Dec. 9, 1712.] General Steinbock now marched by the way of Wismaar to meet the combined forces of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, and soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon army, which was advanced before that of the Russians about the distance of three leagues. The czar sent three couriers, one after another, to the king of Denmark, beseeching him to wait his coming up, and thereby avoid the danger which threatened him if he attempted to engage the Swedes with an equality

tity of force ; but the Danish monarch not willing to share with any one the honour of a victory which he thought sure, advanced to meet the Swedish general, whom he attacked near a place called Gadebusch. This day's affair gave a further proof of the natural enmity that subsisted between the Swedes and Danes. The officers of these two nations fought with most unparalleled inveteracy against each other, and neither side would desist till death terminated the dispute.

Steinbock gained a complete victory before the Russian army could come up to the assistance of the Danes, and the next day received an order from his master Charles to lay aside all thoughts of a suspension of arms, who at the same time upbraided him for having entertained an idea so injurious to his honour, and for which he told him he could make no reparation, but by conquering or perishing. Steinbock had happily obviated the orders and the reproach by the victory he had gained.

But this victory was like that which had formerly brought such a transient consolation to King Augustus, when in the torrent of his misfortunes he gained the battle of Calish against the Swedes, who were conquerors in every other place, and which only served to aggravate his situation, as this of Gadebusch only procrastinated the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

When the king of Sweden received the news of Steinbock's success, he looked upon his affairs as retrieved, and even flattered himself with hopes to engage the Ottoman Porte to declare for him, who at that time seemed disposed to

come to a new rupture with the czar ; full of these fond imaginations, he sent orders to general Steinbock to fall upon Poland, being still ready to believe, upon the least shadow of success, that the day of Narva, and those in which he gave laws to his enemies, were again returned. But unhappily he too soon found these flattering hopes utterly blasted by the affair of Bender, and his own captivity amongst the Turks.

The whole fruits of the victory at Gadebusch were confined to the surprising in the night-time, and reducing to ashes the town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers, a place wholly defenceless, and which not having been in arms, ought by all the laws of war and nations to have been spared ; however, it was utterly destroyed, several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, others escaped with their lives, but naked, and a number of old men, women, and children, perished with cold and the fatigue they suffered, at the gates of Hamburg. Such has too often been the fate of several thousands of men for the quarrels of two only ; and this cruel advantage was the only one gained by Steinbock ; for the Russians, Danes, and Saxons pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to beg for an asylum in Toningen, a fortress in the duchy of Holstein, for himself and army.

This duchy was at that time subjected to the most cruel ravages of any part of the north, and its sovereign was the most miserable of all princes. He was nephew of Charles XII. and it was on his father's account, who had married

Charles's

Charles's sister, that that monarch carried his arms even into the heart of Copenhagen, before the battle of Narva, and for whom he likewise made the treaty of Travendahl, by which the dukes of Holstein were restored to their rights.

This country was in part the cradle of the Cimbri, and of the old Normands, who over-run the province of Neustria in France, and conquered all England, Naples, and Sicily; and yet at this present time no state pretends less to make conquests than this part of the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus, which consists only of two petty duchies; namely, that of Sleswick, belonging in common to the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, and that of Gottorp, appertaining to the duke alone. Sleswick is a sovereign principality: Holstein is a branch of the German empire, called the Roman empire.

The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein Gottorp were of the same family; but the duke, nephew to Charles XII. and presumptive heir to his crown, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to crush him in the very cradle. One of his father's brothers, who was bishop of Lubeck, and administrator of the dominions of his unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in the midst of the Swedish army, whom he durst not succour, and those of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, that threatened his country with daily destruction. Nevertheless he thought himself obliged to try to save Charles's army, if he could do it without irritating the king of Denmark, who had made himself master of his country, which

he exhausted, by raising continual contributions.

This bishop and administrator was entirely governed by the famous baron Goertz, the most artful and enterprising man of his age, endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource: with talents equal to the boldest and most arduous attempts, he was as insinuating in his negotiations, as he was hardy in his projects; he had the art of pleasing and persuading in the highest degree, and knew how to captivate all hearts by the vivacity of his genius, after he had won them by the softness of his eloquence. He afterwards gained the same ascendant over Charles XII. which he had then over the bishop; and all the world knows, that he paid with his life the honour he had of governing the most ungovernable and obstinate prince that ever sat upon a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with general Steinbock †, at which he promised to deliver him up the fortress of Toningen*, without exposing the bishop administrator his master to any danger, and at the same time gave the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. In this manner are almost all negotiations carried on, affairs of state being of a very different nature from those of private persons; the honour of ministers consisting wholly in success, and those of private persons in the observance of their promises.

† Private memoirs of Bassewitz, Jan. 21, 1712.

* A town of Sleswick, in Denmark, situated on the river Tyder, fourteen miles from the German ocean, having a very commodious harbour.

General Steinbock presented himself before Toningén; the commandant refused to open the gates to him, and by this means puts it out of the king of Denmark's power to alledge any cause of complaint against the bishop administrator; but Goertz causes an order to be given in the name of the young duke (a minor) to suffer the Swedish army to enter the town. The secretary of the cabinet, named Stamke, signs this order in the name of the duke of Holstein: by this means Goertz preserves the honour of an infant who had not as yet any power to issue orders; and he at once serves the king of Sweden, to whom he was desirous to make his court, and the bishop administrator his master, who appeared not to have consented to the admission of the Swedish troops. The governor of Toningén, who was easily gained, delivered up the town to the Swedes, and Goertz excused himself as well as he could to the king of Denmark, by protesting that the whole had been transacted without his consent.

The Swedes retired partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town: but this did not save them; for general Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, together with his whole army, to the number of 11,000 men, in the same manner as about 16,000 of their countrymen had done at the battle of Pultowa.

By this convention it was agreed, that Steinbock with his officers and men might be ransomed or exchanged. The price for the general's ransom was fixed at 8000 German crowns*; a very trifling sum, but which Steinbock how-

* About 1200*l.* sterling.

ever was not able to raise ; so that he remained a prisoner in Copenhagen till the day of his death.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conqueror. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was fated to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name : thus did the ill fortune of Charles XII. fall upon all his family.

Goertz perceiving his projects thus dissipated, and being still resolved to act a distinguished part in the general confusion of affairs, recalled to mind a scheme which he had formed to establish a neutrality in the Swedish territories in Germany.

The king of Denmark was ready to take possession of Toningen ; George, elector of Hanover, was about to seize Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade ; the new-made king of Prussia, Frederick William, cast his views upon Stetin, and czar Peter was preparing to make himself master of Finland ; and all the territories of Charles XII. those of Sweden excepted, were going to become the spoils of those who wanted to share them. How then could so many different interests be rendered compatible with a neutrality ? Goertz entered into negotiation at one and the same time with all the several princes who had any views in this partition ; he continued night and day passing from one province to the other ; he engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover by way of sequestration, so that the Danes should not take possession of them for themselves :

selfes: he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept jointly with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stetin and Wismaar, in consideration of which the king of Denmark was to act nothing against Holstein, and was not to enter Toningen. It was most certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII. to put his towns into the hands of those who might chuse if they would ever restore them; but Goertz, by delivering these places to them as pledges, bound them to a neutrality, at least for some time; and he was in hopes to be able afterwards to bring Hanover and Brandenburg to declare for Sweden: he prevailed on the king of Prussia, whose ruined dominions stood in need of peace, to enter into his views, and in short he found means to render himself necessary to all these princes, and disposed of the possessions of Charles XII. like a guardian, who gives up one part of his ward's estate to preserve the other, and of a ward incapable of managing his affairs himself; and all this without any regular authority or commission, or other warrant for his conduct, than full powers given him by the bishop of Lubeck, who had no authority to grant such powers from Charles himself.

Such was the baron de Goertz, and such his actions, which have not hitherto been sufficiently known. There have been instances of an Oxenstiern, a Richlieu, and an Alberoni, influencing the affairs of all parts of Europe; but that the privy counsellor of a bishop of Lubeck should do the same as they, without his conduct being avowed by any one, is a thing hitherto unheard of.

June 1713.] Nevertheless he succeeded to his wishes in the beginning, for he made a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which that monarch engaged, on condition of keeping Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In virtue of this treaty Goertz made a proposal to the governor of Pomerania (Mayerfeld) to give up the fortress of Stetin to the king of Prussia for the sake of peace, thinking that the Swedish governor of Stetin would prove as easy to be persuaded as the Holsteiner who had the command of Toningen; but the officers of Charles XII. were not accustomed to obey such orders. Mayerfeld made answer, that no one should enter Stetin but over his dead body and the ruins of the place, and immediately sent notice to his master of the strange proposal. The messenger at his arrival found Charles prisoner at Demirtash, in consequence of his adventure at Bender, and it was doubtful at that time, whether he would not remain all his life in confinement in Turkey, or else be banished to some of the islands in the Archipelago, or some part of Asia under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. However Charles from his prison sent the same orders to Mayerfeld, as he had before done to Steinbock; namely, rather to perish than to submit to his enemies, and even commanded him to take his inflexibility for his example.

Goertz finding that the governor of Stetin had broke in upon his measures, and would neither hearken to a neutrality nor a sequestration, took it into his head not only to sequester the town of Stetin of his own authority, but also the city of Stralsund, and found means to make

make the same kind of treaty with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for June 1713. that place, which he had done with the elector of Brandenburg for Steitin. He clearly saw how impossible it would be for the Swedes to keep possession of those places without either men or money, while their king was a captive in Turkey, and he thought himself sure of turning aside the scourge of war from the north by means of these sequestrations. The king of Denmark himself at length gave into the projects of Goertz : the latter had gained an entire ascendant over prince Menzikoff, the czar's general and favourite, whom he had persuaded that the duchy of Holstein must be ceded to his master, and flattered the czar with the prospect of opening a canal from Holstein into the Baltic sea ; an enterprise perfectly conformable to the inclination and views of this royal founder ; and above all, he laboured to insinuate to him that he might obtain a new increase of power, by condescending to become one of the powers of the empire, which would entitle him to a vote in the diet of Ratisbon, a right that he might afterwards for ever maintain by that of arms.

In a word, no one could put on more different appearances, adapt himself to more opposite interests, or act a more complicated part, than did this skilful negotiator ; he even went so far as to engage prince Menzikoff to ruin the very town of Stetin, which he was endeavouring to save, by bombarding it, in order to force Mayerfeld to sequester it into his hands, and offered this unpardonable insult to the king of Sweden, whose good graces he was endeavouring

ing to gain; and in which, at length, to his misfortune, he succeeded but too well.

When the king of Prussia saw a Russian army before Stetin, he found that place would be lost to him, and remain in the possession of the czar. This was just what Goertz expected and waited for. Prince Menzikoff was in want of money; Goertz got the king of Prussia to lend him 400,000 crowns: he afterwards sent a message to the governor of the place, to know of him "whether he would rather chuse to see Stetin in " ashes, and under the dominion of Russia, or " to trust it in the hands of the king of Prussia, " who would engage to restore it to the king " his master?" The commandant at length suffered himself to be persuaded, and gave up the place, which Menzikoff entered, and, in consideration of the 400,000 crowns, delivered it afterwards, together with all the territories thereto adjoining, into the hands of the king of Prussia, who, for form's sake, left therein two battalions of the troops of Holstein, and has never since restored that part of Pomerania.

From this period, the second king of Prussia, successor to a weak and prodigal father, laid the foundation of that greatness to which his state has since arrived, by military discipline and economy.

The baron de Goertz, who put so many springs in motion, could not however succeed in prevailing on the Danes to spare the duchy of Holstein, or forbear taking possession of Tonningen. He failed in what appeared to have been his first object, though he succeeded in all his other views, and particularly in that of making himself the most important personage
of

of the north, which indeed was his principal object.

The elector of Hanover then had secured to himself Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. was now stripped. The Saxon army was before Wismaar; Stetin was in the hands of the king of Prussia; the Russians were ready to lay siege to Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons; and these latter had already landed in the island of Rugen, and the czar, in the midst of the numberless negotiations on all sides, while others were disputing about neutralities and partitions, makes a descent upon Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery against Stralsund, he left the rest to the care of his allies and prince Menzikoff, and embarking in the month of May, on the Baltic sea, on board a ship of fifty guns, which he himself caused to be built at Petersburg, he sailed for the coast of Finland, followed by a fleet of ninety-two whole, and one hundred and ten half galleys, having on board near sixteen thousand troops. He made his descent at Ellsingford, the most southern part of that cold and barren country, lying in 61 degrees north latitude; and notwithstanding the numberless difficulties he had to encounter, succeeded in his design. He caused a feint attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He then made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast. The Swedes now seemed not to have any one resource left; for it was, at this very time, that their army, under the command of

general Steinbock, was obliged to surrender prisoners of war at Toningen.

These repeated disasters which befel Charles, were, as we have already shewn, followed by the loss of Brëmen, Verden, Stetin, and a part of Pomerania; and that prince himself, with his ally and friend Stanislaus, were afterwards both prisoners in Turkey: nevertheless, he was not to be undeceived in the flattering notion he had entertained of returning to Poland, at the head of an Ottoman army, replacing Stanislaus on the throne, and once again making his enemies tremble.

C H A P. V.

SUCCESSES OF PETER the GREAT.

Return of CHARLES XII. into his dominions.

1713. **P**ETER, while he was following the
1714. course of his conquests, compleated the establishment of his navy, brought 12,000 families to settle in Petersburg, kept all his allies firm to his person and fortunes, notwithstanding they had all different interests and opposite views; and with his fleet, kept in awe all the sea-ports of Sweden on the gulphs of Finland and Bothnia.

Prince Galitzin, one of his land-generals, whom he had formed himself, as he had done all his other officers, advanced from Elsinford, where the czar had made his descent into the midst of the country, near the village of Tavasthus, which was a post that commanded the gulph of Bothnia.

nia, and was defended by a few Swedish regiments, and about 8000 militia. In this March 13. situation, a battle was unavoidable, 1714. the event of which proved favourable to the Russians, who entirely routed the whole Swedish army, and penetrated as far as Vaza, so that they were now masters of about eighty leagues of country.

The Swedes were still in possession of a fleet, with which they kept the sea; Peter had, for a considerable time, waited with impatience for an opportunity of establishing the reputation of his new marine. Accordingly he set out from Petersburg, and having got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, and one hundred and eighty gallies, fit for working among the rocks and shoals that surround the island of Aland, and the other islands in the Baltic sea, bordering upon the Swedish coast, he fell in with the fleet of that nation near their own shores. This armament greatly exceeded his in the largeness of the ships, but was inferior in the number of gallies, and more proper for engaging in the open sea, than among rocks, or near the shore. The advantage the czar had in this respect, was entirely owing to himself. He served in the rank of rear admiral on board his own fleet, and received all the necessary orders from admiral Apraxin. Peter resolved to make himself master of the island of Aland, which lies only twelve leagues off the Swedish coast; and tho' obliged to pass full in view of the enemies fleet, he effected this bold and hazardous enterprise. His gallies forced a passage through the enemy, whose cannon did not fire low enough to hurt them, and entered Aland; but as that coast is almost surrounded with

with rocks, the czar caused eighty small gallies, to be transported by men, over a point of land, and launched into the sea, at a place called Hango, where his large ships were at anchor. Erenschild, the Swedish rear admiral, thinking that he might easily take or sink all these gallies, stood in shore, in order to reconnoitre their situation, but was received with so brisk a fire from the Russian fleet, that most of his men were killed or wounded; and all the gallies and prames he had brought with him were taken, together with his own ship. The ad-

Aug. 8. miral himself endeavoured to escape in a boat; but being wounded, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner, and was brought on board the gallies where the czar was, navigating it himself. The scattered remains of the Swedish fleet made the best of their way home; and the news of this accident threw all Stockholm into confusion, which now began to tremble for its own safety.

Much about the same time, colonel Schouvalow Neuschlof attacked the only remaining fortress on the western side of Finland, and made himself master of it, after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

This affair of Aland was, next to that of Pultowa, the most glorious that had ever befallen the arms of Peter the Great, who now saw himself master of Finland, the government of which he committed to prince Galitzin, and returned to Petersburg victorious over the whole naval force of Sweden, and more than ever respected by his allies; the stormy season now approaching, not permitting him to remain longer with his ships in the
Fin-

Finlandish and Bothnic seas. His good fortune also brought him back to his capital, just as the czarina was brought to bed of a princess, who died, however, about a year afterwards. He then instituted the order of St. Catherine, in honour of his consort *, and celebrated the birth of his daughter by a triumphal entry, which was, of all the festivals to which he had accustomed his subjects, that which they held in the greatest esteem. This ceremony was ushered in by bringing nine Swedish galleys, and seven prames filled with prisoners, and rear admiral Erenschild's own ship, into the harbour of Cronstadt.

The cannon, colours, and standards taken in the expedition to Finland, and which had come home in the Russian admiral's ship, were brought on this occasion to Petersburg, and entered that metropolis in order of battle. A triumphal arch which the czar had caused to be erected, and which, as usual, was made from a model of his own, was decorated with the insignia of his conquests. Under this arch the victors marched in procession, with admiral Apraxin at their head; then followed the czar in quality of rear admiral, and the other officers according to their several ranks. They were all presented one after another to the vice-admiral Rodamonoski, who, at this ceremony, re-

* In the preamble to this institution, the czar declared, that it was to perpetuate the memory of her love in his distressed condition on the banks of the river Pruth. He invested her with full power, to bestow it on such of her own sex as she should think proper. The ensigns of this order are, a broad white ribband, and wore over the right shoulder, with a medal of St. Catherine, adorned with precious stones, and the motto, "Out of love and fidelity."

presented the sovereign. This temporary vice-emperor distributed gold medals amongst all the officers, and others of silver to the soldiers and sailors. The Swedish prisoners likewise passed under the triumphal arch, and admiral Erenschild followed immediately after the czar, his conqueror. When they came to the place where the vice-czar was seated on his throne, admiral Apraxin presented to him rear-admiral Peter, who demanded to be made vice-admiral, in reward for his services. It was then put to the vote, if his request should be granted; and it may easily be conceived that he had the majority on his side.

After this ceremony was over, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, with a love for his country, and a thirst of fame, the czar made the following speech to those present; a speech which deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

“Countrymen and friends, what man is there
“among you, who could have thought, twenty
“years ago, that we should one day fight together on the Baltic sea, in ships built by our
“own hands; and that we should establish settlements in countries conquered by our own
“labours and valour?—Greece is said to
“have been the antient seat of the arts and sciences: they afterwards took up their abode
“in Italy, from whence they spread themselves through every part of Europe. It is now our
“turn to call them ours, if you will second my
“designs, by joining study to obedience. The
“arts circulate in this globe, as the blood does
“in the human body; and perhaps they may
“establish their empire amongst us, on their
“return

“return back to Greece, their mother country; and I even venture to hope, that we may one day put the most civilized nations to the blush, by our noble labours, and the solid glory resulting therefrom.”

Here is the true substance of this speech, so every way worthy of a great founder, and which has lost its chief beauties in this, and every other translation; but the principal merit of this eloquent harangue, is its having been spoken by a victorious monarch, at once the founder and law-giver of his empire.

The old boyards listened to this speech, with greater regret for the abolition of their ancient customs, than admiration of their master's glory; but the young ones could not hear him without tears of joy.

The splendor of these times were further heightened by the return of the Russian ambassa-

dors from Constantinople, with a
Sept. 15. confirmation of the peace with the
1714. Turks: an ambassador sent by Sha

Hussein from Russia, had arrived some time before with a present to the czar of an elephant and five lions. He received at the same time an ambassador from Mahomet Bahadir, khan of the Usbeck Tartars, requesting his protection against another tribe of Tartars; so that both extremities of Asia and Europe seemed to join to offer him homage, and add to his glory.

The regency of Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in relation to
their

their proceedings; and immediately after the victory the czar gained over their navy, they sent to the conqueror to demand a passport, for an officer charged with proposals of peace. The passport was sent; but just as the person appointed to carry on the negotiation was on the point of setting out, the princess Ulrica Eleonora, sister to Charles XII. received advice from the king her brother, that he was preparing, at length, to quit Turkey, and return home to fight his own battles. Upon this news the regency did not dare to send the negotiator (whom they had already privately named) to the czar: and therefore resolved to support their ill-fortune till the arrival of Charles to retrieve it.

In effect, Charles, after a stay of five years and some months in Turkey, set out from that kingdom in the latter end of October 1714. Every one knows that he observed the same singularity in his journey, which characterised all the actions of his life. He arrived at Stralsund the twenty-second of November following. As soon as he got there, baron de Goertz came to pay his court to him; and though he had been the instrument of one part of his misfortunes, yet he justified his conduct with so much art, and filled the imagination of Charles with such flattering hopes, that he gained his confidence, as he had already done that of every other minister and prince with whom he had entered into any negotiations. In short, he made him believe, that means might be found to draw off the czar's allies, and thereby procure an honourable peace, or at least to carry on the war upon an equal footing; and from this time Goertz gained a greater ascendancy over the mind

mind of the king of Sweden than ever count Piper had.

The first thing which Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund, was to demand a supply of money from the citizens of Stockholm, who readily parted with what little they had left, as not being able to refuse any thing to a king, who asked only to bestow, who lived as hard as the meanest soldier, and exposed his life equally in defence of his country. His misfortunes, his captivity, his return to his dominions, so long deprived of his presence, were arguments which prepossessed alike his own subjects and foreigners in his favour, who could not forbear at once to blame and admire, to compassionate and to assist him. His reputation was of a kind totally differing from that of Peter the Great; it consisted not in cherishing the arts and sciences, in enacting laws, in establishing a form of government, nor in introducing commerce among his subjects; it was confined entirely to his own person. He placed his chief merit in a valour superior to what is commonly called courage. He defended his dominions with a greatness of soul equal to that valour, and aimed only to inspire other nations with awe and respect for him: hence he had more partisans than allies.

C H A P. VI.

State of EUROPE at the return of CHARLES XII.
Siege of STRALSUND.

WHEN Charles XII. returned to his dominions in the year 1714, he found the state of affairs in Europe very different from that in which he had left them. Queen Anne of England was dead, after having made peace with France. Lewis XIV. had secured the monarchy of Spain for his grandson, the duke of Anjou, and had obliged the emperor Charles VI. and the Dutch to agree to a peace, which their situation rendered necessary to them, so that the affairs of Europe had put on altogether a new face.

Those of the north had undergone a still greater change. Peter was become sole arbiter in that part of the world: the elector of Hanover, who had been called to fill the British throne, had views of extending his territories in Germany, at the expence of Sweden, who had never had any possessions in that country, but since the reign of the great Gustavus. The king of Denmark aimed at recovering Scania, the best province of Sweden, which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, laid claim to a part of that province. On the other hand, the Holstein family, oppressed by the king of Denmark, and the duke of Mecklenburg, almost at open war with his subjects, were suing to Peter the Great to take them under his pro-

protection. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was desirous to have the duchy of Courland annexed to Poland; so that, from the Elbe to the Baltic sea, Peter the First was considered as the support of the several crowned heads, as Charles XII. had been their greatest terror.

Many negotiations were set on foot after the return of Charles to his dominions, but nothing had been done. That prince thought he could raise a sufficient number of ships of war and privateers, to put a stop to the rising power of the czar by sea; with respect to the land-war, he depended upon his own valour; and Goertz, who was on a sudden become his prime minister, persuaded him, that he might find means to defray the expence, by coining copper money, to be taken at ninety-six times less than its real value, a thing unparalleled in the histories of any state; but, in the month of April 1715, the first Swedish privateers that put to sea were taken by the czar's men of war, and a Russian army marched into the heart of Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, now sat down with their united forces before Stralsund, and Charles XII. beheld himself returned from his confinement at Demirtash, and Demirtoca on the Black sea, only to be more closely pent up on the borders of the Baltic.

We have already shewn, in the history of this extraordinary man, with what haughty and unembarrassed resolution he braved the united forces of his enemies in Stralsund; and shall therefore, in this place, only add a single circumstance, which, though trivial, may serve to shew the peculiarity of his character. The greatest part of his officers having been either killed or wounded

wounded during the siege, the duty fell hard upon the few who were left. Baron de Reichel, a colonel, having sustained a long engagement upon the ramparts, and being tired out with repeated watchings and fatigues, had thrown himself upon a bench to take a little repose; when he was called up to mount guard again upon the ramparts, as he was dragging himself along, hardly able to stand, and cursing the obstinacy of the king his master, who subjected all those about him to such insufferable and fruitless fatigues, Charles happened to overhear him: upon which, stripping off his own cloak, he spread it on the ground before him, saying, "My dear Reichel, you are quite spent, come, I have had an hour's sleep, which has refreshed me, I'll take the guard for you, while you finish your nap, and will wake you when I think it is time;" and so saying, he wrapt the colonel up in his cloak; and notwithstanding all his resistance, obliged him to lie down to sleep, and mounted the guard himself.

It was during this siege that the elector of Hanover, lately made king of England, purchased of the king of Denmark the province of Bremen and Verden, with the

Oct. 1715. city of Stade, which the Danes had taken from Charles XII. This

purchase cost king George 800,000 German crowns. In this manner were the dominions of Charles bartered away, while he defended the city of Stralsund, inch by inch, till at length nothing was left of it but a heap

Dec. 1713. of ruins, which his officers compelled him to leave; and when he

was

was in a place of safety, general Duker delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia.

Some time afterwards, Duker being presented to Charles, that monarch reproached him with having capitulated with his enemies; when Duker replied, "I had too great a regard for your majesty's honour, to continue to defend a place which you was obliged to leave." However, the Prussians continued in possession of it no longer than the year 1721, when they gave it up at the general peace.

During the siege of Stralsund, Charles received another mortification, which would have been still more severe, if his heart had been as sensible to the emotions of friendship, as it was to those of fame and honour. His prime minister, count Piper, a man famous throughout all Europe, and of unshaken fidelity to his prince (notwithstanding the assertions of certain rash persons, or the authority of a mistaken writer): this Piper, I say, had been the victim of his master's ambition ever since the battle of Pultowa. As there was at that time no cartel for the exchange of prisoners subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained in confinement at Moscow, and although he had not been sent into Siberia, as the other prisoners were, yet his situation was greatly to be pitied. The czar's finances at that time were not managed with so much fidelity as they ought to be, and his many new establishments required an expence which he could with difficulty answer. In particular, he owed a considerable sum of money to the Dutch, on account of two of their merchant ships which had been burnt on the coast of Finland, in the descent the czar had made

made on that country. Peter pretended that the Swedes were to make good the damage, and wanted to engage count Piper to charge himself with this debt: accordingly he was sent for from Moscow to Petersburg, and his liberty was offered him, in case he could draw upon Sweden letters of exchange to the amount of 60,000 crowns. It is said that he actually did draw bills for this sum upon his wife at Stockholm, but that she being either unable or unwilling to take them up, they were returned, and the king of Sweden never gave himself the least concern about paying the money. Be this as it may, count Piper was closely confined in the castle of Schlusselfbourg, where he died the year after, at the age of seventy. His remains were sent to the king of Sweden, who gave them a magnificent burial; a vain and melancholy return to an old servant, for a life of suffering, and so deplorable an end!

Peter was satisfied with having got possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Cærelia, and Ingria, which he looked upon as his own provinces, and to which he had, moreover, added almost all Finland, which served as a kind of pledge, in case his enemies should conclude a peace. He had married one of his nieces to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg, in the month of 1715. April of the same year, so that all the sovereigns of the north were now either his allies or his creatures. In Poland, he kept the enemies of king Augustus in awe; one of his armies, consisting of about 8000 men, having, without any loss, quelled several of those confederacies, which are so frequent in that country of liberty and anarchy: on the other hand,

hand, the Turks, by strictly observing their treaties, left him at full liberty to exert his power, and execute his schemes in their utmost extent.

In this flourishing situation of his affairs, scarcely a day passed without being distinguished by new establishments, either in the navy, the army, or the legislature: he himself composed a military code for the infantry.

Nov. 8.] He likewise founded a naval academy at Petersburg; dispatched Lange to China and Siberia, with a commission of trade; set mathematicians to work, in drawing charts of the whole empire; built a summer's palace at Petershoff, and at the same time built forts on the banks of the Irtysh, stopped the incursions and ravages of the Bukari* on the one side, and, on the other, suppressed the Tartars of Kouban.

1715.] His prosperity seemed now to be at its zenith, by the empress Catherine's being delivered of a son, and an heir to his dominions being given him, in a prince born to the Czarrowitz Alexis; but the joy for these happy events, which fell out within a few days of each other, was soon damped by the death of the empress's son; and the sequel of this history will shew us, that the fate of the Czarrowitz was too unfortunate, for the birth of a son to this prince to be looked upon as an happiness.

The delivery of the czarina put a stop for some time to her accompanying, as usual, her royal consort in all his expeditions by sea and

* Inhabitants of a small town of Hungarian Dalmatia, with a harbour, from whence the neighbouring sea takes the name of Golfo di Bickariga.

land ; but, as soon as she was up again, she followed him to new adventures.

C H A P. VII.

New Travels of the C Z A R.

WISMAR was at this time besieged by the czar's allies. This town, which belonged of right to the duke of Mecklenburg, is situated on the Baltic, about seven leagues distant from Lubeck, and might have rivalled that city in its extensive trade, being once one of the most considerable of the Hanse Towns, and the duke of Mecklenburg exercised therein a full power of protection, rather than of sovereignty. This was one of the German territories yet remaining to the Swedes, in virtue of the peace of Westphalia : but it was now obliged to share the same fate with Stralsund. The allies of the czar pushed the siege with the greatest vigour, in order to make themselves masters of it before that prince's troops should arrive ; but Peter himself coming before the place in person, Feb. 1716. after the capitulation, which had been made without his privacy, made the garrison prisoners of war. He was not a little incensed, that his allies should have left the king of Denmark in possession of a town which was the right of a prince, who had married his niece ; and his resentment on this occasion, (which that artful minister de Goertz soon after turned to his own advantage,) laid the first foundation of the peace, which he meditated to bring about between the czar and Charles XII.

Goertz

Goertz took the first opportunity to insinuate to the czar, that Sweden was sufficiently humbled, and that he should be careful not to suffer Denmark and Prussia to become too powerful. The czar joined in opinion with him, and as he had entered into the war, merely from motives of policy, whilst Charles carried it on wholly on the principles of a warrior; he, from that instant, slackened in his operations against the Swedes, and Charles, every where unfortunate in Germany, determined to risk one of those desperate strokes which success only can justify, and carried the war into Norway.

In the mean time, Peter was desirous to make a second tour thro' Europe. He had undertaken his first, as a person who travelled for instruction in the arts and sciences: but this second, he made as a Prince, who wanted to dive into the secrets of the several courts. He took the czarina with him to Copenhagen, Lubeck, Schwerin, and Nyfadt. He had an interview with the king of Prussia at the little town of Aversberg, from thence he and the empress went to Hamburg, and to Altena, which had been burned by the Swedes, and which they caused to be rebuilt. Descending the Elbe as far as Stade, they passed through Bremen, where the magistrates prepared a firework and illuminations for them, which formed, in an hundred different places,

these words, "Our Deliverer is come
Dec. 17. "amongst us." At length, he arrived

1716. once more at Amsterdam, and visited the little hut at Saardam, where he had first learned the art of ship-building, about eighteen years before, and found his old dwelling converted into a handsome and commodi-

ous house, which is still to be seen, and goes by the name of the prince's house.

It may easily be conceived, with what a kind of idolatry he was received by a trading and sea-faring set of people, whose companion he had heretofore been, and who thought they saw in the conqueror of Pultowa, a pupil who had learned from them to gain naval victories; and had, after their example, established trade and navigation in his own dominions. In a word, they looked upon him as a fellow-citizen, who had been raised to the imperial dignity.

The life, the travels, the actions of Peter the Great, as well as of his rival Charles of Sweden, exhibit a surprising contrast to the manners which prevail amongst us, and which are, perhaps, rather too delicate; and this may be one reason, that the history of these two famous men so much excites our curiosity.

The czarina had been left behind at Schwerin indisposed, being greatly advanced in her pregnancy; nevertheless, as soon as she was able to travel, she set out to join the czar in Holland, but was taken in labour at Wesel,

Jan. 14. and there delivered of a prince, who
1717. lived but one day. It is not customary with us for a lying-in-woman

to stir abroad for some time; but the czarina set out, and arrived at Amsterdam in ten days after her labour. She was very desirous to see the little cabin her husband had lived and worked in. Accordingly she and the czar went together, without any state or attendance, excepting only two servants, and dined at the house of a rich ship-builder of Saardam, whose name

was

was Kalf, and who was one of the first who had traded to Petersburg. His son had lately arrived from France, whither Peter was going. The czar and czarina took great pleasure in hearing an adventure of this young man, which I should not mention here, only as it may serve to shew the great difference between the manners of that country and ours.

Old Kalf, who had sent this son of his to Paris, to learn the French tongue, was desirous that he should live in a genteel manner during his stay there; and accordingly had ordered him to lay aside the plain garb which the inhabitants of Saardam are in general accustomed to wear, and to provide himself with fashionable cloaths at Paris, and to live, in a manner, rather suitable to his fortune than his education; being sufficiently well acquainted with his son's disposition, to know, that this indulgence would have no bad effect on his natural frugality and sobriety.

As a calf is in the French language called *Veau*, our young traveller, when he arrived at Paris, took the name of *De Veau*. He lived in a splendid manner, spent his money freely, and made several genteel connections. Nothing is more common at Paris, than to bestow, without reserve, the title of count and marquis, whether a person has any claim to it or not, or even if he is barely a gentleman. This absurd practice has been allowed by the government, in order that, by thus confounding all ranks, and consequently humbling the nobility, there might be less danger of civil wars, which, in former times, were so frequent and destructive to the peace of

the state. In a word, the title of marquis and count, without possessions equivalent to that dignity, are like those of knight, without being of any order, or abbé; without any church-preferment; of no consequence, and not looked upon by the sensible part of the nation.

Young Mr. Kalf was always called the count de Veau by his acquaintance and his own servants: he frequently made one in the parties of the princesses; he played at the duchess of Berri's, and few strangers were treated with greater marks of distinction, or had more general invitations among polite company. A young nobleman, who had been always one of his companions in these parties, promised to pay him a visit at Saardam, and was as good as his word; when he arrived at the village, he enquired for the house of count Kalf; when being shewn into a carpenter's work-shop, he there saw his former gay companion, the young count, dressed in a jacket and trowsers, after the Dutch fashion, with an ax in his hand, at the head of his father's workmen. Here he was received by his friend, in that plain manner to which he had been accustomed from his birth, and from which he never deviated. The sensible reader will forgive this little digression, as it is a satire on vanity, and a panygerick on true manners.

The czar continued three months in Holland, during which he passed his time in matters of a more serious nature than the adventure just related. Since the treaties of Nimeguen, Ryfwick, and Utrecht, the Hague had preserved the reputation of being the center of negotiations in Europe. This little city, or rather village, the most pleasant of any in the north, is chiefly

chiefly inhabited by foreign ministers, and by travellers, who come for instruction to this great school. They were at that time laying the foundation of a great revolution in Europe. The czar having gotten intelligence of the approaching storm, prolonged his stay in the Low Countries, that he might be nearer at hand, to observe the machinations going forward, both in the north and south, and prepare himself for the part which it might be necessary for him to act therein.

C H A P. VIII.

Continuation of the travels of PETER the
G R E A T. Conspiracy of baron GOERTZ.
Reception of the czar in FRANCE.

HE plainly saw that his allies were jealous of his power, and found that there is often more trouble with friends than with enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal subjects of those divisions, which almost always subsist between neighbouring princes, who share in conquests. Peter was not willing that the Danes should take possession of Wismar for themselves, and still less that they should demolish the fortifications, and yet they did both the one and the other.

He openly protected the duke of Mecklenburg, who had married his niece, and whom he regarded like a son-in-law, against the nobility of the country, and the king of England as openly protected these latter. On the other hand, he was greatly discontented with the king

of Poland, or rather with his minister, count Fleming, who wanted to throw off that dependence on the czar, which necessity and gratitude had imposed.

The courts of England, Poland, Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg, were severally agitated with intrigues and cabals.

Towards the end of the year 1716, and beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, as Bassevitz tells us in his memoirs, was weary of having only the title of counsellor of Holstein, and being only private plenipotentiary to Charles XII. was the chief promoter of these intrigues, with which he intended to disturb the peace of all Europe. His design was to bring Charles XII. and the czar together, not only with a view to finish the war between them, but to unite them in friendship, to replace Stanislaus on the crown of Poland, and to wrest Bremen and Verden out of the hands of George I. king of England, and even to drive that prince from the English throne, in order to put it out of his power to appropriate to himself any part of the spoils of Charles XII.

There was at the same time a minister of his own character, who had formed a design to overturn the two kingdoms of England and France: this was cardinal Alberoni, who had more power at that time in Spain, than Goertz had in Sweden, and was of as bold and enterprising a spirit as himself, but much more powerful, as being at the head of affairs, in a kingdom infinitely more rich, and never paid his creatures and dependants in copper-money.

Goertz, from the borders of the Baltic sea, soon formed a connection with Alberoni in Spain.

Spain. The cardinal and he both held a correspondence with all the wandering English who were in the interest of the house of Stuart. Goertz made visits to every place where he thought he was likely to find any enemies of king George, and went successively to Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Lorrain, and at length came to Paris, about the end of the year 1716. Cardinal Alberoni began, by remitting to him in Paris, a million of French livres, in order (to use the cardinal's own expression) to set fire to the train.

Goertz proposed, that Charles XII. should yield up several places to the czar, in order to be in a condition to recover all the others from his enemies, and that he might be at liberty to make a descent in Scotland, while the partisans of the Stuart family should make an effectual rising in England; after their former vain attempts to effect these views, it was necessary to deprive the king of England of his chief support, which at that time was the regent of France. It was certainly very extraordinary, to see France in league with England, against the grandson of Lewis XIV. whom she herself had placed on the throne of Spain, at the expence of her blood and treasure, notwithstanding the strong confederacy formed to oppose him; but it must be considered, that every thing was now out of its natural order, and the interests of the regent not those of the kingdom. Alberoni, at that time, was carrying on a confederacy in France against this very regent *. And the foundations of this

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* The conspiracy carried on in France by cardinal Alberoni, was discovered in a very singular manner. The Spanish ambassador's

grand project were laid almost as soon as the plan itself had been formed. Goertz was the first who was let into the secret, and was to have made a journey into Italy in disguise, to hold a conference with the pretender, in the neighbourhood of Rome; from thence he was to have hastened to the Hague, to have an interview

sador's secretary, who used frequently to go to the house of one La Follon, a famous procureur of Paris, to amuse himself for an hour or two after the fatigues of business, had appointed a young nymph, whom he was fond of, to meet him there at nine o'clock in the evening; but did not come to her till near two o'clock in the morning. The lady, as may be supposed, reproached him with the little regard he paid to her charms, or his own promise, but he excused himself, by saying, that he had been obliged to stay to finish a long dispatch in cyphers, which was to be sent away that very night by a courier to Spain: so saying, he undressed and threw himself into bed, where he quietly fell asleep. In pulling off his cloaths, he had by accident dropt a paper out of his pocket, which, by its bulk, raised in the nymph that curiosity so natural to her sex. She picked it up, and read it partly over, when the nature of its contents made her resolve to communicate them to La Follon; accordingly, she framed some excuse for leaving the room, and immediately went to the apartment of the old lady, and opened her budget; La Follon, who was a woman of superior understanding to most in her sphere, immediately saw the whole consequence of the affair; and, after having recommended to the girl, to amuse her gallant as long as possible, she immediately went to waken the regent, to whom she had access at all hours, for matters of a very different nature to the present. This prince, whose presence of mind was equal to every exigency, immediately dispatched different couriers to the frontiers; in consequence of which, the Spanish ambassador's messenger was stopped at Bayonne, and his dispatches taken from him; upon decyphering of which, they were found exactly to agree with the original delivered to the regent by La Follon: upon this the prince of Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador, was put under an arrest, and all his papers seized; after which he was sent under a strong guard to the frontiers, where they left him, to make the best of his way to his own country. Thus an event, which would have brought the kingdom of France to the verge of destruction, was frustrated by a votary of Venus, and a priestess of the temple of pleasure.

with

with the czar, and then to have settled every thing with the king of Sweden.

The author of this history is particularly well informed of every circumstance here advanced, for baron Goertz proposed to him to accompany him in these journies; and, notwithstanding he was very young at that time, he was one of the first witnesses to a great part of these intrigues.

Goertz returned from Holland in the latter part of 1716, furnished with bills of exchange from cardinal Alberoni, and letters plenipotentiary from Charles XII. It is incontestable that the Jacobite party were to have made a rising in England, while Charles, in his return from Norway, was to make a descent in the North of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his own dominions on the continent, was now going to invade and overturn those of his neighbours, and just escaped from his prison in Turkey, and from amidst the ruins of his own city of Stralsund. Europe might have beheld him placing the crown of Great Britain on the head of the son of James II. in London, as he had before done that of Poland on Stanislaus at Warsaw.

The czar, who was acquainted with a part of Goertz's projects, waited for the unfolding of the rest, without entering into any of his plans, or indeed knowing them all. He was as fond of great and extraordinary enterprizes as Charles XII. Goertz, or Alberoni; but then it was as the founder of a state, a law-giver, and a sound politician; and perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and even Charles himself, were rather men of restless souls, who sought after great adventures,

tures, than persons of solid understanding, who took their measures with a just precaution; or perhaps after all, their ill successes may have subjected them to the charge of rashness and imprudence.

During Goertz's stay at the Hague, the czar did not see him, as it would have given too much umbrage to his friends the States General, who were in close alliance with, and attached to the party of the king of England; and even his ministers visited him only in private, and with great precaution, having orders from their master to hear all he had to offer, and to flatter him with hopes, without entering into any engagement, or making use of his (the czar's) name in their conferences. But notwithstanding all these precautions, those who understood the nature of affairs plainly saw by his inactivity, when he might have made a descent upon Scania with the joint fleets of Russia and Denmark, by his visible coolness towards his allies, and the little regard he paid to their complaints, and lastly, by this journey of his, that there was a great change in affairs, which would very soon manifest itself.

In the month of January 1717, a Swedish packet-boat, which was carrying letters over to Holland, being forced by a storm upon the coast of Norway, put into harbour there. The letters were seized, and those of baron de Goertz and some other publick ministers being opened, furnished sufficient evidence of the projected revolution. The court of Denmark communicated these letters to the English ministry, who gave orders for arresting the Swedish minister Gillembourg then at the court of London,

London, and seizing his papers; upon examining which they discovered part of his correspondence with the Jacobites.

Feb. 1717.] King George immediately wrote to the States General, requiring them to cause the person of baron Goertz to be arrested, agreeable to the treaty of union subsisting between England and that republic for their mutual security. But this minister, who had his creatures and emissaries in every part, was quickly informed of this order; upon which he instantly quitted the Hague, and was got as far as Arnheim, a town on the frontiers, when the officers and guards, who were in pursuit of him, and who are seldom accustomed to use such diligence in that country, came up with and took him, together with all his papers: he was strictly confined and severely treated; and secretary Stank, the person who had counterfeited the sign manual of the young duke of Holstein in the affair of Toningen, experienced still harsher usage. In fine, the count of Gillembourg, the Swedish envoy to the court of Great Britain, and the baron de Goertz, minister plenipotentiary from Charles XII. were examined like criminals, the one at London, and the other at Arnheim, while all the foreign ministers exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations.

This privilege, which is much more insisted upon than understood, and whose limits and extent have never yet been fixed, has in almost every age received violent attacks. Several ministers have been driven from the courts where they resided in a publick character, and even their persons have been more than once seized upon,

upon, but this was the first instance of foreign ministers being interrogated at the bar of a court of justice, as if they were natives of the country. The court of London and the States General laid aside all rules upon seeing the dangers which menaced the house of Hanover ; but in fact, this danger, when once discovered, ceased to be any longer danger, at least at that juncture.

The historian Norberg must have been very ill informed, have had a very indifferent knowledge of men and things, or at least have been strangely blinded by partiality, or under severe restrictions from his own court, to endeavour to persuade his readers, that the king of Sweden had not a very great share in this plot.

The affront offered to his ministers fixed Charles more than ever in his resolution to try every means to dethrone the king of England. But here he found it necessary, once in his life-time, to make use of dissimulation. He disowned his ministers and their proceedings both to the regent of France and the States General, from the former of whom he expected a subsidy, and with the latter it was for his interest to keep fair. He did not however give the king of England so much satisfaction, and his ministers Goertz and Gillembourg were kept six months in confinement, and this repeated insult animated in him the desire of revenge.

Peter, in the midst of all these alarms and jealousies, kept himself quiet, waiting with patience the event of all from time ; and having established such good order throughout his vast dominions, as that he had nothing to fear either at home or from abroad, he resolved to make
a jour-

a journey to France. Unhappily he did not understand the French language, by which means he was deprived of the greatest advantage he might have reaped from his journey; but he thought there might be something there worthy observation, and he had a mind to be a nearer witness of the terms on which the regent stood with the king of England, and whether that prince was staunch to his alliance.

Peter the Great was received in France as such a monarch ought to be. Marshal Tessé was sent to meet him, with a number of the principal lords of the court, a company of guards, and the king's coaches; but he, according to his usual custom, travelled with such expedition, that he was at Gournay when the equipages arrived at Elbeuf. Entertainments were made for him in every place on the road where he chose to partake of them. On his arrival he was received in the Louvre, where the royal apartments were prepared for him, and others for the princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki, the vice chancellor Shaffiroff, the ambassador Tolstoy, the same who had suffered in his person that notorious violation of the laws of nations in Turkey, and for the rest of his retinue. Orders were given for lodging and entertaining him in the most splendid and sumptuous manner; but Peter, who was come only to see what might be of use to him, and not to suffer these ceremonious triflings, which were a restraint upon his natural plainness, and consumed a time that was precious to him, went the same night to take up his lodgings at the other end of the city, in the Hôtel of Lesdiguières,

ère, belonging to Marshal Villeroi, where he was entertained at the king's expence in the same manner as he would have been at the Louvre.

The next day the regent of May 8, 1717. France went to make him a visit in the before-mentioned hôtel, and the day afterwards the young king, then an infant, was sent to him under the care of his governor the Marshal de Villeroi, whose father had been governor to Lewis XIV. On this occasion they by a polite artifice spared the czar the troublesome restraint of returning this visit immediately after receiving it, by allowing an interval of two days for him to receive the respects of the several corporations of the city; the second night he went to visit the king: the household were all under arms, and they brought the young king quite to the door of the czar's coach. Peter surprized and uneasy at the prodigious concourse of people assembled about the infant monarch, took him in his arms, and carried him in that manner for some time.

Certain ministers of more cunning than understanding, have pretended in their writings, that marshal Villeroi wanted to make the young King of France take the upper hand on this occasion, and that the czar made use of this stratagem to overturn the ceremonial under the appearance of good nature and tenderness: but this notion is equally false and absurd. The natural good breeding of the French court, and the respect due to the person of Peter the Great, would not permit a thought of turning the honours intended him into an affront. The ceremonial consisted in doing every thing for a great monarch and a great man, that he himself could have

have desired, if he had given any attention to matters of this kind. The journies of the emperors Charles IV. Sigismund, and Charles V. to France, were by no means comparable, in point of splendor, to this of Peter the Great. They visited this kingdom only from motives of political interest, and at a time when the arts and sciences, as yet in their infancy, could not render the æra of their journey so memorable: but when Peter the Great, on his going to dine with the duke d'Antin in the palace of Petit-bourg, about three leagues out of Paris, saw his own picture, which had been drawn for the occasion, brought on a sudden, and placed in a room where he was, he then found that no people in the world knew so well how to receive such a guest as the French.

He was still more surprized, when, on going to see them strike the medals in the long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists are so handsomely lodged; a medal which they were then striking happening to fall to the ground, the czar stooped hastily down to take it up, when he beheld his own head engraved thereon, and on the reverse a fame standing with one foot upon a globe, and underneath these words from Virgil, "*Vires acquirit eundo*;" an allusion equally delicate and noble, and elegantly adapted to his travels and his fame. Several of these medals in gold were presented to him, and to all those who attended him. Wherever he went to view the works of any artists, they laid the master-pieces of their performances at his feet, which they besought him to accept. In a word, when he visited the manufactures of the Gobelins, the workshop of the

"pire on thee, to have taught me to govern the other." And now, before he quitted France, he was desirous to see the famous Madam de Maintenon, whom he knew to be in fact the widow of Lewis XIV. and who was now drawing very near her end; and his curiosity was the more excited by the kind of conformity he found between his own marriage and that of Lewis; though with this difference between the king of France and him, that he had publickly married an heroine, whereas Lewis XIV. had only privately enjoyed an amiable wife.

The czarina did not accompany her husband in this journey: he was apprehensive that the excess of ceremony would be troublesome to her, as well as the curiosity of a court little capable of distinguishing the true merit of a woman, who had braved death by the side of her husband both by sea and land, from the banks of the Pruth to the coast of Finland.

C H A P. IX.

Of the return of the czar to his dominions.
Of his politicks and occupations.

THE behaviour of the Sorbonne to Peter when he went to visit the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu, deserves to be treated of by itself.

Some doctors of this university were desirous to have the honour of bringing about an union between the Greek and Latin churches. Those who are acquainted with antiquity need not be told, that the Christian religion was first introduced into the West by the Asiatic Greeks; that it was born in the East, and that the first fathers, the first councils, the first liturgies, and the first rites, were all from the East; that there is not a single title or office in the hierarchy, but was in Greek, and thereby plainly shews the same from whence they were all derived to us. Upon the division of the Roman empire, it was next to impossible, but that sooner or later there must be two religions as well as two empires, and that the same schism should arise between the eastern and western Christians, as between the followers of Osman and the Persians.

It is this schism which certain doctors of the Sorbonne thought to crush all at once by means of a memorial which they presented to Peter the Great, and effect what Pope Leo IX. and his successors had in vain laboured for many ages to bring about, by legates, councils, and even money.

money. These doctors should have known, that Peter the Great, who was the head of the Russian church, was not likely to acknowledge the pope's authority. They expatiated in their memorial on the liberties of the Gallican church, which the czar gave himself no concern about. They asserted that the popes ought to be subject to the councils, and that a papal decree is not an article of faith: but their representations were in vain, all they got by their pains, was to make the pope their enemy by such free declarations, at the same time that they pleased neither the czar nor the Russian church.

There were in this plan of union certain political views, which the good fathers did not understand, and some points of controversy which they pretended to understand, and which each party explained as they thought proper. It was concerning the Holy Ghost, which, according to the Latin church, proceeds from the Father and the Son, and which at present, according to the Greeks, proceeds from the Father through the Son, after having for a considerable time proceeded from the Father only: on this occasion they quoted a passage in St. Epiphanius, where it is said, "that the Holy Ghost is neither brother to the Son, nor grandson to the Father."

But Peter, when he left Paris, had other business to mind, than that of clearing up passages in St. Epiphanius. Nevertheless, he received the memorial of the Sorbonne with his accustomed affability. That learned body wrote to some of the Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer, though the major part of them were offended at the proposed union. It was in or-

der to remove any apprehensions of such an union, that Peter, some time afterwards, namely, in 1718, when he had driven the jesuits out of his dominions, instituted the ceremony of a burlesque conclave.

He had at his court an old fool, named Jotos, who had learned him to write, and who thought he had, by that trivial service, merited the highest honours and most important post: Peter, who sometimes softened the toils of government, by indulging his people in amusements, which befitted a nation as yet not entirely reformed by his labours, promised his writing-master, to bestow on him one of the highest dignities in the world; accordingly, he appointed him knés papa, or supreme pontiff, with an appointment of 2000 crowns, and assigned him a house to live in, in the Tartarian quarter at Petersburg. He was installed by a number of buffoons, with great ceremony, and four fellows who stammered were appointed to harangue him on the accession. He created a number of cardinals, and marched in procession at their head, and the whole sacred college was made drunk with brandy; after the death of this Jotos, an officer, named Buturlin, was made pope: this ceremony has been thrice renewed at Moscow and Petersburg, the ridiculousness of which, though it appeared of no moment, yet has, by its ridiculousness, confirmed the people in their aversion to a church, which pretended to the supreme power, and whose church had anathematized so many crowned heads. In this manner did the czar revenge the cause of twenty emperors of Germany, ten kings of France, and a number of other sovereigns; and this was all the advantage

tage the Sorbonne gained from its impolitic attempt to unite the Latin and Greek churches.

The czar's journey to France proved of more utility to his kingdom, by bringing about a connection with a trading and industrious people, than could have arisen from the projected union between two rival churches; one of which will always maintain its ancient independance, and the other its new superiority.

Peter carried several artificers with him out of France, in the same manner as he had done out of England; for every nation which he visited, thought it an honour to assist him in his design of introducing the arts and sciences into his new formed state, and to be instrumental in this species of new creation.

In this expedition, he drew up a sketch of a treaty of commerce with France, and which he put into the hands of his ministers at Holland, as soon as he returned thither, but was not signed by the French ambassador Chateauneuf till the 15th Aug. 1717, at the Hague. This treaty not only related to trade, but likewise to bringing about peace in the north. The king of France and the elector of Brandenburg accepted of the office of mediators, which Peter offered them. This was sufficient to give the king of England to understand, that the czar was not well pleased with him, and crowned the hopes of baron Goertz, who, from that time, left nothing undone to bring about an union between Charles and Peter, to stir up new enemies against George the First, and to assist cardinal Alberoni in his schemes in every part of Europe. Goertz now paid and received visits publicly from the czar's ministers at the Hague, to whom he declared,
that

that he was invested with full power from the court of Sweden to conclude a peace.

The czar suffered Goertz to dispose all his batteries, without assisting therein himself, and was prepared either to make peace with the king of Sweden, or to carry on the war, and continued still in alliance with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, and in appearance with the elector of Hanover.

It was evident, that he had no fixed design, but that of profiting of conjunctures and circumstances, and that his main object was to compleat the general establishments he had set on foot. He well knew, that the negotiations and interests of princes, their leagues, their friendships, their jealousies, and their enmities, were subject to change with each revolving year, and that frequently not the smallest traces remain of the greatest efforts in politics. A simple manufactory well established, is often of more real advantage to a state than twenty treaties.

Peter having joined the czarina, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her. They crossed Westphalia, and arrived at Berlin in a private manner. The new king of Prussia was as much an enemy to ceremonious vanities, and the pomp of a court, as Peter himself; and it was an instructive lesson to the *etiquette* of Vienna and Spain, the *punctilio* of Italy, and the politesse of the French court, to see a king, who only made use of a wooden elbow-chair, who went always in the dress of a common soldier, and who had banished from his table, not only all the luxuries,

ries, but even the more moderate indulgences of life.

The czar and czarina observed the same plain manner of living ; and had Charles been with them, the world might have beheld four crown-ed heads, with less pomp and state about them, than a German bishop, or a cardinal of Rome. Never were luxury and effeminacy opposed by such noble examples.

It cannot be denied, that if one of our fellow-subjects had, from mere curiosity, made the fifth part of the journies that Peter I. did for the good of his kingdom, he would have been considered as an extraordinary person, and one who challenged our consideration. From Berlin he went to Dantzick, still accompanied by his wife, and from thence to Mittau, where he protected his niece, the duchess of Courland, lately become a widow. He visited all the places he had conquered, made several new and useful regulations in Petersburg ; he then goes to Moscow, where he rebuilds the houses of several persons that had fallen to ruin ; from thence he transports himself to Czaritsin, on the river Wolga, to stop the incursions of the Cuban Tartars, constructs lines of communication from the Wolga to the Don, and erects forts at certain distances, between the two rivers. At the same time he caused the military code, which he had lately composed, to be printed, and erected a court of justice, to examine into the conduct of his ministers, and to retrieve the disorders in his finances ; he pardons several who were found guilty, and punishes others. Among the latter, was the great prince Menzikoff himself, who stood in need of the royal clemency. But a

sentence more severe, which he thought himself obliged to utter against his own son, filled with bitterness those days, which were, in other respects, covered with so much glory.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings against prince ALEXIS PETROWITZ.

PETER the Great, at the age of seventeen, had married, in the year 1689, Eudocia Theodora, or Theodorouna Lapoukin. Bred up in the prejudices of her country, and incapable of surmounting them like her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in erecting his empire, and forming his people, came from her: she was, as is too common to her sex, a slave to superstition; every new and useful alteration she looked upon as a species of sacrilege; and every foreigner, whom the czar employed to execute his great designs, appeared to her no better than as corruptors and innovators.

Her open and public complaints gave encouragement to the factious, and those who were the advocates for ancient customs and manners. Her conduct, in other respects, by no means made amends for such heavy imperfections. The czar was at length obliged to repudiate her in 1696, and shut her up in a convent at Susdal, where they obliged her to take the veil under the name of Helena.

The son, whom he had by her in 1690, was born unhappily with the disposition of his mother, and that disposition received additional strength from his very first education. My me-
moirs

moirs say, that he was entrusted to the care of superstitious men, who ruined his understanding for ever. 'Twas in vain that they hoped to correct these first impressions, by giving him foreign preceptors; their very quality of being foreigners disgusted him. He was not born destitute of genius; he spoke and writ German well; he had a tolerable notion of designing, and understood something of mathematics: but these very memoirs affirm, that the reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. The young Alexis imagined he saw in these books a condemnation of every thing which his father had done. There were some priests at the head of the malcontents, and by the priests he suffered himself to be governed.

They persuaded him that the whole nation looked with horror upon the enterprises of Peter; that the frequent illnesses of the czar promised but a short life; and that his son could not hope to please the nation, but by testifying his aversion for all changes of custom. These murmurs, and these counsels, did not break out into an open faction or conspiracy; but every thing seemed to tend that way, and the tempers of the people were inflamed.

Peter's marriage with Catherine in 1707, and the children which he had by her, began to sour the disposition of the young Prince. Peter tried every method to reclaim him; he even placed him at the head of the regency for a year; he sent him to travel; he married him in 1711, at the end of the campaign of Pruth, to the princess of Brunswick. This marriage was attended with great misfortunes. Alexis, now twenty-two years old, gave himself up to the debauchery

chery of youth, and that boorishness of ancient manners he so much delighted in. These irregularities almost brutalized him. His wife, despised, ill-treated, wanting even necessaries, and deprived of all comfort, languished away in disappointment, and died at last of grief, the first of November 1715.

She left the prince Alexis one son; and, according to the natural order, this son was one day to become heir to the empire. Peter perceived with sorrow, that when he should be no more, all his labours were likely to be destroyed by those of his own blood. After the death of the princess, he wrote a letter to his son, equally tender and resolute: it finished with these words: "I will still wait a little time, "to see if you will correct yourself; if not, "know that I will cut you off from the succession, as we lop off an useless member. "Don't imagine, that I mean only to intimidate you; don't rely upon the title of being "my only son; for, if I spare not my own life "for my country, and the good of my people, "how shall I spare you? I will rather chuse to "leave my kingdom to a foreigner who deserves "it, than to my own son, who makes himself "unworthy of it."

This is the letter of a father, but it is still more the letter of a legislator; it shews us besides, that the order of succession was not invariably established in Russia, as in other kingdoms, by those fundamental laws which take away from fathers the right of disinheriting their children; and the czar believed he had an undoubted prerogative to dispose of an empire, which he had founded.

At

At this very time the empress Catherine was brought to bed of a prince, who died afterwards in 1719. Whether this news sunk the courage of Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad counsel, he wrote to his father, that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning. "I take God to witness, says he, and I swear by my soul, that I will never pretend to the succession. I put my children into your hands, and I desire only a provision for life."

The czar wrote him a second letter, as follows *: "You speak of the succession, as if I stood

* As these letters and answers afford the most striking evidence of the czar's prudence, and the prince's insincerity, and will convey to the reader a clear idea of the grounds and motives of this extraordinary transaction, we have inserted the following translation of them. The first letter from the czar to his son, is dated the 27th of October 1715, and displays a noble spirit of religion, with the most ardent desire of leaving a successor who should perpetuate his name and glory to future ages.

"Son, (says the czar to him) you cannot be ignorant of what is known to all the world, that our people groaned under the oppression of the Swedes, before the beginning of this present war. By the usurped possession of many of our maritime ports, so necessary to our state, they cut us off from all commerce with the rest of mankind; and we saw, with deep regret, that they had even cast a mist over the eyes of persons of the greatest discernment, who tamely brooked their slavery, and made no complaints to us. You know how much it cost us at the beginning of this war, to make ourselves thoroughly experienced, and to stand our ground in spite of all the advantages which our irreconcilable enemies gained over us. The Almighty alone has conducted us by his hand, and conducts us still. We submitted to that probationary state with resignation to the will of God, not doubting but it was he who made us pass through it: he has accepted our submission; and the same enemy, before whom we were wont to tremble, now trembles before us. These are effects which, under God's assistance, we owe to our labour, and those of our faithful and affectionate sons, and Russian subjects. But while I survey the successes with which God

" stood in need of your consent in the disposal
 " thereof. I reproached you with the aversion
 " you

blest our arms, if I turn my eyes on the posterity that is to succeed me, my soul is pierced with anguish; and I have no enjoyment of my present happiness, when I carry my views into futurity. All my felicity vanishes away like a dream, since you, my son, reject all means of rendering yourself capable of governing well after me. Your incapacity is voluntary; for you cannot excuse yourself from want of genius: it is inclination alone you want. Far less can you plead the want of bodily strength, as if God had not furnished you sufficiently in that respect: for though your constitution be none of the strongest, it cannot be reckoned weak. Yet you will not so much as hear of warlike exercises; tho' it is by those means we are risen from that obscurity in which we were buried, and have made ourselves known to the nations about us, whose esteem we now enjoy. I am far from desiring you to cherish in yourself a disposition to make war for its own sake, and without just reasons: all I demand of you is, that you would apply yourself to learn the military art; because, without understanding the rules of war, it is impossible to be qualified for government. I might set before your eyes many examples of what I propose to you; but shall only mention the Greeks, with whom we are united by the same profession of faith. Whence came the declension of their empire, but from the neglect of arms? Sloth and inaction have subjected them to tyrants, and that slavery under which they have groaned. You are much mistaken, if you imagine it is enough for a prince that he have good generals to act under his orders: no, my son; it is upon the chief himself that the eyes of the world are fixed; they study his inclinations, and easily slide into the imitation of his manners. My brother, during his reign, loved magnificence in dress, and splendid equipage, and horses richly caparisoned; the taste of this country was not much formed that way; but the pleasures of the prince soon became those of the subjects, who are readily led to imitate him both in the objects of his love and disgust. If people are so easily disengaged from things that are only for pleasure, will they not be still more prone to forget, and in process of time wholly to lay aside the use of arms, the exercise of which grows the more irksome the less they are habituated to them? You have no inclination to learn the profession of war; you do not apply yourself to it; and consequently will never know it. How then will you be able to command others, and to judge of the rewards which those subjects deserve who do their duty, or of the punishment

“ you have shewn to all kind of business, and signified to you, that I was highly dissatisfied with
“ your

punishment due to such as fall short of obedience? You must judge only by other people's eyes; and will be considered as a young bird, which, reaching out its beak, is as ready to receive poison, as proper nourishment. You say, the infirm state of your health makes you unfit to bear the fatigues of war: but that is a frivolous excuse. I desire you not to undergo the fatigues of that profession, though it is there that all great captains are begun; but I wish you had an inclination to the military art; and reason may give it you, if you have it not from nature. Had you once this inclination, it would occupy your thoughts at all times, even in your hours of sickness. Ask those who remember my brother's reign: his state of health was much more infirm than your's; he could not manage a horse of never so little mettle, nor hardly mount him; yet he loved horses, and perhaps there never will be in the country finer stables than his. Hence you see, that success does not always depend upon personal labour, but upon the inclination. If you think that there are princes, whose affairs fail not to succeed, tho' they go not to the war in person, you are in the right; but if they go not to the field of battle, they have however an inclination to go, and are acquainted with the military art. For instance, the late king of France did not always take the field himself; but we know to what degree he was a lover of war, and how many glorious exploits he performed therein; which made his campaigns be called the theatre and school of the world. The bent of that prince's mind was not turned to military affairs only, he had also a taste for the polite arts, for manufactures, and other institutions, which have made his kingdom more flourishing than any other. After all these remonstrances which I have laid before you, I return to my first subject, which immediately concerns yourself. I am a man, and consequently must die: to whom shall I leave the care of finishing what by God's grace I have begun, and of preserving what I have in part recovered? To a son who, like that slothful servant in the gospel, buries his talent in the earth, and neglects to improve what God has committed to his trust? How often have I reproached you for your sullenness and indolence? I have been obliged to chastise you on that account. For those several years past, I have hardly spoke to you, because I almost despair of bringing you back to the right way; discouraged and disheartened by the fruitlessness of all my endeavours. You linger on in supine indolence;

" your conduct in general ; but to these particulars you have given me no answer. Paternal
 " exhor-

indolence ; abandoning yourself to shameful pleasures, without extending your foresight to the dangerous consequences which such a conduct must produce both to yourself and the whole state : you confine yourself to the government of your own house, and in that station you acquit yourself very ill ; St. Paul has told us, " he that knows not how to govern his own " house, how shall he be able to rule the church of God ? " In like manner I say to you, since you know not how to manage your domestick affairs, how can you be able to govern a kingdom ? I am determined, at last, to signify to you my final purpose ; being willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a short time, to see if you will reform ; if not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless branch. Do not imagine, that because I have no other child but you †, I mean by this only to intimidate you : I will most certainly execute my resolution ; and God requires it of me. For, since I spare not my own life for the sake of my country and the welfare of my people, why should I allow an effeminate prince to ascend the throne after me, who would sacrifice the interest of the subject to his pleasures ? and should he be obliged to expose his life in their behalf, would leave them to perish, rather than redress their grievances. I will call in a mere stranger to the crown, if he be but worthy of that honour, sooner than my own son, if he is unworthy.

PETER.

To this letter the czarowitz replied : " Most gracious sovereign and father, I have read the letter which your majesty sent me of the 27th of October 1715, after the interment of my wife ; and all the answer I can make to it is, that if your majesty is determined to deprive me of the succession to the crown of Russia, on account of my inability, your will be done. I even request it of you very earnestly ; because I judge not myself fit for government. My memory is greatly impaired ; and without memory there is no managing affairs. The powers both of my body and mind are much weakened by the diseases to which I have been incident, and I am thereby incapacitated for the rule of so great a people. Such a charge requires a man far more vigorous than I am. For these reasons I am not ambitious to second

† This letter was written about eight days before the birth of Peter Petrowitz, the czar's second son.

“ exhortations make no impression on you,
 “ wherefore I resolve to write you this once for
 “ the last time. If you despise the advices I
 “ give you while I am alive, what regard will
 “ you pay to them after my death? but though
 “ you had the inclination at present to be true
 “ to your promises, yet a corrupt priesthood
 “ will be able to turn you at pleasure, and force
 “ you to falsify them. They have no depen-
 “ dence but upon you. You have no sense of
 “ gratitude towards him who gave you your
 “ being. Have you ever assisted him in toils and
 “ labours since you arrived at the age of matu-
 “ rity? Do you not censure and condemn, nay,
 “ even affect to hold in detestation, whatever I
 “ do for the good of my people? In a word, I
 “ have reason to conclude, that if you survive
 “ me, you will overturn every thing that I have
 “ done. Take your choice, either endeavour
 “ to make yourself worthy of the throne, or em-
 “ brace a monastic state. I expect your answer,
 “ either in writing, or by word of mouth,

succeed you (whom God preserve through a length of years) in
 the crown of Russia, even though I had no brother, as I have
 one at present, whom God long preserve. As little will I for
 the future set up any claim to the succession; to the truth of
 which I solemnly swear, taking God to be my witness; and in
 testimony thereof I write and sign these presents. I put my
 children into your hands; and for myself I ask no more of you
 than a bare maintenance during my life, leaving the whole to
 your pleasure.

Your humble servant and son,

ALEXIS.”

Peter soon penetrated through the disguise his son had assum-
 ed, and therefore wrote him the above letter, dated January 19,
 1716, and which he called his “ Last Admonition.”

"otherwise I shall treat you as a common malefactor."

This letter was very severe, and it was easy for the prince to have replied, that he would alter his conduct; instead of which, he only returned a short answer to his father, desiring permission to turn monk*.

This resolution appeared altogether unnatural; and it may furnish matter of surprise, that the czar should think of travelling, and leaving a son at home so obstinate and ill-affected; but, at the same time, his doing so, is next to a proof, that he thought he had no reason to apprehend a conspiracy from that son.

The czar, before he set out for Germany and France, went to pay his son a visit. The prince, who was at that time ill, or at least feigned himself so, received his father in his bed; where he protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he was ready to retire into a cloister. The czar gave him six months to consider of it, and then set out on his travels with the czarina.

No sooner was he arrived at Copenhagen, than he heard (what he might reasonably expect) that the czarowitz conversed only with factious and evil-minded persons, who strove to feed his discontent. Upon this the czar wrote to him, that he had only to chuse between a throne and a convent; and that, if he had any thoughts of

* This letter was couched in the following terms: "Most gracious sovereign and father, yesterday morning I received your letter, of the 19th of this month: my indisposition hinders me from writing to you at large, but I am willing to embrace the monastic state, and I beg your gracious consent thereto.

Your servant, and

unworthy son,

ALEXIS."

Luc-

succeeding him, he must immediately set out and join him at Copenhagen.

But the confidants of the prince remonstrating to him how dangerous it would be to trust himself in a place where he could have no friends to advise him, and where he would be exposed to the anger of an incensed father, and the machinations of a revengeful step-mother; he, under pretence of going to join his father at Copenhagen, took the road to Vienna, and threw himself under the protection of the emperor Charles VI. his brother-in-law, intending to remain at his court till the death of the czar.

This adventure of the czarowitz was nearly the same as that of Lewis XI. of France, who, when he was dauphin, quitted the court of his father Charles VII. and took refuge with the duke of Burgundy; but the dauphin was much more culpable than Alexis, inasmuch as he married in direct opposition to his father's will, raised an army against him, and threw himself into the arms of a prince, who was Charles's declared enemy, and refused to hearken to the repeated instances of his father, to return back to his court.

The czarowitz, on the contrary, had married only in compliance with his father's orders, had never rebelled against him, nor raised an army, nor taken refuge in the dominions of an enemy, and returned to throw himself at his feet, upon the very first letter he received from him: for, as soon as Peter knew that his son had been at Vienna, and had afterwards retired to Tyrol, and from thence to Naples, which, at that time, belonged to the emperor, he dispatched Romanzoff, a captain of his guards, and the privy coun-

fellor Tolstoy, with a letter written with his own hand, and dated at Spa, the 21st July, N. S. 1717. They found the prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elme, and delivered him his father's letter, which was as follows :

“ I now write to you for the last time, to acquaint you, that you must instantly comply with my orders, which will be communicated to you by Tolstoy and Romanzoff. If you obey, I give you my sacred word and promise, that I will not punish you ; and that if you will return home, I will love you more than ever ; but, if you do not, I, as your father, and in virtue of the authority which God has given me over you, denounce against you my eternal curse ; and, as your sovereign, declare to you, that I will find means to punish your disobedience, in which I trust God himself will assist me, and espouse the just cause of an injured parent and king.

“ For the rest, remember that I have never laid any restraint upon you. Was I obliged to leave you at liberty to chuse your way of life ? Had I not the power in my own hands to oblige you to conform to my will ? I had only to command, and make myself obeyed.”

The viceroy of Naples found it no difficult matter to persuade the czarowitz to return to his father. This is an incontestable proof that the emperor had no intentions to enter into any engagements with the prince, that might give umbrage to his father. Alexis therefore returned with the envoys, bringing with him his mistress, Aphrosyne, who had been the companion of his elopement.

We

We may consider the czarowitz as an ill advised young man, who had gone to Vienna, and to Naples, instead of going to Copenhagen, agreeable to the orders of his father and sovereign. Had he been guilty of no other crime than this, which is common enough with young and giddy persons, it was certainly very excusable. The prince determined to return to his father, on the faith of his having taken God to witness, that he not only would pardon him, but that he would love him better than ever. But it appears by the instructions given to the two envoys who went to fetch him back, and even by the czar's own letter, that his father required him to declare the persons who had been his counsellors, and also to fulfil the oath he had made of renouncing the succession.

It seemed difficult to reconcile this exclusion of the czarowitz from the succession, with the other part of the oath, by which the czar had bound himself in his letter, namely, that of loving his son better than ever. Perhaps, divided between paternal love, and the justice he owed to himself and people, as a sovereign, he might limit the renewal of his affection to his son in a convent, instead of to that son on a throne; perhaps, likewise, he was in hopes to reduce him to reason, and to render him worthy of the succession at last, by making him sensible of the loss of a crown which he had forfeited by his own indiscretion. In a circumstance so uncommon, so intricate, and so afflicting, it may easily be supposed that the minds of both father and son were under equal perturbation, and hardly consistent with themselves.

The

The prince arrived at Moscow on the 13th February N. S. 1717, and the same day went to throw himself at his father's feet, who was returned to the city from his travels. They had a long conference together, and a report was immediately spread thro' the city, that the prince and his father were reconciled, and that all past transactions were buried in oblivion. But the next day, orders were issued for the regiments of guards to be under arms at break of day, and for all the czar's ministers, boyards, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall of the castle; as also for the prelates, together with two monks of St. Basile, professors of divinity, to assemble in the cathedral, at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the great castle like a prisoner, and being come in his father's presence, threw himself in tears at his feet, and presented a writing, containing a confession of his faults, declaring himself unworthy of the succession, and imploring only that his life might be spared *.

* The prince's renunciation was couched in the following terms:

" I, the undernamed, declare upon the Holy Gospel, that, on account of the crimes I have committed against his czarish majesty, my father and sovereign, as set forth in his manifesto; I am, through my own fault, excluded from the throne of Russia. Therefore, I confess and acknowledge that exclusion to be just, as having merited it by my own fault and unworthiness; and I hereby oblige myself, and swear in the presence of Almighty God, in unity of nature, and trinity of persons, as my supreme judge, to submit in all things to my father's will, never to set up a claim or pretension to the succession, or accept of it under any pretext whatever, acknowledging my brother Peter Petrowitz as lawful successor to the crown. In testimony whereof, I kiss the holy cross, and sign these presents with my own hand,

" ALEXIS."

The

The czar, raising up his son, withdrew with him into a private room, where he put many questions to him, declaring to him at the same time, that if he concealed any one circumstance relating to his elopement, his life should answer for it. The prince was then brought back to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and the czar's declaration, which had been previously prepared, was there publicly read in his presence †.

In

† As this extraordinary piece cannot fail of being interesting to most part of our readers, we have ventured to subjoin the whole of it in a note, our author having only given some few extracts.

THE CZAR'S DECLARATION.

‘ Peter I. by the grace of God, czar and emperor of Russia, &c. to all our faithful subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, of all the states of the Russian nation. It is notorious, and well known to the greatest part of our faithful subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or who are in our service, with how much care and application we have caused our eldest son Alexis to be brought up and educated; having given him for that purpose, from his infancy, tutors to teach him the Russian tongue, and foreign languages, and to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not only to bring him up in our christian orthodox faith of the Greek profession, but also in the knowledge of political and military affairs, and likewise in the constitution of foreign countries, their customs and languages; thro’ the reading of history, and other books, in all manner of sciences, becoming a prince of his high rank, he might acquire the qualifications worthy of a successor to our throne of Great Russia. Nevertheless, we have seen with grief, that all attention and care, for the education and instruction of our son, proved ineffectual and useless, seeing he always swerved from his filial obedience, shewing no application for what was becoming a worthy successor, and slighting the precepts of the masters we had appointed for him; but, on the contrary, frequenting disorderly persons, from whom he could learn nothing good, or that would be advantageous and useful to him. We have not neglected

In this piece the czar reproaches his son with all those faults we have before related, namely,
his

‘ neglected often to endeavour to reclaim, and bring him back to
‘ his duty, sometimes by caresses and gentle means, sometimes
‘ by reprimands, sometimes by paternal corrections. We have
‘ more than once taken him with us into our army and the
‘ field, that he might be instructed in the art of war, as one of
‘ the chief sciences for the defence of his country ; guarding
‘ him, at the same time, from all hazard of the succession, tho’
‘ we exposed ourself to manifest perils and dangers. We have
‘ at other times left him at Moscow, putting into his hands a
‘ sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him in the art
‘ of government, and that he might learn how to reign after us.
‘ We have likewise sent him into foreign countries, in hopes
‘ and expectation, that seeing, in his travels, governments so
‘ well regulated, this would excite in him some emulation, and
‘ an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care
‘ has been fruitless, and like the seed of the doctrine fallen
‘ upon a rock ; for he has not only refused to follow that which
‘ is good, but even is come to hate it, without shewing any in-
‘ clination, or disposition, either for military or political af-
‘ fairs, hourly and continually conversing with base and disor-
‘ derly persons, whose morals are rude and abominable. As we
‘ were resolved to endeavour, by all imaginable means to re-
‘ claim him from that disorderly course, and inspire him with
‘ an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honour,
‘ we exhorted him to chuse a consort among the chief foreign
‘ houses, as usual in other countries, and hath been practised by
‘ our ancestors the czars of Russia, who have contracted alli-
‘ ances by marriages with other sovereign houses, and we have
‘ left him at liberty to make a choice. He declared his incli-
‘ nation for the princess, grand daughter of the duke of Wol-
‘ fenbottle then reigning, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty
‘ the emperor of the Romans now reigning, and cousin to the
‘ king of Great-Britain ; and having desired us to procure him
‘ that alliance, and permit him to marry that princess, we
‘ readily consented thereunto, without any regard to the great
‘ expence which was necessarily occasioned by that marriage.
‘ But, after its consummation, we found ourselves disappointed
‘ of the hopes we had, that the change in the condition of our
‘ son would produce good fruits, and change in his bad inclina-
‘ tions ; for, notwithstanding his spouse was, as far as we
‘ have been able to observe, a wise sprightly princess, and of a
‘ virtuous conduct, and that he himself had chosen her, he
‘ never-

his little application to study, his connections with the favourers of the ancient customs and manners

‘ nevertheless lived with her in the greatest disunion, while
‘ he redoubled his affection for lewd people, bringing thereby a
‘ disgrace upon our house in the eyes of foreign powers to
‘ whom that princess was related, which drew upon us many
‘ complaints and reproaches. Our frequent advices and exhortations to him, to reform his conduct, proved ineffectual, and
‘ he at last violated the conjugal faith, and gave his affection to
‘ a prostitute of the most servile and low condition, living publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his
‘ lawful spouse, who soon after died; and it was believed that
‘ her grief, occasioned by the disorderly life of her husband,
‘ hastened the end of her days. When we saw his resolution to
‘ persevere in his vicious courses, we declared to him, at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for the future conform to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a
‘ prince, presumptive heir to so great an empire, we would
‘ deprive him of the succession, without any regard to his being
‘ our only son (our second son was not then born) and that
‘ he ought not to rely upon his being such, because we would
‘ rather chuse for our successor a stranger worthy thereof, than
‘ an unworthy son; that we could not leave our empire to such
‘ a successor, who would ruin and destroy what we have, by
‘ God’s assistance, established, and tarnish the glory and honour
‘ of the Russian nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, and willingly exposed our life
‘ on several occasions; besides, that the fear of God’s judgment
‘ would not permit us to leave the government of such vast territories in the hands of one whose insufficiency and unworthiness we were not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him in
‘ the most pressing terms we could make use of, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to repent and return
‘ to his duty. His answer to these remonstrances was, that he
‘ acknowledged himself guilty in all these points; but alleged the weakness of his parts and genius, which did not
‘ permit him to apply himself to the sciences, and other functions recommended to him: he owned himself incapable of
‘ our succession, and desired us to discharge him from the same.
‘ Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with a paternal affection, and joining menaces to our exhortations, we forgot
‘ nothing to bring him back the right way. The operations of the war having obliged us to repair to Denmark, we left him
‘ at Petersburg, to give him time to return to his duty, and
‘ amend

manners of the country, and his ill behaviour to his wife. " He has even violated the conjugal
" faith,

" amend his ways; and afterwards, upon the repeated advices
" we received of the continuance of his disorderly life, we sent
" him orders to come to us at Copenhagen, to make the cam-
" paign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But,
" forgetting the fear and commandments of God, who enjoins
" obedience even to private parents, and much more to those
" who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no
" other return than unheard-of ingratitude; for instead of com-
" ing to us as we ordered, he withdrew, with large sums of mo-
" ney, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to
" live in a criminal course, and put himself under the protection
" of the emperor, raising against us, his father and his lord, num-
" berless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him,
" and intended, without cause, to deprive him of the succession;
" alledging moreover, that even his life was not safe if he con-
" tinued with us, and desired the emperor not only to give him
" refuge in his dominions, but also to protect him against us by
" force of arms. Every one may judge, what shame and disho-
" nour this conduct of our son hath drawn upon us and our em-
" pire, in the face of the whole world; the like instance is hard-
" ly to be found in history. The emperor, tho' informed of his
" excesses, and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law
" to his imperial majesty, thought fit, however, upon these pres-
" sing instances, to appoint him a place where he might reside;
" and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that
" we might not come to the knowledge of it. Mean while his
" long stay having made us fear, out of a tender and fatherly af-
" fection for him, that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent
" persons several ways to get intelligence of him, and after a
" great deal of trouble, we were at last informed by the captain
" of our guard, Alexander Romanzoff, that he was privately
" kept in an imperial fortress at Tyrol; whereupon we wrote a
" letter, with our own hand, to the emperor, to desire that he
" might be sent back to us; but, notwithstanding the emperor
" acquainted him with our demands, and exhorted him to return
" to us, and submit to our will, as being his father and lord,
" yet he alledged, with a great many calumnies against us, that
" he ought not to be delivered into our hands, as if we had been
" his enemy, and a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect
" but death. In short, he persuaded his imperial majesty, instead
" of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to some
" remote place in his dominions, namely, Naples in Italy, and
" keep

“ faith (saith the czar in his manifesto) by giving his affection to a prostitute of the most “ servile

“ keep him there secretly in the castle, under a borrowed name. “ Nevertheless, we having notice of the place where he was, did “ thereupon dispatch to the emperor our privy-counsellor Peter “ Tolstoy, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with a most “ pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain “ our son, contrary to all laws divine and human, according to “ which private parents, and with much more reason those who “ are besides invested with a sovereign authority as we are, have “ an unlimited power over their children, independently of any “ other judge; and we set forth on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our son, and “ on the other, his disobedience; representing in the conclusion, “ the ill consequences and animosities which the refusal of delivering up our son to us might occasion, because we could not “ leave this affair in that condition. We, at the same time, “ ordered those we sent with that letter, to make verbal remonstrances even in more pressing terms, and to declare that we “ should be obliged to revenge, by all possible methods, such detaining our son. We wrote likewise a letter to him with our “ own hand, to represent to him the horror and impiety of his “ conduct, and the enormity of the crime he had committed “ against us his father, and how God threatened in his laws to “ punish disobedient children with eternal death; we threatened “ him, as a father, with our curses, and, as his lord, to declare “ him a traitor to his country, unless he returned, and obeyed “ our commands; and gave him assurance, that if he did as we “ desired, and returned, we would pardon his crime. Our “ envoys, after many solicitations, and the above representation “ made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the emperor “ to go and speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return “ home. The imperial minister gave them at the same time “ to understand, that our son had informed the emperor that we “ persecuted him, and that his life was not safe with us, “ whereby he moved the emperor’s compassion, and induced “ him to take him into his protection; but that the emperor, taking now into his consideration our true and solid representations, promised to use his utmost endeavours “ to dispose him to return to us; and would moreover declare to him, that he could not in justice and equity refuse to deliver him to his father, or have any difference “ with us on that account. Our envoys, upon their arrival at “ Naples, having desired to deliver to him our letter, written “ with

“ servile and low condition, during the lifetime
 “ of his lawful spouse.” It is certain that Peter

with our hand, sent us word, that he did refuse to admit them; but that the emperor's viceroy had found means, by inviting him to his house, to present them to him afterwards, much against his will. He did then, indeed, receive our letter, containing our paternal exhortation, and threatening our curse, but without shewing the least inclination to return; alledging still a great many falsities and calumnies against us, as if, by reason of several dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could not, nor would not return; and boasting, that the emperor had not only promised to defend and protect him against us, but even to set him upon the throne of Russia against our will, by force of arms. Our envoys perceiving this evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail with him to return, they intreated him, they expatiated by turns upon the graciousness of our assurances towards him, and upon our threats in case of disobedience, and that we would even bring him away by force of arms; they declared to him, that the emperor would not enter into a war with us on his account, and many other such like representations, did they make to him. But he paid no regard to all this, nor shewed any inclination to return to us, until the imperial viceroy, convinced at last of his obstinacy, told him, in the emperor's name, that he ought to return; for that his imperial majesty could not by any law keep him from us, nor, during the present war with Turkey, and also in Italy with Spain, embroil himself with us upon his account. When he saw how the case stood, fearing he should be delivered up to us whether he would or not, he at length resolved to return home; and declared his mind to our envoys, and to the imperial viceroy; he likewise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself to be a criminal, and blameworthy. Now although our son, by so long a course of criminal disobedience against us, his father and lord, for many years, and particularly for the dishonour he hath cast upon us, in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising calumnies against us, as if we were an unnatural father, and for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with death; yet our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy upon him, and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt him from all punishment for the same. But considering his unworthiness, we cannot in conscience leave him after us the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing, that, by his
 vicious

ter himself had repudiated his own wife in favour of a captive, but that captive was a person of exemplary merit, and the czar had just cause for discontent against his wife, who was at the same time his subject. The czarowitz, on the contrary,

' vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which, through God's assistance, we have acquired and established by incessant application; for it is notorious and known to every one, how much it hath cost us, and with what efforts we have not only recovered the provinces which the enemy had usurped from our empire, but also conquered several considerable towns and countries, and with what care we have caused our people to be instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences, to the glory and advantage of the nation and empire. Now, as we should pity our states and faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were yet; so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our empire, any of our subjects may disinherit a son, and give his succession to such other of his sons as he pleases; and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to the throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us. And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter, though yet very young, having no successor that is older. We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession; and we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics, or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath, before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross; and all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our will, and who, from this day forward, shall dare to consider our son Alexis, as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance. Given at Moscow, the third of February 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal.

PETER.

trary, had abandoned his princess for a young woman, hardly known to any one, and who had no other merit but that of personal charms. So far there appears some errors of a young man, which a parent ought to reprimand in secret, and which he might have pardoned.

The czar, in his manifesto, next reproaches his son with his flight to Vienna, and his having put himself under the emperor's protection; and adds, that "he had calumniated his father," by telling the emperor that he was persecuted by him; and that he had compelled him to renounce the succession; and lastly, that he had made intercession with the emperor to assist him with an armed force.

Here it immediately occurs, that the emperor could not, with any propriety, have entered into a war with the czar on such an occasion; nor could he have interposed otherwise between an incensed father and a disobedient son, than by his good offices, to promote a reconciliation. Accordingly we find, that Charles VI. contented himself with giving a temporary asylum to the fugitive prince, and readily sent him back on the first requisition of the czar, in consequence of being informed of the place his son had chosen for his retreat.

Peter adds, in this terrible piece, that Alexis had persuaded the emperor, "that he went in danger of his life," if he returned back to Russia. Surely it was in some measure justifying these complaints of the prince, to condemn him to death at his return, and especially after so solemn a promise to pardon him; but we shall see in the course of this history the cause which afterwards moved the czar to denounce this ever-memorable

table sentence. For the present let us turn our eyes upon an absolute prince, pleading against his son before an august assembly.

“ In this manner, says he, has our son returned; and although by his withdrawing himself and raising calumnies against us, he has deserved to be punished with death, yet out of our paternal affection we pardon his crimes; but considering his unworthiness, and the series of his irregular conduct, we cannot in conscience leave him the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing that by his vicious courses, he would after our decease entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which we have recovered from the enemy.

“ Now, as we should pity our states and our faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were yet; so, by the paternal authority, and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to our throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us.

“ And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter *, though yet very young, having no successor that is older.

“ We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession.

* This was the son of the empress Catherine, who died April 15, 1719.

“ And

“ And we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and agreeably to this our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross.

“ And all those who shall ever at any time oppose this our will, and who from this day forward shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and our country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance.”

It would seem that this declaration had been prepared beforehand for the occasion, or that it had been drawn up with amazing dispatch; for the czarowitz did not return to Moscow till the 13th of February, and his renunciation in favour of the empress Catherine's son is dated the 14th.

The prince on his part signed his renunciation, whereby “ he acknowledges his exclusion to be just, as having merited it by his own fault and unworthiness; and I do hereby swear (adds he) in presence of God Almighty in the Holy Trinity, to submit in all things to my father's will, &c.”

These instruments being signed, the czar went in procession to the cathedral, where they were read a second time, when the whole body
of

of clergy signed their approbation with their seals at the bottom, to a copy prepared for that purpose *. No prince was ever disinherited in so authentic a manner. There are many states in which an act of this kind would be of no validity; but in Russia, as in ancient Rome, every father has a power of depriving his son of his succession, and this power was still stronger in a sovereign than in a private subject, and especially in such a sovereign as Peter.

But nevertheless it was to be apprehended, that those who had encouraged the prince in his opposition to his father's will, and had advised him to withdraw himself from his court, might one day endeavour to set aside a renunciation which had been procured by force, and restore to the eldest son that crown which had been violently snatched from him to place on the head of a younger brother by a second marriage. In this case it was easy to foresee a civil war, and a total subversion of all the great and useful pro-

* At the same time confirming it by an oath, the form of which was as follows: 'I swear before Almighty God, and upon his holy gospel, that whereas our most gracious sovereign, the czar Peter Alexowitz, has caused circular letters to be published through his empire, to notify that he has thought fit to exclude his son prince Alexis Petrowitz from the throne of Russia, and to appoint for his successor to the crown his second son the prince royal Peter Petrowitz; I do acknowledge this order and regulation made by his majesty in favour of the said prince Peter Petrowitz, to be just and lawful, and entirely conform and submit myself to the same; promising always to acknowledge the said prince royal Peter Petrowitz for his lawful successor, and to stand by him on all occasions; even to the loss of my life, against all such as shall presume to oppose the said succession; and that I never will, on any pretence whatsoever, assist the prince Alexis Petrowitz, nor in any manner whatsoever contribute to procure him the succession. And this I solemnly promise by my oath upon the holy gospel, kissing the holy cross thereupon.'

jects which Peter had so much laboured to establish; and therefore the present matter in question was to determine between the welfare of near eighteen millions of souls (which was nearly the number which the empire of Russia contained at that time) and the interests of a single person incapable of governing. Hence it became necessary to find out those who were disaffected, and accordingly the czar a second time threatened his son with the most fatal consequences if he concealed any thing: and the prince was obliged to undergo a juridical examination by his father, and afterwards by the commissioners appointed for that purpose.

One principal article of the charge brought against him, and that which served chiefly to his condemnation, was, a letter from one Beyer, the emperor's resident at the court of Russia, dated at Petersburg, after the flight of the prince. This letter makes mention of a mutiny in the Russian army then assembled at Mecklenbourg, and that several of the officers talked of clapping up Catherine and her son in the prison where the late empress whom Peter had repudiated, was then confined, and of placing the czarowitz on the throne as soon as he could be found out and brought back. These idle projects fell to the ground of themselves, and there was not the least appearance that Alexis had ever countenanced them. The whole was only a piece of news related by a foreigner: the letter itself was not directed to the prince, and he had only a copy thereof transmitted him while at Vienna.

But a charge of a more grievous nature appeared against him, namely, the heads of
a letter

a letter written with his own hand, and which he had sent while at the court of Vienna, to the senators and prelates of Russia, in which were the following very strong assertions: "The continual ill-treatment which I have suffered without having deserved it, have at length obliged me to consult my peace and safety by flight. I have narrowly escaped being confined in a convent, by those who have already served my mother in the same manner. I am now under the protection of a great prince, and I beseech you not to abandon me in this conjuncture."

The expression, *in this conjuncture*, which might be construed into a seditious meaning, appeared to have been blotted out, and then inserted again by his own hand, and afterwards blotted out a second time; which shewed it to be the action of a young man disturbed in his mind, following the dictates of his resentment, and repenting of it at the very instant. There were only the copies of these letters found: they were never sent to the persons they were designed for, the court of Vienna having taken care to stop them; a convincing proof that the emperor never intended to break with the czar, or to assist the son to take arms against his father.

Several witnesses were brought to confront the prince, and one of them, named Afanassief, deposed, that he had formerly heard him speak these words, "I shall mention something to the bishops, who will mention it again to the lower clergy, and they to the parish-priests, and the crown will be placed on my head whether I will or not."

His own mistress Aphrosyne was likewise brought to give evidence against him. The charge however was not well supported in all its parts; there did not appear to have been any regular plan formed, any chain of intrigues, or any thing like a conspiracy or combination, nor the least shadow of preparation for a change in the government. The whole affair was that of a son, of a depraved and factious disposition, who thought himself injured by his father, who fled from him, and who wished for his death; but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy in our hemisphere, and in his situation and place he could not be guilty of trivial faults.

After the accusation of his mistress, another witness was brought against him, in relation to the former czarina his mother, and the princess Mary his sister. He was charged with having consulted the former in regard to his flight, and of having mentioned it to the princess Mary. The bishop of Rostow, who was the confidant of all three, having been seized, deposed, that the two princesses, who were then shut up in a convent, had expressed their wishes for a revolution in affairs that might restore them their liberty, and had even encouraged the prince by their advice, to withdraw himself out of the kingdom. The more natural their resentment was, the more it was to be apprehended. We shall see at the end of this chapter, what kind of a person this bishop of Rostow was, and what had been his conduct.

The czarowitz at first denied several facts of this nature which were alledged against him, and by this very behaviour subjected himself to the

the punishment of death with which his father had threatened him, in case he did not make an open and sincere confession.

At last, however, he acknowledged several disrespectful expressions against his father, which were laid to his charge, but excused himself by saying, he had been hurried away by passion and drink.

The czar himself drew up several new interrogations. The fourth ran as follows:

“When you found by Beyer’s letter that there was a mutiny among the troops in Mecklenbourg, you seemed pleased with it; you must certainly have had some reason for it? and I imagine you would have joined the rebels even during my life-time?”

This was interrogating the prince on the subject of his private thoughts, which, though they might be revealed to a father, who may, by his advice, correct them, yet might they also with justice be concealed from a judge, who decides only upon acknowledged facts. The private sentiments of a man’s heart have nothing to do in a criminal process, and the prince was at liberty either to deny them or disguise them, in such manner as he should think best for his own safety, as being under no obligation to lay open his heart, and yet we find him returning the following answer: “If the rebels had called upon me during your life-time, I do verily believe I should have joined them, supposing I had found them sufficiently strong.”

It is hardly conceivable that he could have made this reply of himself, and it would be full as extraordinary, at least according to the cu-

from in our part of the world, to condemn a person for confessing that he might have thought in a certain manner in a conjuncture that never happened.

To this strange confession of his private thoughts, which had till then been concealed in the bottom of his heart, they added proofs which would hardly be admitted as such in a court of justice in any other country.

The prince sinking under his misfortunes, and almost deprived of his senses, studied within himself, with all the ingenuity of fear, for whatever could most effectually serve for his destruction; and at length acknowledged, that in private confession to the arch-priest James, he had wished his father dead; and that his confessor made answer, "God will pardon you this wish; we all wish the same."

The canons of our church do not admit of proofs resulting from private confession, inasmuch as they are held inviolable secrets between God and the penitent: and both the Greek and Latin churches are agreed, that this intimate and secret correspondence between a sinner and the Deity are beyond the cognizance of a temporal court of justice. But here the welfare of a kingdom and a king were concerned. The arch-priest, being put to the torture, confirmed all that the prince had revealed; and this trial furnished the unprecedented instance of a confessor accused by his penitent, and that penitent by his own mistress. To this may be added another singular circumstance, namely, that the archbishop of Rezan having been involved in several accusations on account of having spoken too favourably of the young czarowitz in.

in one of his sermons, at the time that his father's resentment first broke out against him; that weak prince declared in his answer to one of the interrogations, that he had depended on the assistance of that prelate, at the same time that he was at the head of the ecclesiastical court, which the czar had consulted in relation to this criminal process against his son, as we shall see in the course of this chapter.

There is another remark to be made in this extraordinary trial; which we find so very lamely related in the absurd history of Peter the Great, by the pretended bojar Nesterfuranoy, and that is the following.

Among other answers which the czarowitz Alexis made to the first question put to him by his father, he acknowledges, that while he was at Vienna, finding he could not be admitted to see the emperor, he applied himself to count Schonborn the high chamberlain, who told him, "the emperor would not abandon him, and that as soon as occasion should offer by the death of his father, that he would assist him to recover the throne by force of arms." Upon which, adds the prince, I made him the following answer, "This is what I by no means desire: if the emperor will only grant me his protection for the present, I ask no more." This deposition is plain, natural, and carries with it strong marks of the truth; for it would have been the height of madness to have asked the emperor for an armed force to dethrone his father, and no one would have ventured to have made such an absurd proposal, either to the emperor, prince Eugene, or to the council. This deposition

bears date in the month of February, and four months afterwards, namely, after the first of July, and towards the latter end of the proceedings against the czarowitz, that prince is made to say, in the last answers he delivered in writing,

“ Being unwilling to imitate my father in
 “ any thing, I endeavoured to secure to myself
 “ the succession by any means whatever, *excepting such as were just*. I attempted to get
 “ it by a foreign assistance ; and had I succeeded,
 “ and that the emperor had fulfilled *what*
 “ *he had promised me*, to replace me on the
 “ throne of Russia even by force of arms, I
 “ would have left nothing undone to have got
 “ possession of it. For instance, if the emperor
 “ had demanded of me in return for his services,
 “ a body of my own troops to fight for him
 “ against any power whatever, that might be
 “ in arms against him, or a large sum of money
 “ to defray the charges of a war, I should
 “ have readily granted every thing that he asked,
 “ and should have gratified his ministers
 “ and generals with magnificent presents. I
 “ would at my own expence have maintained
 “ the auxiliary troops he might have furnished
 “ to put me in possession of the crown ; and, in
 “ a word, I should have thought nothing too
 “ much to have accomplished my ends.”

This answer seems greatly strained, and appears as if the unhappy deponent was exerting his utmost efforts to appear more culpable than he really was ; nay, he seems to have spoken absolutely contrary to truth in a capital point. He says the emperor had promised to procure him the crown by force of arms. This is absolutely

solutely false: Schonborn had given him hopes, that, after the death of his father, the emperor might assist him to recover his birth-right; but the emperor himself never made him any promise. And lastly, the matter in question was not if he should take arms against his father, but if he should succeed him after his death?

By this last deposition he declares what he believes he should have done, had he been obliged to dispute his birth-right, which he had not formally renounced till after his journey to Vienna and Naples. Here then we have a second deposition, not of any thing he had already done, and the actual commission of which would have subjected him to the rigorous enquiry of the law, but of what he imagines he should have done had occasion offered, and which consequently is no subject of a juridical enquiry. Thus does he twice together accuse himself of private thoughts that he might have entertained in a future time. The known world does not produce an instance of a man tried and condemned for vague and inconsequential notions that came into his head, and which he never communicated to any one: nor is there a court of justice in Europe that will hear a man accuse himself of criminal thoughts, nay, we believe that they are not punished by God himself, unless accompanied by a fixed resolution to put them in practice.

To these natural reflections it may be answered, that the czarowitz had given his father a just right to punish him, by having withheld the names of several of the accomplices of his flight. His pardon was promised him only on condition of making a full and open confession,

which he did not till it was too late. Lastly, after so publick an affair, it was not in human nature that Alexis should ever forgive a brother in favour of whom he had been disinherited; therefore it was thought better to punish one guilty person, than to expose a whole nation to danger, and herein the rigour of justice and reasons of state acted in concert.

We must not judge of the manners and laws of one nation by those of others. The czar was possessed of the fatal, but incontestible right of punishing his son with death, for the single crime of having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom against his consent; and he thus explains himself in his declaration addressed to the prelates and others, who composed the high courts of justice. “ Though, according to all
“ laws, civil and divine, and especially those
“ of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers over their children (even
“ fathers in private life) we have a full and
“ unlimited power to judge our son for his
“ crimes according to our pleasure, without
“ asking the advice of any person whatsoever;
“ yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and
“ partiality in their own affairs, than in those
“ of others, and as the most eminent and expert physicians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the
“ advice and assistance of others; so we, under
“ the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending him, in like manner make known
“ our disease, and apply to you for a cure;
“ being apprehensive of eternal death, if, ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should attempt to cure ourselves;
“ and

“ and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should declare to me the truth.

“ And though he has violated this promise, by concealing the most important circumstances of his rebellious design against us; yet, that we may not in any thing swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness and attention, and report what punishment he deserves without favour or partiality either to him or me; for should you apprehend that he deserves but a slight punishment, it will be disagreeable to me. I swear to you by the great God and his judgments, that you have nothing to fear on this head.

“ Neither let the reflection of your being to pass sentence on the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice without respect of persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine also, by doing any thing to injure our country, or upbraid our consciences in the great and terrible day of judgment.”

The czar afterwards addressed himself to the clergy *, by another declaration to the same purpose,

* His declaration to the clergy concluded in this manner:

“ Tho’ this affair does not fall within the verge of the spiritual, but of the civil jurisdiction, and we have this day referred it to the imperial decision of the secular court, but remembering that passage in the word of God, which requires us on such occasions to consult the priests and elders of the church, in order to know the will of Heaven, and being desirous of receiving all possible instruction in a matter of such importance, we desire of you the archbishops, and the whole ecclesiastical

purpose, so that every thing was transacted in the most authentic manner, and Peter's behaviour through the whole of this affair was so open and undisguised, as shewed him to be fully satisfied of the justice of his cause.

On the first of July the clergy delivered their opinion in writing. In fact, it was their opinion only, and not a judgment, which the czar required of them. The beginning is deserving of the attention of all Europe.

"This affair (says the prelates and the rest of the clergy) does in no wise fall within the verge of the ecclesiastical court, nor is the absolute power invested in the sovereign of the Russian empire subject to the cognizance of his people; but he has an unlimited power of acting herein as to him shall seem best, without any inferior having a right to intermeddle therein."

After their preamble they proceed to cite several texts of scripture, particularly Leviticus, wherein it is said, *curst be he that curseth his father or mother*; and the gospel of St. Matthew, which repeats this severe denunciation. And

"state, as teachers of the word of God, not to pronounce judgment in this case, but to examine and give us your opinion, concerning it, according to the sacred oracles, from whom we may be best informed what punishment my son deserves, and that you will give it us in writing under your hands, that being properly instructed herein, we may lay no burthen on our conscience. We therefore repose our confidence in you, that, as guardians of the divine laws, as faithful pastors of the Christian flock, and as well affected towards your country, you will act suitable to your dignity, conjuring you by that dignity, and the holiness of your function, to proceed without fear or dissimulation."

they

they concluded, after several other quotations †, with these remarkable words.

“ If his majesty is inclinable to punish the offender according to his deeds and the measure of his crimes, he has before him the examples in the Old Testament; if, on the other hand, he is inclined to shew mercy, he has a pattern in our Lord Jesus Christ, who receives the prodigal son, when returning with a contrite heart, who set free the woman taken in adultery, whom the law sentenced to be stoned to death,

† Besides the particular passages in holy writ cited on this occasion, which were, Levit. xx. 1, 9. Deut. xxxi. Matt. xx. 1. Mark vii. 9. Rom. i. 28. Ephes. vi. 1. those from the constitutions of the empire were as follows: ‘ If any person, by any ill design, forms any attempt against the health of the czar, or does any thing to his prejudice, and is found inclined to execute his pernicious designs; let him be put to death, after he is convicted thereof.’ Stat. 1. ‘ In like manner, if any one, during the reign of his czarian majesty, through a desire to reign in the empire of Russia, and put the czar to death, shall begin to raise troops with this pernicious view; or if any one shall form an alliance with the enemies of his czarian majesty, or hold a correspondence with them, or assist them to arrive at the government, or raise any other disorder; if any one declares it, and the truth be found out upon such declaration, let the traitor suffer death upon conviction of the treason.’ Stat. 2. From the military laws the following citations were made; chap. 3. art. 19. ‘ If any subject raises men, and takes up arms against his czarian majesty; or if any person forms a design of taking his majesty prisoner, or killing him; or if he offers any violence to him; he and all his abettors and adherents shall be quartered, as guilty of treason, and their goods confiscated.’ To which article the following explanation was added; ‘ They also shall suffer the same punishment, who, tho’ they have not been able to execute their crime, shall be convicted of inclination and desire to commit it; and likewise, those who shall not have discovered it when it came to their knowledge.’ Chap. 26. art. 37. ‘ He who forms a design of committing any treason, or any other matter of the like nature, shall be punished with the same capital punishments as if he had actually executed his design.’

and

and who prefers mercy to burnt-offerings. He has likewise the example of David, who spared his son Absalom, who had rebelled against and persecuted him, saying to his captains when going forth to the fight, *spare my son Absalom*. The father was here inclinable to mercy, but divine justice suffered not the offender to go unpunished."

"The heart of the czar is in the hands of God; let him take that side to which it shall please the Almighty to direct him."

This opinion was signed by eight archbishops and bishops, four arch priests, and two professors of divinity; and, as we have already observed, the metropolitan archbishop of Rezan, the same with whom the prince had held a correspondence, was the first who signed.

As soon as the clergy had signed this opinion they presented it to the czar. It is easy to perceive that this body was desirous of inclining his mind to clemency; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast between the mercy of Jesus Christ, and the rigour of the Jewish law, placed before the eyes of a father, who was the prosecutor of his own son.

The same day the czarowitz was again examined for the last time, and signed his final confession in writing, wherein he acknowledges himself "to have been a bigot in his youthful days, to have frequented the company of priests and monks, to have drank with them, and to have imbibed from their conversations the first impressions of dislike to the duties of his station, and even to the person of his father."

If he made this confession of his own accord, it shews that he must have been ignorant of the mild advice the body of clergy whom he thus accuses, had lately given his father; and it is a still stronger proof how great a change the czar had wrought in the manners of the clergy of his time, who, from a state of the most deplorable ignorance, were in so short a time become capable of drawing up a writing, which for its wisdom and eloquence might have been owned without a blush by the most illustrious fathers of the church.

It is in this last confession that the czarowitz made that declaration on which we have already commented, viz. that he endeavoured to secure to himself the succession *by any means whatever, except such as were just.*

One would imagine, by this last confession, that the prince was apprehensive he had not rendered himself sufficiently criminal in the eyes of his judges, by his former self-accusations, and that, by giving himself the character of a dissembler and a bad man, and supposing how he might have acted had he been the master, he was carefully studying how to justify the fatal sentence which was about to be pronounced against him, and which was done on the 5th of July. This sentence will be found, at length, at the end of this volume; therefore we shall only observe in this place, that it begins like the opinion of the clergy, by declaring, that "it belongs not to subjects to take cognizance of such an affair, which depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose authority is derived from God alone;" and then, after having set forth the several articles of the charge

charge brought against the prince, the judges express themselves thus: "What shall we think
"of a rebellious design, almost unparelleled in
"history, joined to that of a horrid parricide
"against him, who was his father in a double
"capacity?"

Probably these words have been wrong translated, from the trial printed by order of the czar; for certainly there have been instances in history of much greater rebellions; and no part of the proceedings against the czarowitz discover any design in him of killing his father. Perhaps, by the word *parricide*, is understood the deposition made by the prince, that one day he declared at confession, that he had wished for the death of his father. But, how can a private declaration of a secret thought, under the seal of confession, be a double parricide?

Be this as it may, the czarowitz was unanimously condemned to die, but no mention was made in the sentence of the manner in which he was to suffer. Of one hundred and forty-four judges, there was not one who thought of a lesser punishment than death. Whereas an English tract, which made a great noise at that time, observes, that if such a cause had been brought before an English parliament, there would not have been one judge out of one hundred and forty-four, that would have inflicted even a penalty.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the difference of times and places. The consul Manlius would have been condemned by the laws of England to lose his own life, for having put his son to death; whereas he was admired and extolled for that action by the rigid Romans: but
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the same laws would not punish a prince of Wales for leaving the kingdom, who, as a peer of the realm, has a right to go and come when he pleases*. A criminal design, not perpetrated, is not punishable by the laws in England † or France, but it is in Russia. A continued formal and repeated disobedience of commands would, amongst us, be considered only an error in conduct, which ought to be suppressed; but, in Russia, it was judged a capital crime in the heir of a great empire, whose ruin might have been the consequence of that disobedience. Lastly, the czarowitz was culpable towards the whole nation, by his design of throwing it back into that state of darkness and ignorance from which his father had so lately delivered it.

Such was the acknowledged power of the czar, that he might put his son to death for disobedience to him, without consulting any one; nevertheless, he submitted the affair to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was in fact the nation itself who passed sentence on the prince, and Peter was so well satisfied with the equity of his own conduct, that he voluntarily submitted it to the judgment of every other nation, by causing the whole proceedings to be printed and translated into several languages.

The law of history would not permit us to disguise or palliate ought in the relation of this

* Mr. de Voltaire is mistaken in this point; for, by our laws, no peer of the realm can absent himself from the service of the parliament during its session, without the liberty of the king or the house.

† This is another mistake, for it is death by our laws to compass or imagine the death of the sovereign.

tragic event. All Europe was divided in its sentiments, whether most to pity a young prince, prosecuted by his own father, and condemned to lose his life, by those who were one day to have been his subjects; or the father, who thought himself under a necessity to sacrifice his own son to the welfare of his nation.

It was asserted in several books, published on this subject, that the czar sent to Spain for a copy of the proceedings against Don Carlos, who had been condemned to death by his father king Charles II. But this is false, inasmuch as Don Carlos was never brought to his trial: the conduct of Peter I. was totally different from that of Philip. The Spanish monarch never made known to the world the reasons for which he had confined his son, nor in what manner that prince died. He wrote letters on this occasion to the pope and the empress, which were absolutely contradictory to each other. William prince of Orange accused Philip publicly of having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy, and to have behaved rather like a jealous and cruel husband, and an unnatural and murderous father, than a severe and upright judge. Philip suffered this accusation against him to pass unanswered: Peter, on the contrary, did nothing but in the eye of the world; he openly declared, that he preferred his people to his own son, submitted his cause to the judgment of the principal persons of his kingdom, and made the whole world the judge of their proceedings and his own.

There was another extraordinary circumstance attending this unhappy affair, which was, that the empress Catherine, who was hated by the

the czarowitz, and whom he had publicly threatened with the worst of treatment, whenever he should mount the throne, was not in any way accessory to his misfortunes; and was neither accused, nor even suspected by any foreign minister residing at the court of Russia, of having taken the least step against a son-in-law, from whom she had so much to fear. It is true, indeed, that no one pretends to say she interceded with the czar for his pardon: but all the accounts of these times, and especially those of the count de Bassevitz, agree, that she was greatly affected with his misfortunes.

I have now before me the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find the following words: "I was present when the czar told the duke of Holstein, that the czarina Catherine had begged of him to prevent the sentence passed upon the czarowitz, being publickly read to that prince. Content yourself, said she, with obliging him to turn monk; for this public and formal condemnation of your son will reflect an odium on your grandson."

The czar, however, would not hearken to the intercession of his spouse; he thought there was a necessity to have the sentence publickly read to the prince himself, in order that he might have no pretence left to dispute this solemn act, in which he himself acquiesced, and that being dead in law, he could never afterwards claim a right to the crown.

Nevertheless, if, after the death of Peter, a formidable party had arose in favour of Alexis, would his being dead in law have prevented him from ascending the throne?

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The prince then had his sentence read to him; and the memoirs I have just mentioned observe, that he fell into a fit on hearing these words: "The laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those whose attempts against their father and their sovereign have been fully proved." These fits, it is said, turned to an apoplexy, and it was with great difficulty he was recovered at that time. Afterwards, when he came a little to himself, and in the dreadful interval, between life and death, he sent for his father to come to him: the czar accordingly went, and both father and son burst into a flood of tears. The unhappy culprit asked his offended parent's forgiveness, which he gave him publicly: then being in the agonies of death, extreme unction was administered to him in the most solemn manner, and soon after he expired in the presence of the whole court, the day after the fatal sentence had been pronounced upon him. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in state, exposed to public view for four days, after which it was interred in the church of the citadel, by the side of his late princess; the czar and czarina assisting at the funeral.

And here I think myself indispensably obliged to imitate, in some measure, the conduct of the czar, that is to say, to submit to the judgment of the public, the several facts which I have related with the most scrupulous exactness, and not only the facts themselves, but likewise the various reports which were propagated in relation to them, by authors of the first credit. Lambert, the most impartial of any writer on this subject,

subject, and at the same time the most exact, and who has confined himself to the simple narrative of the original and authentic pieces, relating to the affairs of Europe, seems in this matter to have departed from that impartiality and discernment for which he is so remarkable: for he thus expresses himself.

“ The czarina, ever anxious for the fortune
 “ of her own son, did not suffer the czar to rest
 “ till she had obliged him to commence the
 “ proceedings against the czarowitz, and to
 “ prosecute that unhappy prince to death; and
 “ what is still more extraordinary, the czar, after
 “ having given him the knout (which is a
 “ kind of torture) with his own hand, was himself
 “ his executioner, by cutting off his head,
 “ which was afterwards so artfully joined to the
 “ body, that the separation could not be perceived,
 “ when it was exposed to public view.
 “ Some little time afterwards, the czarina’s son
 “ died, to the inexpressible regret of her and the
 “ czar. This latter, who had beheaded his
 “ own son, coming now to reflect, that he had no
 “ successor, grew extremely ill-tempered. Much
 “ about that time also, he was informed, that
 “ his spouse, the czarina, was engaged in a secret
 “ and criminal correspondence with prince
 “ Menzikoff. This, joined to the reflection,
 “ that she had been the cause of his putting to
 “ death with his own hand his eldest son, made
 “ him conceive a design to strip her of the imperial
 “ honours, and shut her up in a convent,
 “ in the same manner as he had done his first
 “ wife, who is still living there. It was a custom
 “ with the czar to keep a kind of diary of
 “ his private thoughts in his pocket-book, and
 “ he

“ he had accordingly entered therein, a memorandum of this his intention. The czarina
 “ having found means to gain over to her interest all the pages of the czar’s bed-chamber, one of them finding his pocket-book,
 “ which he had carelessly left on the table, brought it to Catherine, who, upon reading
 “ this memorandum, immediately sent for prince Menzikoff, and communicated it to him, and,
 “ in a day or two afterwards, the czar was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died.
 “ This distemper was attributed to poison, on account of its being so sudden and violent,
 “ that it could not be supposed to proceed from a natural cause, and that the horrible act of poisoning was but too frequently used in Russia.”

These accusations, thus handed down by Lamberti, were soon spread throughout Europe; and, as there still exist a great number of pieces, both in print and manuscript, which may give a sanction to the belief of this fact to the latest posterity, I think it is my duty to mention, in this place, what is come to my knowledge from unexceptionable authority.

In the first place, then, I take it upon me to declare, that the person who furnished Lamberti with this strange anecdote, was in fact a native of Russia, but of a foreign extraction, and who himself did not reside in that country at the time this event happened, having left it several years before. I was formerly acquainted with him; he had been in company with Lamberti, at the little town of Nyon*, whither

* Or Nions, the capital of Montauban, in Dauphine, in France, situate on the river Aigues, over which is a bridge, said to be a Roman work,

that writer had retired, and where I myself have often been. This very man declared to me, that he had never told this story to Lamberti, but in the light of a report, which had been handed about at that time.

This example may suffice to shew, how easy it was in former times, before the art of printing was found out, for one man to destroy the reputation of another, in the minds of whole nations, by reason that manuscript histories were in a few hands only, and not exposed to general examination and censure, or of the observations of cotemporaries, as they now are. A single line in Tacitus or Sallust, nay, even in the authors of the most fabulous legends, was enough to render a great prince odious to the half of mankind, and to perpetuate his name with infamy to successive generations.

How was it possible, that the czar could have beheaded his son with his own hand, when extreme unction was administered to the latter in the presence of the whole court? Was he dead when the sacred oil was poured upon his head? When or how could this dissevered head have been rejoined to its trunk? It is notorious, that the prince was not left alone a single moment from the first reading of his sentence to him, to the instant of his death.

Besides, this story of the czar's having had recourse to the sword, acquits him at least of having made use of poison. I will allow, that it is somewhat uncommon, that a young man in the vigour of his days should die of a sudden fright, occasioned by hearing the sentence of his own death read to him, and especially when it was a sentence that he expected;
but

but after all, physicians will tell us that this is not a thing impossible.

If the czar dispatched his son by poison, as so many authors would persuade us, he by that means deprived himself of every advantage he might expect from this fatal process, in convincing all Europe that he had a right to punish every delinquent. He rendered all the reasons for pronouncing the condemnation of the czarowitz suspected; and, in fact, accused himself. If he was desirous of the death of his son, he was in possession of full power to have caused the sentence to be put in execution: would a man of any prudence then, would a sovereign, on whom the eyes of all his neighbours were fixed, have taken the base and dastardly method of poisoning the person over whose devoted head he himself already held the sword of justice? Lastly, would he have suffered his memory to have been transmitted to posterity as an assassin and a poisoner, when he could so easily have assumed the character of an upright, though severe judge?

It appears then, from all that has been delivered on this subject in the preceding pages, that Peter was more the king than the parent; and that he sacrificed his own son to the sentiments of the father and law-giver of his country, and to the interest of his people, who, without this wholesome severity, were on the verge of relapsing again into that state from which he had taken them. It is evident that he did not sacrifice this son to the ambition of a step-mother, or to the son he had by her, since he had often threatened the czarowitz to disinherit him, before Catherine brought him
that

that other son, whose infirm infancy gave signs of a speedy death, which actually happened in a very short time afterwards. Had Peter taken this important step merely to please his wife, he must have been a fool, a madman, or a coward; neither of which, most certainly, could be laid to his charge. But he foresaw what would be the fate of his establishments, and of his new-born nation, if he had such a successor as would not adopt his views. The event has verified this foresight: the Russian empire is become famous and respectable throughout Europe, from which it was before entirely separated; whereas, had the czarowitz succeeded to the throne, every thing would have been destroyed. In fine, when this catastrophe comes to be seriously considered, the compassionate heart shudders, and the rigid applauds.

This great and terrible event is still fresh in the memories of mankind; and it is frequently spoken of as a matter of so much surprize, that it is absolutely necessary to examine what contemporary writers have said of it. One of these hireling scribblers, who has taken on him the title of historian, speaks thus of it in a work which he has dedicated to count Bruhl, prime minister to his Polish majesty, whose name indeed may seem to give some weight to what he advances. "Russia was convinced that the czarowitz owed his death to poison, which had been given him by his mother-in-law." But this accusation is overturned by the declaration which the czar made to the duke of Holstein, that the empress Catherine had advised him to confine his son in a monastery.

With regard to the poison which the empress is said to have given afterwards to her husband, that story is sufficiently destroyed by the simple relation of the affair of the page and pocket-book. What man would think of making such a memorandum as this, "I must remember to confine my wife in a convent?" Is this a circumstance of so trivial a nature, that it must be set down lest it should be forgotten? If Catherine had poisoned her son-in-law and her husband, she would have committed crimes; whereas so far from being suspected of cruelty, she had a remarkable character for lenity and sweetness of temper.

It may now be proper to shew what was the first cause of the behaviour of the czarowitz, of his flight, and of his death, and that of his accomplices, who fell by the hands of the executioner. It was owing then to mistaken notions in religion, and to a superstitious fondness for priests and monks. That this was the real source from whence all his misfortunes were derived, is sufficiently apparent from his own confession, which we have already set before the reader, and in particular, by that expression of the czar in his letter to his unhappy son, "A corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure."

The following is almost word for word the manner in which a certain ambassador to the court of Russia explains these words. Several ecclesiastics, says he, fond of the ancient barbarous customs, and regretting the authority they had lost by the nation having become more civilized, wished earnestly to see prince Alexis on the throne, from whose known disposition they

they expected a return of those days of ignorance and superstition which were so dear to them. In the number of these was Dozitheus, bishop of Rostow. This prelate feigned a revelation from St. Demetrius, and that the saint had appeared to him, and had assured him as from God himself, that the czar would not live above three months; that the empress Eudocia, who was then confined in the convent of Susdal (and had taken the veil under the name of sister Helena) and the princess Mary, the czar's sister, should ascend the throne and reign jointly with prince Alexis. Eudocia and the princess Mary were weak enough to credit this imposture, and were even so persuaded of the truth of the prediction, that the former quitted her habit and the convent, and throwing aside the name of sister Helena, reassumed the imperial title and the ancient dress of the czarina's, and caused the name of her rival Catherine to be struck out of the form of prayer. And when the lady abbess of the convent opposed these proceedings, Eudocia answered her haughtily, "that as Peter had punished the Strelitzes who had insulted his mother, in like manner would prince Alexis punish those who had offered an indignity to his." She caused the abbess to be confined to her apartment. An officer named Stephen Glebo was introduced into the convent; this man Eudocia made use of as the instrument of her designs, having previously won him over to her interest by heaping favours on him. Glebo caused Dozitheus's prediction to be spread over the little town of Susdal and the neighbourhood thereof. But the three months being near expired, Eudocia reproach-

ed the bishop with the czar's being still alive. "My father's sins, answered Dozitheus, have been the cause of this; he is still in purgatory, and has acquainted me therewith." Upon this Eudocia caused a thousand masses for the dead to be said, Dozitheus assuring her that this would not fail of having the desired effect: but in about a month afterwards, he came to her and told, that his father's head was already out of purgatory; in a month afterwards he was freed as far as his waist, so that then he only stuck in purgatory by his feet; but as soon as they should be set free, which was the most difficult part of the business, the czar would infallibly die.

The princess Mary, persuaded by Dozitheus, gave herself up to him, on condition that his father should be immediately released from purgatory, and the prediction accomplished, and Glebo continued his usual correspondence with the old czarina.

It was chiefly on the faith of these predictions that the czarowitz quitted the kingdom, and retired into a foreign country, to wait for the death of his father. However, the whole scheme was soon discovered; Dozitheus and Glebo were seized: the letters of the princess Mary to Dozitheus, and those of sister Helena to Glebo, were read in the open senate. In consequence of which the princess Mary was shut up in the fortress of Schusselbourg, and the old czarina removed to another convent, where she was kept a close prisoner. Dozitheus and Glebo, together with the other accomplices of these idle and superstitious intrigues, were put to the torture, as were likewise the confidents of the czar-

czarowitz's flight. His confessor, his preceptor, and the steward of his household, all died by the hands of the executioner.

Such then was the dear and fatal price at which Peter the Great purchased the happiness of his people; and such were the numberless obstacles he had to surmount in the midst of a long and dangerous war without doors, and an unnatural rebellion at home. He saw one half of his family plotting against him, the majority of the priesthood obstinately bent to frustrate his designs, and almost the whole nation for a long time opposing its own felicity, of which as yet it was not become sensible. He had prejudices to overcome, and discontents to soothe. In a word, there wanted a new generation formed by his care, who would at length entertain the proper ideas of happiness and glory, which their fathers were not able to comprehend or support.

G 3 CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Works and Establishments in 1718, and the following Years.

THroughout the whole of the foregoing dreadful catastrophe, it appeared clearly, that Peter had acted only as the father of his country, and that he considered his people as his family. The punishments he had been obliged to inflict on such of them who had endeavoured to obstruct or impede the happiness of the rest, were necessary, though melancholy sacrifices, made to the general good.

1718.] This year, which was the epoch of the disinheriting and death of his eldest son, was also that of the greatest advantage he procured to his subjects, by establishing a general police hitherto unknown, by the introduction or improvement of manufactures and works of every kind, by opening new branches of trade, which now began to flourish, and by the construction of canals, which joined rivers, seas, and people, that nature had separated from each other. We have here none of those striking events which charm common readers; none of those court-intrigues which are the food of scandal and malice, nor of those great revolutions which amaze the generality of mankind; but we behold the real springs of publick happiness, which the philosophic eye delights to contemplate.

He now appointed a lieutenant-general of police over the whole empire, who was to hold
his

his court at Petersburg, and from thence preserve order from one end of the kingdom to the other. Extravagance in dress, and the still more dangerous extravagance of gaming, were prohibited under severe penalties; schools for teaching arithmetic, which had been first set on foot in 1716, were now established in many towns in Russia. The hospitals which had been begun, were now finished, endowed, and filled with proper objects.

To these we may add the several useful establishments which had been projected some time before, and which were completed a few years afterwards. The great towns were now cleared of those innumerable swarm of beggars, who will not follow any other occupation but that of importuning those who are more industrious than themselves, and who lead a wretched and shameful life at the expence of others: an abuse too much overlooked in other nations.

The rich were obliged to build regular and handsome houses in Petersburg, agreeable to their circumstances, and, by a master-stroke of police, the several materials were brought carriage-free to the city, by the barks and waggon which returned empty from the neighbouring provinces.

Weights and measures were likewise fixed upon an uniform plan, in the same manner as the laws. This uniformity, so much, but in vain desired, in states that have for many ages been civilized, was established in Russia without the least difficulty or murmuring; and yet we fancy that this salutary regulation is impracticable amongst us.

The prices of the necessaries of life were also fixed. The city of Petersburg was well lighted with lamps during the night; a convenience which was first introduced in Paris by Lewis XIV. and to which Rome is still a stranger. Pumps were erected for supplying water in cases of fire, the streets were well-paved, and rails put up for the security of foot passengers; in a word, every thing was provided that could minister to safety, decency, and good order, and to the quicker dispatch and convenience of the inland trade of the country. Several privileges were granted to foreigners, and proper laws enacted to prevent the abuse of those privileges. In consequence of these useful and salutary regulations, Petersburg and Moscow put on a new face.

The iron and steel manufactories received additional improvements, especially those which the czar had founded at about ten miles distance from Petersburg, of which he himself was the first superintendant, and wherein no less than a thousand workmen were employed immediately under his eye. He went in person to give directions to those who farmed the corn-mills, powder-mills, and mills for sawing timber, and to the managers of the manufactories for cordage and sail-cloth, to the brick-makers, slaters, and the cloth-weavers. Numbers of workmen in every branch came from France to settle under him; these were the fruits he reaped from his travels.

He established a board of trade, which was composed of one half natives, and the other half foreigners, in order that justice might be equally distributed to all artists and workmen.

A French-

A Frenchman settled a manufactory for making fine looking-glass at Petersburg, with the assistance of prince Menzikoff. Another set up a loom for working curious tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and this manufactory still meets with great encouragement. A third succeeded in the making of gold and silver thread, and the czar ordered that no more than four thousand marks of gold or silver should be expended in these works in the space of a year; by this means to prevent the too great consumption of bullion in the kingdom.

He gave 30,000 rubles, that is, about 150,000 French livres*, together with all the materials and instruments necessary for making the several kinds of woollen stuffs. By this useful bounty he was enabled to clothe all his troops with the cloth made in his own country; whereas, before that time, it was purchased from Berlin and other foreign kingdoms.

They made as fine linen cloth in Moscow as in Holland; and at his death there was in that capital and at Jaroslaw no less than fourteen linen and hempen manufactures.

It could certainly never be imagined, at the time that silk sold in Europe for its weight in gold, that one day there would arise on the banks of the lake Ladoga, in the midst of a frozen region, and among unfrequented marshes, a magnificent and opulent city, where the silks of Persia should be manufactured in as great perfection as at Ispahan. Peter, however, undertook this great phenomenon in commerce, and succeeded in the attempt. The working of iron mines was carried to their highest degree

* At 24 to the Pound sterling.

of perfection ; several other mines of gold and silver were discovered, and the council of mines was appointed to examine and determine, whether the working of these would bring in a profit adequate to the expence.

But, to make so many different arts and manufactories flourish, and to establish so many various undertakings, it was not alone sufficient to grant patents, or to appoint inspectors : it was necessary that our great founder should behold all these pass under his own eye in their beginnings, and work at them with his own hands, in the same manner as we have already seen him working at the construction, the rigging, and the sailing of a ship. When canals were to be dug in marshy and almost impassable grounds, he was frequently seen at the head of the workmen, digging the earth, and carrying it away himself.

In this same year (1718) he formed the plan of the canal and sluices of Ladoga : this was intended to make a communication between the Neva and another navigable river, in order for the more easy conveyance of merchandize to Petersburg, without taking the great circuit of the lake Ladoga, which, on account of the storms that prevailed on the coast, was frequently impassable for barks or small vessels. Peter levelled the ground himself, and they still preserve the tools which he used in digging up and carrying off the earth. The whole court followed the example of their sovereign, and persisted in a work, which, at the same time, they looked upon as impracticable ; and it was finished after his death ; for not one of his
pro-

projects which had been found possible to be effected, was abandoned.

The great canal of Cronstadt, which is easily drained of its waters, and wherein they careen and clean the men of war, was also begun at the same time that he was engaged in the proceedings against his son.

In this year also he built the new city of Ladoga. A short time afterwards, he made the canal which joins the Caspian sea to the gulph of Finland and to the ocean. The boats, after sailing up the Wolga, came first to the communication of two rivers, which he joined for that purpose; from thence by another canal, they enter into the lake of Ilmen, and then fall into the canal of Ladoga, from whence goods and merchandizes may be conveyed by sea to all parts of the world.

In the midst of these labours, which all passed under his inspection, he carried his views from Kamshatka to the most eastern limits of his empire, and caused two forts to be built in these regions, which were so long unknown to the rest of the world. In the mean time, a body of engineers, who were draughted from the marine academy established in 1715, were sent to make the tour of the empire, in order to form exact charts thereof, and lay before mankind the immense extent of country which he had civilised and enriched.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Trade of R U S S I A.

THE Russian trade without doors was in a manner annihilated before the reign of Peter. He restored it anew, after his accession to the throne. It is notorious, that the current of trade has undergone several changes in the world. The south part of Russia was, before the time of Tamerlane, the staple of Greece and even of the Indies; and the Genoese were the principal factors. The Tanais and the Boristhenes were loaded with the productions of Asia; but when Tamerlane, towards the end of the fourteenth century, had conquered the Taurican Chersonesus, afterwards called Crimea or Crim Tartary, and when the Turks became masters of Asoph, this great branch of trade was totally destroyed. Peter formed the design of reviving it, by getting possession of Asoph; but the unfortunate campaign of Pruth wrested this city out of his hands, and with it all his views on the Black sea; nevertheless, he had it still in his power to open as extensive a road to commerce thro' the Caspian sea. The English who, in the end of the 15th, and beginning of the 16th century, had opened a trade to Archangel; had endeavoured to do the same likewise by the Caspian sea, but failed in all their attempts for this purpose.

It has been already observed, that the father of Peter the Great caused a ship to be built in Holland, to trade from Astracan to the coast of Persia.

Persia. This vessel was burnt by the rebel Stenkorazin, which put an immediate stop to any views of trading on a fair footing with the Persians. The Armenians, who are the factors of that part of Asia, were received by Peter the Great into Astracan; every thing was obliged to pass thro' their hands, and they reaped all the advantage of that trade; as is the case with the Indian traders, and the Banians, and with the Turks, as well as several nations in Christendom, and the Jews; for those who have only one way of living, are generally very expert in that art on which they depend for a support; and others pay a voluntary tribute to that knowledge in which they know themselves deficient.

Peter had already found a remedy for this inconvenience, in the treaty which he made with the sophi of Persia, by which all the silk, which was not used for the manufactories in that kingdom, were to be delivered to the Armenians of Astracan, and by them to be transported into Russia.

The troubles which arose in Persia soon overturned this arrangement; and, in the course of this history, we shall see how the Sha, or emperor of Persia, Hussein, when persecuted by the rebels, implored the assistance of Peter; and how that monarch, after having supported a difficult war against the Turks and the Swedes, entered Persia, and subjected three of its provinces. But to return to the article of trade.

Of the Trade with CHINA.

The undertaking of establishing a trade with China seemed to promise the greatest advantages.

tages. Two vast empires, bordering on each other, and each reciprocally possessing what the other stood in need of, seemed to be both under the happy necessity of opening an useful correspondence, especially after the treaty of peace, so solemnly ratified between these two empires in the year 1689, according to our way of reckoning.

The first foundation of this trade had been laid in the year 1653. There was at that time two companies of Siberian and Bukarian families settled in Siberia. Their caravans travelled thro' the Calmuck plains; after that they crossed the deserts to Chinese Tartary, and made a considerable profit by their trade; but the troubles which happened in the country of the Kalmucks, and the disputes between the Russians and Chinese, in regard to the frontiers, put a stop to this commerce.

After the peace of 1689, it was natural for the two nations to fix on some neutral place, whither all the goods should be carried. The Siberians, like all other nations, stood more in need of the Chinese, than these latter did of them; accordingly permission was asked of the emperor of China, to send caravans to Pekin, which was readily granted. This happened in the beginning of the present century.

It is worthy of observation, that the emperor Camhi had granted permission for a Russian church in the suburbs of Pekin; which church was to be served by Siberian priests, the whole at the emperor's own expence, who was so indulgent to cause this church to be built for the accommodation of several families of eastern Siberia; some of whom had been prisoners before the
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the peace of 1680, and the others were adventurers from their own country, who would not return back again after the peace of Niptchou. The agreeable climate of Pekin, the obliging manners of the Chinese, and the ease with which they found a handsome living, determined them to spend the rest of their days in China. The small Greek church could not become dangerous to the peace of the empire, as those of the jesuits have been to that of other nations; and moreover, the emperor Camhi was a favourer of liberty of conscience. Toleration has, in all times, been the established custom in Asia, as it was in former times all over the world, till the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. The Russian families thus established in China, having intermarried with the natives, have since quitted the christian religion, but their church still subsists.

It was stipulated, that this church should be for the use of those who come with the Siberian caravans, to bring furs and other commodities wanted at Pekin. The voyage out and home, and the stay in the country, generally took up three years. Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was twenty years at the head of this trade. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and it was difficult to keep the common people, who made the greatest number, within proper bounds.

They passed thro' the territories of a Laman priest, who is a kind of Tartarian sovereign *, resides on the sea-coast of Orkon, and has the title of Koutoukas : he is the vicar of the grand

* See the beginning of the first volume of the general history.

Lama, but has rendered himself independent, by making some change in the religion of the country, where the Indian tenet of metempsychosis is the prevailing opinion. We cannot find a more apt comparison for this priest, than in the bishops of Lubeck and Osnaburg, who have shaken off the dominion of the church of Rome. The caravans, in their march, sometimes committed depredations on the territories of this Tartarian prelate, as they did also in those of the Chinese. This irregular conduct proved an impediment to the trade of those parts, for the Chinese threatened to shut the entrance into their empire against the Russians, unless a stop was put to these disorders. The trade with China was, at that time, very advantageous to the Russians, who brought from thence gold, silver, and precious stones, in return for their merchandise. The largest ruby in the world was brought out of China to prince Gagarin, who sent it to prince Menzikoff; and it is now one of the ornaments of the imperial crown.

The exactions put in practice by prince Gagarin were of great prejudice to that trade, which had brought him so much riches; and, at length, they ended in his own destruction; for he was accused before the court of justice, established by the czar, and sentenced to lose his head a year after the condemnation of the czarowitz, and the execution of all those who had been his accomplices.

About the same time the emperor Camhi, perceiving his health to decay, and knowing by experience, that the European mathematicians were much more learned in their art than those of his own nation, thought that the European phy-

physicians must also have more knowledge than those of Pekin, and therefore sent a message to the czar, by some ambassadors who were returning from China to Petersburg, requesting him to send him one of his physicians. There happened at that time to be an English surgeon at Petersburg, who offered to undertake the journey in that character; and accordingly set out in company with a new ambassador, and one Laurence Lange, who has left a description of that journey. This embassy was received, and all the expences of it defrayed with great pomp by Camhi. The surgeon, at his arrival, found the emperor in perfect health, and gained the reputation of a most skilful physician. The caravans who followed this embassy made prodigious profits; but fresh excesses having been committed by this very caravan, the Chinese were so offended thereat, that they sent back Lange, who was at that time resident from the czar at the Chinese court, and with him all the Russian merchants established there.

The emperor Camhi dying, his son Yontchin, who had as great a share of wisdom, and more firmness than his father, and who drove the jesuits out of his empire, as the czar had done from Russia in 1718, concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the Russian caravans were no more to trade on the frontiers of the two empires. There are only certain factors, dispatched in the name of the emperor or empress of Russia, and these have liberty to enter Pekin, where they are lodged in a vast house, which the emperor of China formerly assigned for the reception of the envoys from Corea: but it is a considerable time since either caravans or factors have

have been sent from Russia thither ; so that the trade is now in a declining way, but may possibly soon be revived.

Of the trade of PETERSBURG, and the other ports of the RUSSIAN empire.

There were at this above 200 foreign vessels traded to the new capital, in the space of a year. This trade has continued increasing, and has frequently brought in five millions (French money) to the crown. This was greatly more than the interest of the money which this establishment had cost. This trade, however, greatly diminished that of Archangel, and was precisely what the founder desired ; for the port of Archangel is too dangerous, and at too great distance from other ports : besides that, a trade which is carried on immediately under the eye of an assiduous sovereign, is always the most advantageous. That of Livonia continued still on the same footing. The trade of Russia in general has proved very successful ; its ports have received from 1000 to 1200 vessels in a year, and Peter discovered the happy expedient of joining utility to glory.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the L A W S.

IT is well known, that good laws are scarce, and that the due execution of them is still more so. The greater the extent of any state, and the variety of people of which it is composed, the more difficult it is to unite them by the same body of laws. The father of czar Peter formed a digest or code under the title of *Oulogenia*, which was actually printed, but it by no means answered the end intended.

Peter, in the course of his travels, had collected materials for repairing this great structure, which was falling to decay in many of its parts. He gathered many useful hints from the governments of Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, selecting from each of these different nations what he thought most suitable to his own.

There was a court of boyards or great men, who determined all matters *en dernier ressort*. Rank and birth alone gave a seat in this assembly; but the czar thought that knowledge was likewise requisite, and therefore this court was dissolved.

He then instituted a procurator general, assisted by four assistants, in each of the governments of the empire. These were to overlook the conduct of the judges, whose decrees were subject to an appeal to the senate which he established. Each of those judges was furnished with

with a copy of the *Oulogenia*, with additions and necessary alterations, until a compleat body of laws could be formed.

It was forbid to these judges to receive any fees, which, however moderate, are always an abusive tax on the fortunes and properties of those concerned in suits of law. The czar also took care that the expences of the court were moderate, and the decisions speedy. The judges and their clerks had salaries appointed them out of the publick treasury, and were not suffered to purchase their offices.

It was in the year 1718, at the very time that he was engaged in the process against his son, that he made the chief part of these regulations. The greatest part of the laws he enacted were borrowed from those of the Swedes, and he made no difficulty to admit to places in his courts of judicature such Swedish prisoners who were well versed in the laws of their own country, and who having learnt the Russian language, were willing to continue in that kingdom.

The governor of each province and his assistants had the cognizance of private causes within such government; from them there was an appeal to the senate; and if any one, after having been condemned by the senate, appealed to the czar himself, and such appeal was found unjust, he was punished with death: but to mitigate the rigour of this law, the czar created a master of the requests, who received the petitions of those who had affairs depending in the senate, or in the inferior courts, concerning which the laws then in force were not sufficiently explanatory.

At length, in 1722, he completed his new code, prohibiting all the judges, under pain of death, to depart therefrom in their decrees, or to set up their own private opinions in place of the general statutes. This dreadful ordonance was publickly fixed up, and still remains in all the courts of judicature of the empire.

He erected every thing anew; there was not, even to the common affairs of society, ought but what was his work. He regulated the degrees between man and man, according to their posts and employments, from the admiral and the field-marshal to the ensign, without any regard to birth.

Having always in his own mind, and willing to imprint it on those of his subjects, that services are preferable to pedigree, a certain rank was likewise fixed for the women; and she who took a place in a publick assembly, that did not properly belong to her, was obliged to pay a fine.

By a still more useful regulation, every private soldier, on being made an officer, instantly became a gentleman; and a nobleman, if his character had been impeached in a court of justice was degraded to a plebeian.

After the settling of these several laws and regulations, it happened that the increase of towns, wealth, and population in the empire, new undertakings, and the creation of new employs, necessarily introduced a multitude of new affairs and unforeseen cases, which were all consequences of that success which attended the czar in the general reformation of his dominions.

The

The empress Elizabeth completed the body of laws which her father had begun, in which she gave the most lively proofs of that mildness and clemency for which she was so justly famed.

CH A P. XVI.

Of R E L I G I O N.

AT this time also Peter laboured more than ever to reform the clergy. He had abolished the patriarchal office, and by this act of authority had alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics. He was determined that the imperial power should be free and absolute, and that of the church respected, but submissive. His design was, to establish a counsel of religion, which should always subsist, but dependent on the sovereign, and that it should give no laws to the church, but such as should be approved of by the head of the state, of which the church was a part. He was assisted in this undertaking by the archbishop of Novogorod, named Theophanes Procop, or Pocopowitz, i. e. son of Procop.

This prelate was a person of great learning and sagacity; his travels thro' the different parts of Europe had afforded him opportunities of remarks on the several abuses which reign amongst them. The czar, who had himself been a witness of the same, had this great advantage in forming all his regulations, that he was possessed of an unlimited power to chuse what was useful, and reject what was dangerous.

ous. He laboured, in concert with the archbishop, in the years 1718 and 1719, to effect his design. He established a perpetual synod, to be composed of twelve members, partly bishops, and partly archpriests, all to be chosen by the sovereign. This college was afterwards augmented to fourteen.

The motives of this establishment were explained by the czar in a preliminary discourse. The chief and most remarkable of these was, "That, under the administration of a college of priests, there was less danger of troubles and insurrections, than under the government of a single head of the church; because the common people, who are always prone to superstition, might, by seeing one head of the church, and another of the state, be led to believe that they were in fact two different powers." And hereupon he cites as an example, the divisions which so long subsisted between the empire and the papal see, and which stained so many kingdoms with blood.

Peter thought, and openly declared, that the notion of two powers in a state, founded on the allegory of the two swords, mentioned in the apostles, was absurd and erroneous.

This court was invested with the ecclesiastical power of regulating all penances, and examining into the morals and capacity of those nominated by the court to bishopricks, to pass judgment *en dernier ressort* in all causes relating to religion, in which it was the custom formerly to appeal to the patriarch, and also to take cognizance of the revenues of monasteries, and the distribution of alms.

This

This synod had the title of *most holy*, the same which the patriarchs were wont to assume, and in fact the czar seemed to have preserved the patriarchal dignity, but divided among fourteen members, who were all dependent on the crown, and were to take an oath of obedience, which the patriarchs never did. The members of this holy synod, when met in assembly, had the same rank as the senators; but they were, like the senate, all dependent on the prince. But neither this new form of church administration, nor the ecclesiastical code, were in full vigour till four years after its institution, namely in 1722. Peter at first intended, that the synod should have the presentation of those whom they thought most worthy to fill the vacant bishopricks. These were to be nominated by the emperor, and consecrated by the synod. Peter frequently presided in person at the assembly. One day that a vacant see was to be filled, the synod observed to the emperor, that they had none but ignorant persons to present to his majesty: "Well then," replied the czar, "you have only to pitch upon the most honest man, he will be worth two learned ones."

It is to be observed, that the Greek church has none of that motley order called secular abbots. The *petit collet* is unknown there, otherwise than by the ridiculousness of its character, but by another abuse (as every thing in this world must be subject to abuse) the bishops and prelates are all chosen from the monastic orders. The first monks were only laymen, partly devotees, and partly fanatics, who retired into the deserts, where they were at length gathered together by St. Basil, who gave them
a body

a body of rules, and then they took vows, and were reckoned as the lower order of the church, which is the first step to be taken to arise at higher dignities. It was this that filled all Greece and Asia with Monks. Russia was over-run with them. They became rich, powerful, and tho' excessively ignorant, they were, at the accession of Peter to the throne, almost the only persons who knew how to write. Of this knowledge they made such an abuse, when struck and confounded with the new regulations which Peter introduced in all the departments of government, that he was obliged in 1703 to issue an edict, forbidding the use of pen and ink to the monks, without an express order from the archimandrite, or prior of the convent, who in that case was responsible for the behaviour of those to whom he granted this indulgence.

Peter designed to make this a standing law, and at first he intended, that no one should be admitted into any order under fifty years of age; but that appeared too late an age, as the life of man being in general so limited, there was not time sufficient for such persons to acquire the necessary qualifications for being made bishops; and therefore, with the advice of his synod, he placed it at thirty years compleat, but never under; at the same time expressly prohibiting any person exercising the profession of a soldier, or an husbandman, to enter into a convent, without an immediate order from the emperor, or the synod, and to admit no married man upon any account, even tho' divorced from his wife; unless that wife should, at the same time, embrace a religious life of her own pure will, and that neither of them had any children. No person

in actual employ under the government, can take the habit, without an express order of state for that purpose. Every monk is obliged to work with his own hands at some trade. The nuns are never to go without the walls of their convent, and at the age of fifty are to receive the tonsure, as did the deaconesses of the primitive church; but if, before undergoing that ceremony, they have an inclination to marry, they are not only allowed, but even exhorted so to do. An admirable regulation in a country where population is of infinitely greater use than a monastic life.

Peter was desirous that those unhappy females, whom God has destined to people a kingdom, and who, by a mistaken devotion, annihilated in cloisters, that race of which they would otherwise become mothers, should at least be of some service to society, which they thus injure; and therefore ordered, that they should all be employed in some handyworks, suitable to their sex. The empress Catharine took upon herself the care of sending for several handicrafts over from Brabant and Holland, whom she distributed among these convents, and, in a short time, they produced several kinds of work, which the empress and her ladies always wore as a part of their dress.

There cannot perhaps be any thing conceived more prudent than these institutions; but what merits the attention of all ages, is the regulation which Peter made himself, and which he addressed to the synod in 1724. The ancient ecclesiastical institution is there very learnedly explained, and the indolence of the monkish life admirably well exposed; and he not only

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recommends an application to labour and industry, but even commands it; and that the principal occupation of those people should be, to assist and relieve the poor. He likewise orders, that sick and infirm soldiers shall be quartered in the convents, and that a certain number of monks shall be set apart to take care of them, and that the most strong and healthy of these shall cultivate the lands belonging to those convents. He orders the same regulations to be observed in the monasteries for women, and that the strongest of these shall take care of the gardens, and the rest to wait on sick or infirm women, who shall be brought from the neighbouring country into the convents for that purpose. He also enters into the minutest details relating to these services; and lastly, he appoints certain monasteries of both sexes for the reception and education of orphans.

In reading this ordinance of Peter the Great, which was published the 31st January 1724, one would imagine it to have been framed by a minister of state and a father of the church.

Almost all the customs in the Russian church are different from those of ours. As soon as a man is made a sub-deacon, we prohibit him from marrying, and he is accounted guilty of sacrilege if he proves instrumental to the population of his country. On the contrary, when any one has taken a subdeacon's orders in Russia, he is obliged likewise to take a wife, and then may rise to the rank of priest, and arch-priest, but he cannot be made a bishop unless he is a widower and a monk.

Peter forbid all parish-priests from bringing up more than one son to the service of the church, unless it was particularly desired by the parishioners, and this he did, lest a numerous family might in time come to tyrannize over the parish. We may perceive in these little circumstances relating to church-government, that the legislator had always the good of the state in view, and that he took every precaution to make the clergy properly respected, without being dangerous, and that they should be neither contemptible nor powerful.

In those curious memoirs, composed by an officer who was a particular favourite of Peter the Great, I find the following anecdote. One day a person reading to the czar that number of the *English Spectator*, in which a parallel is drawn between him and Lewis XIV. "I do not think," said Peter, "that I deserve the preference that is here given me over that monarch; but I have been fortunate enough to have the superiority over him in one essential point, namely, that of having obliged my clergy to live in peace and submission, whereas my brother Lewis has suffered himself to be ruled by his."

A prince, whose days were almost wholly spent in the fatigues of war, and his nights in the compiling laws for the better government of so large an empire, and in directing so many great labours, thro' a space of two thousand leagues, must stand in need of some hours of amusement. Diversions at that time were neither so noble or elegant as they now are, and therefore we must not wonder if Peter amused himself with the entertainment of the sham conclave, of which mention

tion has been already made, and other diversions of the same stamp, which were frequently at the expence of the Romish church, to which he had a great dislike, and which was very pardonable in a prince of the Greek communion, who was determined to be master in his own dominions. He likewise gave several entertainments of the same kind at the expence of the monks of his own country ; but of the antient monks, whose follies and bigotry he wished to ridicule, while he strove to reform the new.

We have already seen, that, previous to his publishing his church-laws, he created one of his fools pope, and celebrated the feast of the sham conclave. This fool, whose name was Iosof, was between eighty or ninety. The czar took it into his head to make him marry an old widow of his own age, and to have their nuptials publicly solemnized ; he caused the invitation to the marriage guests to be made by four persons who were remarkable for stammering. The bride was conducted to church by decrepit old men, four of the most bulky men that could be found in Russia acted as running footmen. The music were seated in a waggon drawn by bears, whom they every now and then pricked with goads of iron, and who, by their roaring, formed a full base, perfectly agreeable to the concert in the cart. The married couple received the benediction in the cathedral from the hands of a deaf and blind priest, who, to appear more ridiculous, wore a large pair of spectacles on his nose. The procession, the wedding the marriage-feast, the undressing and putting, to bed of the bride and bridegroom, were all of a piece with the rest of this burlesque ceremony.

We may perhaps be apt to look upon this as a very trivial and ridiculous entertainment for a great prince; but is it more so than our carnival? or to see five or six hundred persons with masks on their faces, and dressed in the most ridiculous manner, skipping and jumping about together for a whole night in a large room, without speaking a word to each other?

In fine, were the ancient feasts of the fools and the ass, and the abbot of the cuckolds, which were formerly celebrated in our churches, much superior, or did our comedies of the foolish Mother exhibit marks of a greater genius?

C H A P. XV.

The Congress of Aland or Oeland. Death of Charles XII. &c. The Treaty of Nystadt.

THESE immense labours, this minute review of the whole Russian empire, and the melancholy proceedings against his unhappy son, were not the only objects which demanded the attention of the czar; it was necessary to secure himself without doors, at the same time that he was settling order and tranquillity within. The war with Sweden was still carried on, though faintly, in hopes of an approaching peace.

It is a known fact, that in the year 1717 Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister to Philip V. of Spain, and baron Goertz, who had gained an entire ascendant over the mind of Charles XII. had concerted a project to change the face of affairs in Europe, by effecting a reconciliation.

tion between this last prince and the czar, driving George I. from the English throne, and replacing Stanislaus on that of Poland, while cardinal Alberoni was to procure the regency of France for his master Philip. Goertz, as has been already observed, had opened his mind on this head to the czar himself. Alberoni had begun a negotiation with prince Kourakin, the czar's ambassador at the Hague, by means of the Spanish ambassador Barette Landi, a native of Mantua, who had, like the cardinal, quitted his own country to live in Spain.

Thus a set of foreigners were about to overturn the general system, for masters under whose dominion they were not born, or rather for themselves. Charles XII. gave into all these projects, and the czar contented himself with examining them in private. Since the year 1716 he had made only feeble efforts against Sweden, and those rather with a view to oblige that kingdom to purchase peace by restoring those places it had taken in the course of the war, than with an intent to crush it altogether.

The baron Goertz, ever active and indefatigable in his projects, had prevailed on the czar to send plenipotentiaries to the island of Oeland to set on foot a treaty of peace. Bruce, a Scotchman, and grand master of the ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who was afterwards at the head of affairs, arrived at the place appointed for the congress exactly at the time that the czarowitz was put under arrest at Moscow. Goertz and Gillembourg were already there on the part of Charles XII. both impatient to bring about a reconciliation be-

tween that prince and Peter, and to revenge themselves on the king of England. It was an extraordinary circumstance that there should be a congress, and no cessation of arms. The czar's fleet still continued cruizing on the coasts of Sweden, and taking the ships of that nation. Peter thought by keeping up hostilities to hasten the conclusion of a peace, of which he knew the Swedes stood greatly in need, and which must prove highly glorious to the conqueror.

Notwithstanding the little hostilities which still continued, every thing bespoke the speedy approach of peace. The preliminaries began by mutual acts of generosity, which produce stronger effects than many hand-writings. The czar sent back without ransom marshal Erenshild, whom he had taken prisoner with his own hands, and Charles in return did the same by Trubetskoy and Gollowin, who had continued prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva.

The negotiations now advanced apace, and a total change was going to be made in the affairs of the north. Goertz proposed to the czar to put the duchy of Mecklenbourg into his hands. Duke Charles its sovereign, who had married a daughter of czar John, Peter's elder brother, was at variance with the nobility of the country, who had taken arms against him. And Peter, who looked upon that prince as his brother-in-law, had an army in Mecklenbourg ready to espouse his cause. The king of England, elector of Hanover, declared on the side of the nobles. Here was another opportunity of mortifying the king of England, by putting Peter in possession of Mecklenbourg, who being already
ready

ready master of Livonia, would by this means, in a short time, become more powerful in Germany than any of its electors. The duchy of Courland was to be given to the duke of Mecklenbourg, as an equivalent for his own, together with a part of Prussia at the expence of Poland, who was to have Stanislaus again for its king. Bremen and Verden were to revert to Sweden; but these provinces could not be wrested out of the hands of the king of England but by force of arms; accordingly Goertz's project was (as we have already said) to effect a firm union between Peter and Charles XII. and that not only by the bands of peace, but by an offensive alliance, in which case they were jointly to send an army into Scotland. Charles XII. after having made himself master of Norway, was to make a descent on Great Britain, and he fondly imagined he should be able to set a new sovereign on the throne of those kingdoms, after having replaced one of his own chusing on that of Poland. Cardinal Alberoni promised both Peter and Charles to furnish them with subsidies. The fall of the king of England would, it was supposed, draw with it that of his ally the regent of France, who being thus deprived of all support, was to fall a victim to the victorious arms of Spain, and the discontent of the French nation.

Alberoni and Goertz now thought themselves secure of totally overturning the system of Europe, when a cannon-ball from the bastions of Frederickshal in Norway confounded all their mighty projects. Charles XII. was killed, the Spanish fleet was beaten by that of England, the conspiracy which

had been formed in France was discovered and quelled, Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz was beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable league so lately made, the czar alone retained his credit, who, by not having put himself in the power of any one, gave law to all his neighbours.

After the death of Charles XII. there was a total change of measures in Sweden. Charles had governed with a despotic power, and his sister Ulrica was elected Queen on express condition of renouncing arbitrary government. Charles intended to form an alliance with the czar against England and its allies, and the new government of Sweden now joined those allies against the czar.

The congress at Oeland; however, was not broken up; but the Swedes, now in league with the English, flattered themselves that the fleets of that nation sent into the Baltic would procure them a more advantageous peace. A body of Hanoverian troops entered the dominions of the duke of Mecklen-
Feb. 1716. bourg, but were soon driven from thence by the czar's forces.

Peter likewise had a body of troops in Poland, which kept in awe both the party of Augustus, and that of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet always ready, either to make a descent on their coasts, or to oblige the Swedish government to hasten matters in the congress. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, and several lesser ones, besides frigates and galleys. The czar served on board this fleet as vice-admiral, under the command of admiral Apraxin.

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A part of this fleet signalized itself in the beginning against a Swedish squadron, and after an obstinate engagement took one ship of the line, and two frigates. Peter, who constantly endeavoured, by every possible means, to encourage and improve the navy he had been at so much pains to establish, gave, on this occasion, 60,000 French livres * in money among the officers of this squadron, with several gold medals, besides conferring marks of honour on those who principally distinguished themselves.

About this time also the English fleet under admiral Norris came up the Baltic, in order to favour the Swedes. Peter, who well knew how far he could depend on his new navy, was not to be frightened by the English, but boldly kept the sea, and sent to know of the English admiral if he was come only as a friend to the Swedes, or as an enemy to Russia? The admiral returned for answer, that he had not as yet any positive orders from his court on that head; however Peter, notwithstanding this equivocal reply, continued to keep the sea with his fleet.

The English fleet, which in fact was come thither only to shew itself, and thereby induce the czar to grant more favourable conditions of peace to the Swedes, went to Copenhagen, and the Russians made some descents on the Swedish coast, and even in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen, where they destroyed some copper mines, burnt about 15,000 houses, and did mischief enough to make July 1719. the Swedes heartily wish for a speedy conclusion of the peace.

* About 3000 l. sterling

Accordingly, the new queen of Sweden pressed the renewal of the negotiations; Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm, and matters continued in this situation during the whole of the year 1719.

The following year the prince of Hesse, husband to the queen of Sweden, and now become king, in virtue of her having yielded up the sovereign power in his favour, began his reign by sending a minister to the court of Petersburg, in order to hasten the so much desired peace; but the war was still carried on in the midst of these negotiations.

The English fleet joined that of the Swedes, but did not yet commit any hostilities, as there was no open rupture between the courts of Russia and England, and admiral Norris even offered his master's mediation towards bringing about a peace; but as this offer was made with arms in hand, it rather retarded than facilitated the negotiations. The coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian provinces in the Baltic, are so situated, that the former lay open to every insult, while the latter are secured by their difficult access. This was clearly seen when admiral Norris, after having thrown off the mask, made a descent in conjunction with the

Swedish fleet on a little island in June 1720. the province of Esthonia, called Narguen, which belonged to the

czar, where they only burnt a peasant's house; but the Russians at the same time made a descent near Wafa, and burnt 41 villages, and upwards of 1000 houses, and did an infinite deal of damage to the country round about. Prince Galitzin boarded and took four Swedish frigates,

gates, and the English admiral seemed to have come only to be spectator of that pitch of glory to which the czar had raised his infant navy, for he had but just shewn himself in those seas, when the Swedish frigates were carried in triumph into the harbour of Cronstot before Petersburg *. On this occasion, methinks, the English did too much if they came only as mediators, and too little if as enemies.

Nov. 1720.] At length, the new king of Sweden demanded a cessation of arms; and as he found the menaces of the English had stood him in no stead, he had recourse to the duke of Orleans, the French regent; and this prince, at once an ally of Russia and Sweden, had the honour of effecting a Feb. 1721. reconciliation between them. He

sent Campredon his plenipotentiary to the court of Petersburg, and from thence to that of Stockholm. A congress was opened at Ny-stadt †; but the czar would not agree to a cessation of arms till matters were on the point of being concluded, and the plenipotentiaries ready to sign. He had an army in Finland ready to subdue the rest of that province, and his fleets were continually threatening the Swedish coasts, so that he seemed absolute master of dictating the terms of peace; accordingly they subscribed to whatever he thought fit to demand. By this

* The czar celebrated this victory by a naval triumph at Peterburgh, caused a gold medal to be struck to perpetuate the glory of the action, presented prince Galitzin with a sword set with diamonds, and distributed a large sum of money among the officers and sailors who had given such signal proofs of their valour.

† A little town of the Bothnick gulf in North Finland.

treaty he was to remain in perpetual possession of all that his arms had conquered, from the borders of Courland to the extremity of the gulph of Finland, and from thence again of the whole extent of the country of Kexholm, and that narrow slip of Finland which stretches out to the northward of the neighbourhood of Kexholm, so that he remained master of all Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, with the country of Wybourg, and the neighbouring isles, which secured to him the sovereignty of the sea, as likewise of the isles of Oesel, Dago, Mona, and several others: the whole forming an extent of 3000 leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which altogether made a large kingdom, that proved the reward of twenty years immense pains and labour.

The peace was signed at Nystadt the 10th September 1721, N. S. by the Russian minister Osterman, and general Bruce.

Peter was the more rejoiced at that event, as it freed him from the necessity of keeping such large armies on the frontiers of Sweden, as also from any apprehensions on the part of England, or of the neighbouring states, and left him at full liberty to exert his whole attention to the new modelling of his empire, in which he had already made so successful a beginning, and to cherish arts and commerce, which he had introduced among his subjects, at the expence of infinite labour and industry.

In the first transports of his satisfaction, we find him writing in these terms to his plenipotentiaries: " You have drawn up the treaty as
" if we ourself had dictated and sent it to you
" to offer the Swedes to sign. This glorious
" event

“ event shall be ever present to our remembrance.”

All degrees of people throughout the Russian empire gave proofs of their satisfaction, by the most extraordinary rejoicings of all kinds, and particularly at Petersburg. The triumphal festivals, with which the czar had entertained his people, during the course of the war, were nothing to compare to these rejoicings for the peace, which every one hailed with unutterable satisfaction. The peace itself was the most glorious of all his triumphs; and what pleased more than all the pompous shews on the occasion, was a free pardon and general release granted to all prisoners, and a general remission of all sums due to the royal treasury for taxes throughout the whole empire, to the day of the publication of the peace. In consequence of which a multitude of unhappy wretches, who had been confined in prison, were set at liberty, excepting only those guilty of highway-robbery, murder, or treason †.

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† Notwithstanding the great rejoicings made on this occasion, Peter was no ways inattentive to the affairs of state; but held frequent councils thereon: and being desirous, as his son Peter-Petrowitz was dead, to settle the succession on a prince who would follow his maxims, and prosecute the great designs which he had begun for civilizing his people, he ordered public notice to be given, on the 23d of February, to all his subjects inhabiting the city of Moscow, to repair the next day to Castle-church; which they having done, printed papers were delivered to them all, signifying, “ That it was his imperial majesty’s pleasure, that every man should swear, and give under his hand, that he would not only approve the choice his majesty should make of a successor, but acknowledge the person he should appoint as emperor and sovereign.” An order was likewise published a few days after at Petersburg, requiring the magistrates, and all other persons, to subscribe the same
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It was at this time that the senate decreed Peter the titles of *Great, Emperor and Father of his Country*. Count Golofkin, the high chancellor, made a speech to the czar in the great cathedral, in the name of all the orders of the state, the senators crying aloud, *Long live our emperor and father!* in which acclamations they were joined by the united voice of all the people present. The ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and the States-General, waited on him, with their congratulations on the titles lately bestowed on him, and formally acknowledged for emperor him who had been always publicly known in Holland by that title, ever since the battle of Pultowa. The names of *Father*, and of *Great*, were glorious epithets, which no one in Europe could dispute him; that of *Emperor* was only an honorary title, given by custom to the sovereigns of Germany, as titular kings of the Romans; and it requires time before such appellations come to be formally adopted by those courts where forms of state and real glory are different

declaration; and all the grantees of the empire were commanded, on pain of death and confiscation, to repair to Moscow by the latter end of March for that purpose, except those inhabiting Astracan and Siberia, who, living at too great a distance, were excused from giving their personal attendance, and permitted to subscribe before their respective governors. This oath was readily taken by all ranks and degrees of the people, who were well assured that their emperor would make choice of one who was every way worthy of the succession, and capable of supporting the dignity intended for him: but they were still in the dark as to the identical person, though it was generally believed to be prince Nariskin, who was nearly related to the emperor, and allowed to have all the qualities requisite for his successor: but a little time shewed them, that this conjecture was groundless,

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things. But Peter was in a short time after acknowledged emperor by all the states of Europe, excepting only that of Poland, which was still divided by factions, and the pope, whose suffrage was become of very little significance since the court of Rome had lost its credit in proportion as other nations became more enlightened.

CHAP. XVI.

Conquests in PERSIA.

THE situation of Russia is such, as necessarily obliges her to keep up certain connections with all the nations that lie in the 5th degree of north latitude. When under a bad administration, she was a prey by turns to the Tartars, the Swedes, and the Poles; but when governed by a resolute and vigorous prince, she became formidable to all her neighbours. Peter began his reign by an advantageous treaty with the Chinese. He had waged war at one and the same time against the Swedes and the Turks, and now prepared to lead his victorious armies into Persia.

At this time Persia began to fall into that deplorable state, in which we now behold her. Let us figure to ourselves the thirty years war in Germany, the times of the league, those of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the reigns of Charles VI. and of king John in France, the civil wars in England, the long and horrible ravages of the whole Russian empire by the Tartars, or their invasion of
China;

China; and then we shall have some slight conception of the miseries under which the Persian empire has so long groaned.

A weak and indolent prince, and a powerful and enterprising subject, are sufficient to plunge a whole nation into such an abyss of disasters. Hussein, sha, shaic, or sophi of Persia, a descendant of the great sha Abbas, who sat at this time on the throne of Persia, had given himself wholly up to luxury and effeminacy: his prime minister committed acts of the greatest violence and injustice, which this great prince winked at, and this gave rise to forty years desolation and bloodshed.

Persia, like Turkey, has several provinces, all governed in a different manner; she has subjects immediately under her dominion, vassals, tributary princes, and even nations, to whom the court was wont to pay a tribute, under the name of subsidies: for instance, the people of Daghestan, who inhabit the branches of mount Caucasus, to the westward of the Caspian sea, which was formerly a part of the ancient Albania; for all nations have changed their appellation and their limits. These are now called Leshians, and are mountaineers, who are rather under the protection, than the dominion of Persia; to these the government paid subsidies, for defending the frontiers.

At the other extremity of the empire, towards the Indies, was the prince of Candahar, who commanded a kind of martial militia, called Aghwans. This prince of Candahar was a vassal of the Persian, as the hospodars of Walachia and Moldavia are of the Turkish empire: this

vassalage was not hereditary, but exactly the same with the ancient feudal tenures established throughout Europe, by that race of Tartars who overthrew the Roman empire. The Aghwan militia, of which the prince of Candahar was the head, was the same with the Albanians on the coasts of the Caspian sea, in the neighbourhood of Daghestan, and a mixture of Circassians and Georgians, like the ancient Mamelucks who enslaved Egypt. The name of Aghwans is a corruption; Timur, whom we call Tamerlane, had led these people into India, and they remained settled in the province of Candahar, which sometimes belonged to the Mogul empire, and sometimes to that of Persia. It was these Aghwans and Lefgians who began the revolution.

Mir-Weis, or Meriwitz, intendant of the province, whose office was only to collect the tributes, assassinated the prince of Candahar, armed the militia, and continued master of the province till his death, which happened in 1717. His brother came quietly to the succession, by paying a slight tribute to the Persian court. But the son of Mir-Weis, who inherited the ambition of his father, assassinated his uncle, and began to erect himself into a conqueror. This young man was called Mir-Mahmoud, but he was known in Europe only by the name of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Mahmoud reinforced his Aghwans, by adding to them all the Guebres he could get together. These Guebres were an ancient race of Persians, who had been dispersed by the caliph Omar, and who still continued

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attached to the religion of the Magi (formerly flourishing in the reign of Cyrus) and were always secret enemies to the new Persians. Having assembled his forces, Mahmoud marched into the heart of Persia, at the head of an hundred thousand men.

At the same time the Lescians or Albanians, who, on account of the troublesome times, had not received their subsidies from the court of Persia, came down from their mountains with an armed force, so that the flames of civil war were lighted up at both ends of the empire, and extended themselves even to the capital.

These Lescians ravaged all that country, which stretches along the western borders of the Caspian sea, as far as Derbent, or the iron-gate. In this country is situated the city of Shamache, about fifteen leagues distant from the sea, and is said to have been the ancient residence of Cyrus, and by the Greeks called Cyropolis, for we know nothing of the situation or names of these countries but what we have from the Greeks; but as the Persians never had a prince called Cyrus, much less had they any city called Cyropolis. It is much in the same manner that the Jews, who commenced authors when they were settled in Alexandria, framed a notion of a city called Scythopolis, which, said they, was built by the Scythians in the neighbourhood of Judea, as if either Scythians or ancient Jews could have given Greek names to their towns.

The city of Shamache was very rich. The Armenians who inhabit in the neighbourhood of this part of the Persian empire, carried on
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an immense traffic there, and Peter had lately established a company of Russian merchants at his own expence, which company became very flourishing. The Lesgians made themselves masters of this city by surprize, plundered it, and put to death all the Russians who traded there under the protection of shah Hussein, after having stripped all their warehouses. The loss on this occasion was said to amount to four millions of rubles.

Peter upon this sent to demand satisfaction of the emperor Hussein, who was then disputing the throne with the rebel Mahmoud, who had usurped it, and likewise of Mahmoud himself. The former of these was willing to do the czar justice, the other refused it; Peter therefore resolved to right himself, and take advantage of the distractions in the Persian empire.

Mir Mahmoud still pushed his conquests in Persia. The sophi hearing that the emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian sea, in order to revenge the murder of his subjects at Shamache, made private application to him, by the means of an Armenian, to take upon him at the same time the defence of Persia.

Peter had for a considerable time formed a project to make himself master of the Caspian sea, by means of a powerful naval force, and to turn the tide of commerce from Persia and a part of India through his own dominions. He had caused several parts of this sea to be sounded, the coasts to be surveyed, and exact charts made of the whole. He then set sail for the coast of Persia the 15th day of May, 1722. Catherine accompanied him in this voyage, as
she

she had done in the former. They sailed down the Wolga as far as the city of Astracan. From thence he hastened to forward the canals which were to join the Caspian, the Baltic, and Euxine seas, a work which has been since executed in part under the reign of his grandson.

While he was directing these works, the necessary provisions for his expedition were arrived in the Caspian sea. He was to take with him 22,000 foot, 9000 dragoons, 15,000 cossacks, and 3000 seamen, who were to work the ships, and occasionally assist the soldiery in making descents on the coast. The horse were to march over land through deserts where there was frequently no water to be had, and afterwards to pass over the mountains of Caucasus, where 300 men are sufficient to stop the progress of a whole army; but the distracted condition in which Persia then was, warranted the most hazardous enterprizes.

The czar sailed about an hundred leagues to the southward of Astracan, till he came to the little town of Andrewhoff. It may appear extraordinary to hear of the name of Andrew on the coasts of the Hyrcanian sea; but some Georgians, who were formerly a sect of Christians, had built this town, which the Persians afterwards fortified; but it fell an easy prey to the czar's arms. From thence he continued advancing by land into the province of Daghestan, and caused manifestos to be circulated in the

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Turkish and Persian languages *. It was necessary to keep fair with the Ottoman Porte, who reckoned among its subjects, not only the Circassians and Georgians, who border upon this country, but also several powerful vassals, who had of late put themselves under the protection of the grand signior.

Among others there was one very powerful, named Mahmoud d'Utmich, who took the title of sultan, and had the courage to attack the czar's troops, by which he was totally defeated, and the story says that his whole country was made a bonfire on the occasion.

Sept. 14, 1722.] In a short time afterwards Peter arrived at the city of Derbent, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, that is, the Iron Gate, and so named from having formerly had an iron gate at the south entrance. The city is long and narrow, its upper part joins to a rocky branch of mount Caucasus, and the walls of the lower part are washed by the sea, which in violent storms make a breach over them. These walls might pass for one of the wonders of antiquity, being forty feet in height, and six in breadth, defended with square towers at the distance of

* These he published and distributed along the borders of the Caspian sea, therein declaring, "That he came not upon the frontiers of Persia, with an intention of reducing any of the provinces of that kingdom to his obedience, but only to maintain the lawful possessor of them on his throne, and to defend him powerfully, together with his faithful subjects, against the tyranny of Mir Mahmoud, and to obtain satisfaction from him and his Tartars, for the robberies and mischiefs which they had committed in the Russian empire."

every

every fifty feet. The whole work seems one uniform piece, and is built of a sort of brown free-stone mixed with pounded shells, which served as mortar, so that the whole forms a mass harder than marble. The city lies open from the sea, but that part of it next the land appears impregnable. There are still some ruins of an old wall like that of China, which must have been built in the earliest times of antiquity, and stretched from the borders of the Caspian sea to the Pontus Euxinus; and this was probably a rampart raised by the ancient kings of Persia against those swarms of barbarian herds which dwelt between these two seas.

According to the Persian tradition, the city of Derbent was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander the Great. Arrian and Quintus Curtius tell us, that Alexander absolutely rebuilt this city. They say indeed that it was on the banks of the Tanais or Don, but then in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Cyrus, which runs by the city. It would be a contradiction to suppose that Alexander should build an harbour in the Caspian sea, on a river that opens into the Black sea.

There were formerly three or four other ports in different parts of the Caspian sea, all which were probably built with the same view, for the several nations inhabiting to the west, east, and north of that sea, have in all times been barbarians, who had rendered themselves formidable to the rest of the world, and from hence principally issued those swarms of conquerors who subjected Asia and Europe.

And

And here I must beg leave to remark how much pleasure authors in all ages have taken to impose upon mankind, and how much they have preferred a vain shew of eloquence to matter of fact. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouths of Scythians an admirable speech full of moderation and philosophy, as if the Tartars of those regions had been all so many sages, and that Alexander had not been the general nominated by the Greeks against the king of Persia, sovereign of the greatest part of southern Scythia and the Indies. Other rhetoricians, thinking to imitate Quintus Curtius, have studied to make us look upon those savages of Caucasus and its dreary deserts, who lived wholly upon rapine and bloodshed, as the people in the world most remarkable for austere virtue and justice, and have painted Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of those who would have enslaved him and his country, as a public robber, who had ravaged the world without justice or reason.

Such writers do not consider, that these Tartars were never other than destroyers, and that Alexander built towns in the very country which they inhabited; and in this respect I may venture to compare Peter the Great to Alexander; like him he was assiduous and indefatigable in his pursuits, a lover and friend of the useful arts; he surpassed him as a law-giver, and like him endeavoured to change the tide of commerce in the world, and built and repaired at least as many towns as that celebrated hero of antiquity.

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent resolved not to sustain a siege, whether he thought he was not able to defend the place, or that he preferred the czar's protection to that of the tyrant Mahmoud; brought the keys of the town and citadel (which were silver) and presented them to Peter, whose army peaceably entered the city, and then encamped on the sea-shore.

The usurper Mahmoud, already master of great part of Persia, in vain endeavoured to prevent the czar from taking possession of Derbent: he stirred up the neighbouring Tartars, and marched into Persia to the relief of the place, but too late, for Derbent was already in the hands of the conqueror.

Peter however was not in a condition to push his successes any further at this time. The vessels which were bringing him a fresh supply of provisions, horses, and recruits, had been cast away near Astracan, and the season was far spent. He therefore returned to Jan. 5. Moscow, which he entered in triumph; and after his arrival (according to custom) gave a strict account of his expedition to the vice-czar Romadanowski, thus keeping up this extraordinary farce, which, says his eulogium, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, ought to have been performed before all the monarchs of the earth.

The empire of Persia continued to be divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud. The first of these thought to find a protector in the czar, and the other dreaded him as an avenger, who was come to snatch the fruits of his rebellion

rebellion out of his hands. Mahmoud exerted all his endeavours to stir up the Ottoman Porte against Peter, and for this purpose sent an embassy to Constantinople, while the princes of Daghestan, who were under the protection of the grand signior, and who had been stript of their territories by the victorious army of Peter, cried aloud for vengeance. The divan was now alarmed for the safety of Georgia, which the Turks reckon in the number of their dominions.

The grand signior was on the point of declaring war against the czar, but was prevented by the courts of Vienna and Paris. The emperor of Germany at the same time declared, that if Russia should be attacked by the Turks, he must be obliged to defend it. The marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, made a dextrous use of the menaces of the Imperial court, and at the same time insinuated, that it was contrary to the true interests of the Turkish empire, to suffer a rebel and an usurper to set the example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the czar had done no more than what the grand signior himself ought to have done.

During these delicate negotiations, Mir Mahmoud was advanced to the gates of Derbent, and had laid waste all the neighbouring country in order to cut off all means of subsistence from the Russian army. That part of ancient Hyrcania, now called Ghilan, was reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants threw themselves under the protection of the Russians, whom they looked upon as their deliverers.

In this they followed the example of the sophi himself. That unfortunate prince sent a formal embassy to Peter the Great, to request his assistance; but the ambassador was hardly departed, when the rebel Mir Mahmoud seized on Ispahan and the person of his master.

Thamaseb, the son of the dethroned sophi, who was taken prisoner, found means to escape out of the tyrant's hands, and got together a body of troops, with which he gave the usurper battle. He seconded his father's entreaties to Peter the Great for his protection, and sent to the ambassador the same instructions which Shah Hussein had given him.

This ambassador, whose name was Ishmael Beg, found that his negotiations had proved successful, even before he arrived in person, for, on landing at Astracan, he learnt that general Matufskin was going to set out with fresh recruits to reinforce the army in Daghestan. The city of Baku or Bachu, which with the Persians gives to the Caspian sea the name of the sea of Bachu, was not yet taken. The ambassador therefore gave the Russian general a letter for the inhabitants, in which he exhorted them in his master's name to submit to the emperor of Russia. The ambassador then proceeded for Petersbourg, and general Matufskin departed to lay siege to the city of Bachu.

Aug. 1723. The Persian ambassador arrived at the czar's court the very day that tidings were brought of the reduction of that city.

Baku is situate near Shamachi, but is neither so well peopled, nor so rich as the latter. It is chiefly

chiefly remarkable for the naptha, with which it furnishes all Persia. Never was treaty so speedily concluded as that of Ishmael Beg. Czar Peter promised to march with his forces into Persia, in order to revenge the death of his subjects, and to succour Thamaseb against the usurper of his crown, and the new sopher in return was to cede to him not only the towns of Bachu and Derbent, but likewise the provinces of Guilan, Mazanderan, Aferabath.

Ghilan is, as we have already observed, the ancient South Hyrcania; Mazanderan, which joins to it, is the country of the Mardi, or Mardians; and Aferabath borders upon Mazanderan. These were the three principal provinces of the ancient Median kings; so that Peter beheld himself, by the means of arms and treaties, in possession of the original kingdom of Cyrus.

It may not be foreign to our subject to observe, that, by the articles of this convention, the prices of necessaries to be furnished to the army were settled. A camel was to cost only sixty franks (about twelve roubles) a pound of bread no more than five farthings, the same weight of beef about six. These prices furnish a convincing proof of the plenty he found in these countries, that possessions in land are of the most intrinsic value, and that money, which is only of nominal worth, was at that time very scarce.

Such was the deplorable state to which Persia was then reduced, that the unfortunate sopher Thamaseb, a wanderer in his own kingdom, and flying before the face of the rebel Mahmoud,

who had dipt his hands in the blood of his father and his brothers, was necessitated to entreat the court of Russia and the Turkish divan to accept of one part of his dominions to preserve for him the rest.

It was agreed then, between czar Peter, sultan Achmet III. and the sophi Thamaseb, that the first of these should keep the three provinces above-named, and that the Porte should have Casbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what she had already taken from the usurper. Thus was this noble kingdom dismembered at once by the Russians, the Turks, and the Persians themselves.

And now the emperor Peter might be said to extend his dominions from the further part of the Baltic sea, beyond the southern limits of the Caspian. Persia still continued a prey to violations and devastations, and its natives, till then opulent and polite, were now sunk in poverty and barbarism, while the Russian people had arisen from indigence and ignorance to a state of riches and learning. One single man, by a resolute and enterprizing genius, had brought his country out of obscurity; and another, by his weakness and indolence, had brought destruction upon his.

Hitherto we know very little of the private calamities which for so long a time spread desolation over the face of the Persian empire. It is said, that Shah Hussein was so pusillanmous as to place with his own hands the tiara or crown of Persia on the head of the usurper Mahmoud, and also that this Mahmoud afterwards went mad. Thus the lives of so many thousands of men depend on the caprice of a madman or a fool.

fool. They add furthermore, that Mahmoud, in one of his fits of phrenzy, put to death with his own hand all the sons and nephews of the Shah Hussein to the number of an hundred; and that he caused the gospel of St. John to be read upon his head, in order to purify himself, and to receive a cure for his disorder. These and such like Persian fables have been circulated by our monks, and afterwards printed in Paris.

The tyrant, after having murdered his uncle, was in his turn put to death by his nephew Eschreff, who was as cruel and bloody a tyrant as Mahmoud himself.

Shah Thamaseb still continued imploring the assistance of Russia. This Thamaseb or Sha Thomas, was assisted, and afterwards replaced on the throne by the famous Kouli Kan, and was again dethroned by the same Kouli Kan.

The revolutions and wars which Russia had afterwards to encounter against the Turks, and in which she proved victorious, the evacuating the three provinces in Persia, which cost Russia more to keep them than they were worth, are events which do not concern Peter the Great, as they did not happen till several years after his death; it may suffice to observe, that he finished his military career by adding three provinces to his empire on the part next to Persia, after having just before added the same number on that side next to Sweden.

C H A P. XVII. and Last.

Of the Coronation of the Empress Catherine I.
and the Death of Peter the Great.

PETER, at his return from his Persian expedition, found himself in a better condition than ever to be the arbiter of the North. He now openly declared himself the protector of Charles XII. whose professed enemy he had been for eighteen years. He sent for the duke of Holstein, nephew to that monarch, to his court, promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and began to make preparations for supporting him in his claims on the duchy of Holstein Sleswick, and even engaged Feb. 1724. himself so to do by a treaty of alliance, which he concluded with the crown of Sweden.

He continued the works he had begun all over his empire, to the further extremity of Kamtschatka, and for the better direction of them, established an academy of sciences at Petersburg. The arts began now to flourish on every side : manufactures were encouraged, the navy was augmented, the army well-provided, and the laws properly enforced. He now enjoyed his glory in full repose ; but was desirous of sharing it in a new manner with her who, according to his own declaration, by remedying the disaster of the campaign of Pruth, had been in some measure the instrument of his acquiring that glory.

Accor-

Accordingly, the coronation of his consort Catherine was performed at Moscow in presence of the duchess of Courland, May 28, his eldest brother's daughter, and 1724. the duke of Holstein his intended son-in-law. The declaration which he published on this occasion merits attention: he therein cites the examples of several Christian princes who had placed the crown on the heads of their consorts, as likewise those of the heathen emperors Bassilides, Justinian, Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher. He enumerates the services Catherine had done to the state, and in particular in the war against the Turks, where my army, says he, which had been reduced to 22,000 men, had to encounter an enemy above 200,000 strong. He does not say in this declaration that the empress was to succeed to the crown after his death; but this ceremony, which was altogether new and unusual in the Russian empire, was one of those means by which he prepared the minds of his subjects for such an event. Another circumstance that might perhaps furnish a stronger reason to believe that he destined Catherine to succeed him on the throne, was, that he himself marched on foot before her the day of her coronation, as captain of a new company, which he had created under the name of the *knights of the empress*.

When they arrived at the cathedral, Peter himself placed the crown on her head; and when she would have fallen down and embraced his knees, he prevented her; and at their return from the church, caused the sceptre and globe to be carried before her. The ceremony

was altogether worthy an emperor, for on every public occasion Peter shewed as much pomp and magnificence as he did plainness and simplicity in his private manner of living.

Having thus crowned his spouse, he at length determined to give his eldest daughter Anna Petrowna in marriage to the duke of Holstein. This princess greatly resembled her father in the face, was very majestic, and of a singular beauty. She was betrothed to the duke of Holstein on the 24th of November 1724, but with very little ceremony. Peter having for some time past found his health greatly impaired, and this, together with some family uneasinesses, that perhaps rather increased his disorder, which in a short time proved fatal, permitted him to have but very little relish for feasts or public diversions in this latter part of his life.

* The empress Catherine had at that time a young man for the chamberlain of her household, whose name was Moens de la Croix, a native of Russia, but of Flemish parents, remarkably handsome and genteel. His sister madame de Balc was bed-chamber woman to the empress, and these two had entirely the management of her household. Being both accused of having taken presents, they were sent to prison, and afterwards brought to their trial by express order of the czar; who, by an edict in the year 1714, had forbidden any one holding a place about court to receive any present or other gratuity, on pain of being declared infamous, and suffering death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

* Memoirs of Bassewitz,

The brother and sister were found guilty, and received sentence, and all those who had either purchased their services or given them any gratuity in return for the same, were included therein, except the duke of Holstein and his minister count Bassowitz ; as it is probable that the presents made by that prince to those who had a share in bringing about his marriage with the czar's daughter were not looked upon in a criminal light.

Moen was condemned to be beheaded, and his sister (who was the empress's favourite) to receive eleven strokes of the knout. The two sons of this lady, one of whom was an officer in the household, and the other a page, were degraded, and sent to serve as private soldiers in the army in Persia.

These severities, though they shock our manners, were perhaps necessary in a country where the observance of the laws is to be enforced only by the most terrifying rigour. The empress solicited her favourites pardon ; but the czar, offended at her application, peremptorily refused her, and in the heat of his passion, seeing a fine looking-glass in the apartment, he with one blow of his fist broke it into a thousand pieces ; and turning to the empress, " Thus, said he, " thou seest I can with one stroke of my hand " reduce this glass to its original dust." Catherine, in a melting accent, replied, " It " is true, you have destroyed one of the great- " est ornaments of your palace, but do you " think that palace is the more charming for " its loss ?" This answer appeased the emperor's wrath ; but all the favour that Catherine could obtain for her bed-chamber woman was, that

that she should receive only five strokes of the knout instead of eleven.

I should not have related this anecdote, had it not been attested by a public minister, who was eye-witness of the whole transaction, and who, by having made presents to the unfortunate brother and sister, was perhaps himself one of the principal causes of their disgrace and sufferings. It was this affair which emboldened those who judge of every thing in the worst light, to spread the report that Catherine hastened the death of her husband, whose choleric disposition filled her with apprehensions that overweighed the gratitude she owed him for the many favours he had heaped upon her.

These cruel suspicions were confirmed by Catherine's recalling to court her woman of the bed-chamber immediately upon the death of the czar, and re-inflating her in her former influence. It is the duty of an historian to relate the public reports which have been circulated in all times in states, on the decease of princes who have been snatched away by a premature death, as if nature was not alone sufficient to put a period to the existence of a crowned head as well as that of a beggar; but is likewise the duty of an historian to shew how far such reports were rashly or unjustly formed.

There is an immense distance between the momentary discontent which may arise from the morose or harsh behaviour of an husband, and the desperate resolution of poisoning that husband, who is at the same time our sovereign and benefactor in the highest degree. The danger attending such a design would have been as great as it was criminal. Catherine had at that time a power-
ful

ful party against her, who espoused the cause of the son of the deceased czarowitz. Nevertheless, neither that faction, nor any one person about the court, once suspected the czarina; and the vague rumours which were spread on this head were founded only on the mistaken notions of foreigners, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the affair, and who chose to indulge the wretched pleasure of accusing of heinous crimes those whom they thought interested to commit them. But it was even very doubtful whether this was at all the case with Catherine. It was far from being certain that she was to succeed her husband. She had been crowned indeed, but only in the character of wife to the reigning sovereign, and not as one who was to enjoy the sovereign authority after his death.

Peter in his declaration had only ordered this coronation as a matter of ceremony, and not as conferring a right of governing. He therein only cited the examples of emperors, who had caused their consorts to be crowned, but not of those who had conferred on them the royal authority. In fine, at the very time of Peter's illness, several persons believed that the princess Anna Petrowna would succeed him jointly with her husband the duke of Holstein, or that the czar would nominate his grandson for his successor; therefore, so far from Catherine's being interested in the death of the emperor, she rather seemed concerned in the preservation of his life.

It is undeniable, that Peter had, for a considerable time, been troubled with an abscess in the bladder, and a stoppage of urine. The mineral waters of Olnitz, and some others, which
he

he had been advised to use, had proved of very little service to him, and he had found himself growing sensibly weaker, ever since the beginning of the year 1724. His labours, from which he would not allow himself any respite, encreased his disorder, and hastened his end:

Jan. 1725. his malady became now more and more desperate; he felt burning pains, which threw him into an almost constant delirium*. Whenever he had a moment's interval, he endeavoured to write, but he could only scrawl a few lines that were wholly unintelligible; and it was, with the greatest difficulty, that the following words, in the Russian language, could be distinguished. *Let every thing be given to* ———

He then called for the princess Anna Petrowna, in order to dictate to her, but by that time she could come to his bed-side, he had lost his speech, and fell into a fit, which lasted sixteen hours. The empress Catherine
 Death of did not quit his bed-side for three
 PETER the nights together. At length, he
 GREAT. breathed his last in her arms,
 on the 28th Jan. 1725, about four
 o'clock in the morning.

His body was conveyed into the great hall of the palace, accompanied by all the imperial family, the senate, all the principal personages of state, and an innumerable concourse of people. It was there exposed on a bed of state, and every one was permitted to approach and kiss his hand,

* MS. memoirs of the count de Bassewitzs

till the day of his interment, which was on the 10-21st of March 1725 †.

It

† Catherine paid the last duties to her husband's ashes, with a pomp becoming the greatest monarch that Russia, or perhaps any other country, had ever known; and though there is no court of Europe, where splendor and magnificence is carried to a greater height on these occasions than in that of Russia; yet it may with great truth be said, that she even surpassed herself in the funeral honours paid to her great Peter. She purchased the most precious kinds of marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors of Italy to erect a mausoleum to this hero, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of his great actions to the most distant ages. Not satisfied with this, she caused a medal to be struck, worthy of the ancients. On one side was represented the bust of the late emperor, with these Words; **PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR AND SOVEREIGN OF ALL RUSSIA, BORN MAY XXX. MDCLXXII.** On the reverse was the empress sitting, with the crown on her head, the globe and sceptre by her side on a table, and before her were a sphere, sea-charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus. At distances, in three different places, were represented an edifice on the sea-coast, with a platform before it, a ship and galley at sea, and the late emperor in the clouds, supported by eternity, looking on the empress, and shewing her with his right hand all the treasures he had left her, with these words, "Behold what I have left you." In the exergue, "deceased 28 January, 1725." Several of these medals she ordered to be struck in gold, to the weight of fifty ducats, and distributed among the foreign ministers, and all the grandees of the empire, as a testimony of her respect and gratitude to the memory of her late husband, to whose generosity she took a pleasure in owning herself indebted for her present elevated station.

Mottley gives us the following, as the czar's epitaph:

Here lieth,

All that could die of a Man immortal,

PETER ALEXOWITZ:

It is almost superfluous to add,

GREAT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA:

A Title!

Which, instead of adding to his Glory,

Became

It has been thought, and it has been asserted in print, that he had appointed his wife Catherine to succeed him in the empire, by his last will: but the truth is, that he never made any will, or at least none that ever appeared; a most astonishing negligence in so great a legislator, and a proof that he did not think his disorder mortal.

No one knew, at the time of his death, who was to succeed him: he left behind him his grandson Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis, and his eldest daughter Anne, married to the duke of Holstein. There was a considerable faction in favour of young Peter; but prince Menzikoff, who had never had any other inter-

Became glorious by his wearing it.

Let Antiquity be dumb,

Nor boast her ALEXANDER, or her CÆSAR,

How easy was Victory

To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes?

And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain

At being thought less vigilant than their Generals?

But He,

Who in this Place first knew Rest,

Found Subjects base and inactive,

Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,

Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of Danger;

Creatures, with the Names of Men;

But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!

Yet, even these

He polish'd from their native Ruggedness;

And, breaking out like a new Sun,

To illuminate the Minds of a People,

Dispell'd their Night of hereditary Darknes;

And, by force of his invincible Influence,

Taught them to conquer

Even the Conquerors of Germany.

Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies;

This Commander created them.

Blush, O Art! at a Heroe who owed thee nothing.

Exult, O Nature! for thine was this Prodigy.

rests

rests than those of the empress Catherine, took care to be before-hand with all parties, and their designs, and accordingly, when the czar was upon the point of giving up the ghost, he caused the empress to remove into another apartment of the palace, where all their friends were assembled ready: he had the royal treasures conveyed into the citadel, and secured the guards in his interest, as likewise the archbishop of Novogorod, and then they held a private council, in presence of the empress Catherine, and one Macarof a secretary, in whom they could confide, at which the duke of Holstein's minister assisted.

At the breaking up of this council, the empress returned to the czar's bed-side, who soon after yielded up the ghost in her arms. As soon as his death was made known, the principal senators and general officers repaired to the palace, where the empress made a speech to them, which prince Menzikoff answered in the name of all present. The empress being withdrawn, they proceeded to consider the proper forms to be observed on the occasion, when Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskow, told the assembly, that, on the eve of the coronation of the empress Catherine, the deceased czar had declared to him, that his sole reason for placing the crown on her head, was that she might wear it after his death; upon which the assembly unanimously signed the proclamation, and Catherine succeeded her husband on the throne the very day of his death.

Peter the Great was regretted by all those whom he had formed, and the descendants of those who had been sticklers for the ancient customs soon began to look on him as their father; foreign

foreign nations, who have beheld the duration of his establishments, have always expressed the highest admiration for his memory, acknowledging that he was actuated by a more than common prudence and wisdom, and not by a vain desire of doing extraordinary things. All Europe knows, that tho' he was fond of Fame, he coveted it only for noble principles; that tho' he had faults, they never obscured his noble qualities, and that tho', as a man, he was liable to errors, as a monarch, he was always great: he every where forced nature, in his subjects, in himself, by sea and land; but he forced her only to render her more pleasing and noble. The arts, which he transplanted with his own hands into countries, till then in a manner savage, have flourished, and produced fruits which are lasting testimonies of his genius, and will render his memory immortal, since they now appear as natives of those places to which he introduced them. The civil, political, and military government, trade, manufactories, the arts and the sciences, have all been carried on, according to his plan, and by an event not to be paralleled in history: we have seen four women successively ascend the throne after him, who have maintained, in full vigour, all the great designs he accomplished, and have completed those which he had begun.

The court has undergone some revolutions since his death, but the empire has not suffered one. Its splendor was increased by Catherine I. It triumphed over the Turks and the Swedes under Anna Petrowna; and under Elizabeth, it conquered Prussia, and a part of Pomerania; and lastly, it has tasted the sweets of peace, and
has.

has seen the arts flourish in fulness and security in the reign of Catherine the Second *.

Let the historians of that nation enter into the minutest circumstances of the new creation, the wars and undertakings of Peter the Great: let them rouse the emulation of their countrymen, by celebrating those heroes who assisted this monarch in his labours, in the field, and in the cabinet. It is sufficient for a stranger, a disinterested admirer of merit, to have endeavoured to set to view that great man, who learned of Charles XII. to conquer him, who twice quitted his dominions, in order to govern them the better, who worked with his own hands, in almost all the useful and necessary arts, to set an ex-

* The distinguished regard which this princess shews for the arts and sciences, and her endeavours to attract the great geniuses of all nations to reside in her dominions, by every possible encouragement affords the strongest presumption, that in her reign we shall see a second age of Lewis XIV. and of this we have had a recent proof in the obliging letter which this august princess wrote with her own hand to M. d'Alembert, and the choice she has since made of M. Duplex, a member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, when the before-mentioned gentleman thought fit to decline the gracious offers she made him. In which choice she has shewn that it is not birth nor rank, but true merit and virtue which she considers as the essential qualifications in a person to whom she would confide the most sacred of all trusts, that of the education of the grand duke her son. What then may not be expected from the administration of a sovereign so superior to vulgar prejudice? And especially when assisted by a Woronzoff and a Galitzin, both the professed friends and patrons of literature and the fine arts, which they themselves have not disdained to cultivate, when business and the weighty affairs of state have allowed them a few moments leisure.

ample

ample of instruction to his people, and who was the founder and the father of his empire *.

Princes,

* The following anecdote, communicated by a nobleman of the strictest probity, who was himself an eye-witness of the fact, will give us a clear insight into the character and disposition of Peter I. In one of the many plots which was formed against the life and government of this monarch, there was among the number of those seized, a soldier belonging to his own regiment of guards. Peter being told by his officers that this man had always behaved extremely well, had a curiosity to see him, and learn from his own mouth what might have been his inducement to be concerned in a plot against him, and to this purpose he dressed himself in a plain garb, and so as not to be known by the man again, and went to the prison where he was confined, when after some conversation, "I should be glad to know friend," said Peter, "what were your reasons for being concerned in an attempt against the emperor your master, as I am certain that he never did you any injury, but on the contrary has a regard for you, as being a brave soldier, and one who have always done your duty well in the field; and therefore, if you was to shew the least remorse for what you have done, I am persuaded that the emperor would forgive you; but before I interest myself in your behalf, you must tell me what motives you had to join the mutineers, and repeat to you again, that the emperor is naturally so good and compassionate, that I am certain he will give you your pardon."

"I know little or nothing of the emperor," replied the soldier, "for I never saw him but at a distance; but he caused my father's head to be cut off sometime ago, for being concerned in a former rebellion, and it is the duty of a son to revenge the death of his father, by that of the person who took away his life. If then the emperor is really so good and merciful as you have represented him, counsel him, for his own safety, not to pardon me, for was he to restore me my liberty, the first use I should make of it would be, to engage in some new attempt against his life, nor should I ever rest till I had accomplished my design; therefore, the securest method he can take will be to order my head to be struck off immediately, without which his own life is not in safety." The czar in vain used all the arguments he could think off, to set before this desperado the folly and injustice of such

Princes, who reign over states long since civilized, may say to themselves, "If a man, assisted only by his own genius, has been capable of doing such great things in the frozen climes of ancient Scythia, what may not be expected from us, in kingdoms where the accumulated labours of many ages have rendered the way so easy?"

such sentiments; he still persisted in what he had declared, and Peter departed, greatly chagrined at the bad success of his visit, and gave orders for the execution of this man with the rest of his accomplices.

ORIGI-

ORIGINAL PIECES

Relative to this History, agreeable to the Translations made at their first Publication, by Order of Czar Peter I.

S E N T E N C E

Pronounced against the Czarowitz ALEXIS,
June 24th, 1718.

BY virtue of an express ordinance issued by his czarish majesty, and signed by his own hand on the 13th of June, for the judgment of the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, in relation to his crimes and transgressions against his father and sovereign; the undernamed ministers and senators, estates military and civil, after having assembled several times in the regency-chamber of the senate of Petersburg, and having heard read the original writings and testimonies given against the czarowitz, as also his majesty's admonitory letters to that prince, and his answers to them in his own writing, and other acts relating to the process, and likewise the criminal informations, declarations, and confessions of the czarowitz, partly written with his own hand, and partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and sovereign, before the several persons undernamed, constituted by his czarish majesty's authority to the effect of the present judgment,

do

do acknowledge and declare, that though, according to the laws of the Russian empire, it belongs not to them, the natural subjects of his czarish majesty's sovereign dominions, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which for its importance depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power, unlimited by any law, is derived from God alone; yet in submission to his ordinance who hath given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, observing the dictates of their consciences without fear, flattery, or respect of persons, having nothing before their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the present case, the canons and rules of councils, the authority of the holy fathers and doctors of the church, and taking also for their rule the instruction of the archbishops and clergy assembled at Petersburg on this occasion, and conforming themselves to the laws and constitutions of this empire which are agreeable to those of other nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, and other Christian princes; they unanimously agreed and pronounced the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz *to be worthy of death*, for the aforesaid crimes and capital transgressions against his sovereign and father, he being his czarish majesty's son and subject; and that notwithstanding the promise given by his czarish majesty to the czarowitz, in a letter sent by M. Tolstoy and captain Romanzoff, dated from Spaw the 10th of July 1717, to pardon his elopement if he voluntarily returned, as the czarowitz himself acknowledges with gratitude in his answer to that letter dated from Naples the 4th of October 1717, wherein he returns his thanks to his majesty for the pardon he had promised

promised him solely on condition of his speedy and voluntary return; yet he hath forfeited and rendered himself unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former transgressions, as is fully set forth in his majesty's manifesto of the 3d of February in this present year, and for not returning voluntarily and of his own accord.

And although his majesty did, upon the arrival of the czarowitz at Moscow, and his humbly confessing in writing his crimes, and asking pardon for them, take pity on him, as is natural for every father to act towards a son, and at the audience held in the great hall of the castle the said third day of February, did promise him full pardon for all his crimes and transgressions, it was only on condition that he would declare without reserve or restriction all his designs, and who were his counsellors and abettors therein, but that if he concealed any one person or thing, that in such case the promised pardon should be null and void, which conditions the czarowitz did at that time accept and receive with all outward tokens of gratitude and obedience, solemnly swearing on the holy cross and the blessed evangelists, and in the presence of all those assembled at that time and for that purpose in the cathedral church, that he would faithfully, and without reserve, declare the whole truth.

His majesty did also the next day confirm to the czarowitz in writing the said promise, in the interrogatories which hereafter follow, and which his majesty caused to be delivered to him, having first written at the beginning what follows:

“As

“ As you did yesterday receive your pardon,
 “ on condition that you would confess all the
 “ circumstances of your flight, and whatever
 “ relates thereto, but if you concealed any
 “ part thereof, you should answer for it with
 “ your life, and as you have already made some
 “ confessions, it is expected of you for our
 “ more full satisfaction, and your own safety,
 “ to commit the same to writing, in such order
 “ as shall in the course of your examination be
 “ pointed out to you.”

And at the end, under the seventh question, there was again written with his czarish majesty's own hand.

“ Declare to us, and discover whatever hath
 “ any relation to this affair, though it be not
 “ here expressed, and clear yourself as if it
 “ were at confession ; for if you conceal any
 “ thing that shall by any other means be afterwards discovered, do not impute the consequence to us, since you have been already told, that in such case the pardon granted you should be null and void.”

Notwithstanding all which, the answers and confessions of the czarowitz were delivered without any sincerity ; he not only concealing many of his accomplices, but also the capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions, particularly his rebellious design in usurping the throne even in the life-time of his father, flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favour ; all which hath since been fully discovered in the criminal process, after he had refused to make a discovery himself, as hath appeared by the above presents.

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Thus

Thus it hath appeared by the whole conduct of the czarowitz, as well as by the confessions which he both delivered in writing and by word of mouth particularly, that he was not disposed to wait for the succession in the manner in which his father had left it to him after his death, according to equity, and the order of nature which God has established; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of a foreign force, which he had actually requested.

The czarowitz has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor his father; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have been proved by testimonies and writings; but even such as have been convicted of an intention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the throne; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity; a father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarowitz from the cradle with more than paternal care and tenderness; who earnestly endeavoured to form him for government, and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application, to instruct him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire? with how much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death?"

It

It is therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as subjects and servants, pronounce this sentence; considering that it belongs not to us to give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce against the son of our most precious sovereign lord the czar. Nevertheless, it being his pleasure that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and Christian conscience, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God.

We submit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the sovereign power, the will, and merciful revisal of his czarish majesty, our most gracious sovereign.

The PEACE of NYSTADT.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided
Trinity.

BE it known by these presents, that whereas a bloody, long, and expensive war has arisen and subsisted for several years past, between his late majesty king Charles XII. of glorious memory, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. &c. his successors to the throne of Sweden, the lady Ulrica queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. and the kingdom of Sweden, on the one part; and between his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. and the empire of Russia, on the other part; the two powers have thought proper to exert their endeavours to find out means to put a period to those troubles, and prevent the further effusion of so much innocent blood; and it has pleased the Almighty to dispose the hearts of both powers, to appoint a meeting of their ministers plenipotentiary, to treat of, and conclude a firm, sincere and lasting peace, and perpetual friendship between the two powers, their dominions, provinces, countries, vassals, subjects and inhabitants; namely, Mr. John Liliensted, one of the most honourable privy-council to his majesty the king of Sweden, his kingdom and chancery, and baron Otto Reinhol Stroemfeld, intendant of the copper-mines and fiefs of Dalders, on the part of his said majesty; and on the part of his czarish majesty, count Jacob Daniel Bruce, his general adjutant, president of the colleges of mines and manufactories, and
knight

knight of the order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle, and Mr. Henry John Frederick Osterman, one of his said majesty's privy counsellors in his chancery: which plenipotentiary ministers, being assembled at Nyftadt, and having communicated to each other their respective commissions, and imploring the divine assistance, did enter upon this important and salutary enterprize, and have, by the grace and blessing of God, concluded the following peace between the crown of Sweden and his czarish majesty.

Art. I. THERE shall be now and henceforward a perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and indissoluble friendship, between his majesty Frederic the first, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the crown and kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces, countries, villages, vassals, subjects and inhabitants, as well within the Roman empire as out of said empire, on the one side; and his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, on the other side; in such wise, that, for the future, neither of the two reconciled powers shall commit, or suffer to be committed, any hostility, either privately or publicly, directly or indirectly, nor shall in any wise assist the enemies of each other, on any pretext whatever, nor contract any alliance with them, that may be contrary to this peace, but shall always maintain and preserve a sincere friendship

towards each other, and as much as in them lies support their mutual honour, advantage and safety; as likewise prevent, to the utmost of their power, any injury or vexation with which either of the reconciled parties may be threatened by any other power.

Art. II. It is further mutually agreed upon betwixt the two parties, that a general pardon and act of oblivion for all hostilities committed during the war, either by arms or otherwise, shall be strictly observed, so far as that neither party shall ever henceforth either call to mind, or take vengeance for the same, particularly in regard to persons of state, and subjects who have entered into the service of either of the two parties during the war, and have thereby become enemies to the other, except only the Russian Cósagues, who enlisted in the service of the king of Sweden, and whom his czarish majesty will not consent to have included in the said general pardon, notwithstanding the intercession made for them by the king of Sweden.

Art. III. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease both here and in the grand duchy of Finland in fifteen days, or sooner, if possible, after the regular exchange of the ratifications; and to this intent the conclusion of the peace shall be published without delay. And in case that, after the expiration of the said term, any hostilities should be committed by either party, either by sea or land, in any manner whatsoever, thro' ignorance of the conclusion of the peace, such offence shall by no means prejudice the conclusion of said peace; on the contrary, each shall make a reciprocal exchange of both men
and

and effects that may be taken after the aid term.

Art. IV. His majesty the king of Sweden does, by the present treaty, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, cede to his czarish majesty, and his successors to the Russian empire, in full, irrevocable and everlasting possession, the provinces which have been taken by his czarish majesty's arms from the crown of Sweden during this war, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Carelia, as likewise the district of the fiefs of Wybourg, specified hereafter in the article for regulating the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dunamund, Pernau, Revel, Dorpt, Nerva, Wybourg, Kexholm, and the other towns, fortresses, harbours, countries; districts, rivers and coasts belonging to the provinces; as likewise the islands of Oesel, Dagoe, Moen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland, towards the coasts of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and on the east-side of Revel, and in the road of Wybourg, towards the south-east, with all the present inhabitants of those islands, and of the aforesaid provinces, towns and countries; and in general, all their appurtenances, dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and advantages, without exception, in like manner as the crown of Sweden possessed them.

To which purpose, his majesty the king of Sweden renounces for ever in the most solemn manner, as well for his own part, as for his successors, and for the whole kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they have hitherto had, or could have to the said provinces, islands, countries and towns; and all the inhabitants

thereof shall, by virtue of these presents, be discharged from the oath of allegiance, which they have taken to the crown of Sweden, in such wise as that his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, shall never hereafter either claim or demand the same, on any pretence whatsoever; but, on the contrary, they shall be and remain incorporated for ever into the empire of Russia. Moreover, his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, promise by these presents to assist and support from henceforth his czarish majesty, and his successors to the empire of Russia, in the peaceable possession of the said provinces, islands, countries and towns; and that they will find out and deliver up to the persons authorized by his czarish majesty for that purpose, all the records and papers principally belonging to those places, which have been taken away and carried into Sweden during the war.

Art. V. His czarish majesty, in return, promises to evacuate and restore to his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, within the space of four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or sooner if possible, the grand duchy of Finland, except only that part thereof which has been reserved by the following regulation of the limits which shall belong to his czarish majesty, so that his said czarish majesty, and his successors, never shall have or bring the least claim or demand on the said duchy, on any pretence whatever. His czarish majesty further declares and promises, that certain and prompt payment of two millions of crowns shall be made without any discount to the deputies of the king of Sweden, on condition that they produce and give sufficient receipts, as
agreed

agreed upon; and the said payment shall be made in such coin as shall be agreed upon by a separate article, which shall be of equal force as if inserted in the body of this treaty.

Art. VI. His majesty the king of Sweden does further reserve to himself, in regard to trade, the liberty of buying corn yearly at Riga, Revel and Arensbourg, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles, which corn shall be transported from thence into Sweden, without paying duty or any other taxes, on producing a certificate, shewing that such corn has been purchased for the use of his Swedish majesty, or by his subjects, charged with the care of making this purchase by his said majesty, and such right shall not be subject to, or depend on any exigency, wherein his czarish majesty may find it necessary, either on account of a bad harvest, or some other important reasons, to prohibit in general the exportation of corn to any other nation.

Art. VII. His czarish majesty does also promise, in the most solemn manner, that he will in no wise interfere with the private affairs of the kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government, which has been regulated and established by the oath of allegiance, and unanimous consent of the states of said kingdom; neither will he assist therein any person whatever, in any manner, directly or indirectly; but, on the contrary, will endeavour to hinder and prevent any disturbance happening, provided his czarish majesty has timely notice of the same, who will on all such occasions act as a sincere friend and good neighbour to the crown of Sweden.

Art. VIII. And as they mutually intend to establish a firm, sincere and lasting peace, to

which purpose it is very necessary to regulate the limits so, that neither of the parties can harbour any jealousy, but that each shall peaceably possess whatever has been surrendered to him by this treaty of peace, they have thought proper to declare that the two empires shall from henceforth and for ever have the following limits, beginning on the northern coast of the Bothnick gulf, near Wickolax, from whence they shall extend to within half a league of the sea-coast inland, and from the distance of half a league from the sea as far as opposite to Willayoki, and from thence further inland; so that from the sea-side, and opposite to Rohel, there shall be a distance of about three-quarters of a league, in a direct line, to the road which leads from Wibourg to Lapstrand, at three leagues distance from Wibourg, and which proceeds the same distance of three leagues towards the north by Wibourg, in a direct line to the former limits between Russia and Sweden, even before the reduction of the district of Kexholm under the government of the king of Sweden. Those ancient limits extend eight leagues towards the north, from thence they run in a direct line through the district of Kexholm, to the place where the harbour of Porogerai, which begins near the town of Kudumagube, joins to the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden; so that his majesty the king and kingdom of Sweden, shall henceforth possess all that part lying west and north beyond the above specified limits, and his czarish majesty and the empire of Russia all that part which is situated east and south of the said limits. And as his czarish majesty surrenders from henceforth to his
Swedish

Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, a part of the district of Kexholm, which belonged heretofore to the empire of Russia, he promises, in the most solemn manner, in regard to himself and successors to the throne of Russia, that he never will make any future claim to this said district of Kexholm, on any account whatever; but the said district shall hereafter be and remain incorporated into the kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the country of Lamparque, they shall remain on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two empires. It is further agreed upon, that commissaries shall be appointed by each party, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, to regulate the limits as aforesaid.

Art. IX. His czarish majesty further promises to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia and Oesel, as well nobles as plebeians, and the towns, magistrates, companies, and trades, in the full enjoyment of the same privileges, customs and prerogatives which they have enjoyed under the dominion of his Swedish majesty.

Art. X. There shall not hereafter be any violence offered to the consciences of the inhabitants of the ceded countries; on the contrary, his czarish majesty engages on his side to preserve and maintain the evangelical (Lutheran) religion on the same footing as under the Swedish government, provided there is likewise a free liberty of conscience allowed to those of the Greek religion.

Art. XI. In regard to the reductions and liquidations made in the reign of the late king of Sweden in Livonia, Esthonia and

Oesel, to the great injury of the subjects and inhabitants of those countries, which, conformable to the justice of the affair in question, obliged his late majesty the king of Sweden, of glorious memory, to promise, by an ordinance (which was published the 13th day of April 1700, that if any one of his subjects could fairly prove, that the goods which had been confiscated were their property, justice should be done them, whereby several subjects of the said countries have had such their confiscated effects restored to them) his czarish majesty engages and promises, that justice shall be done to every person, whether residing or not, who has a just claim or pretension to any lands in Livonia, Esthonia, or the province of Oesel, and can make full proof thereof, and that such person shall be reinstated in the possession of his lands and effects.

Art. XII. There shall likewise be immediate restitution made, conformable to the general amnesty regulated and agreed by the second article, to such of the inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia and the island of Oesel, who may during this war have joined the king of Sweden, together with all their effects, lands, and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others, as well in the towns of these provinces, as in those of Nerva and Wibourg, notwithstanding they may have passed during the said war by inheritance or otherwise into other hands, without any exception or restraint, even though the proprietors should be actually in Sweden, either as prisoners or otherwise; and such restitution shall take place so soon as each person is re-naturalized by his respective government, and produces his documents relating to his right;

on

on the other hand, these proprietors shall by no means lay claim to, or pretend to any part of, the revenues, which may have been received by those who were in possession in consequence of the confiscation, nor to any other compensation for their losses in the war or otherwise. And all persons, who are thus put in re-possession of their effects and lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty, their present sovereign, and further to behave themselves as faithful vassals and subjects; and when they have taken the usual oath of allegiance, they shall be at liberty to leave their own country to go and live in any other, which is in alliance and friendship with the Russian empire, as also to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue therein if already engaged, as they shall think proper. On the other hand, in regard to those, who do not chuse to do homage to his czarish majesty, they shall be allowed the space of three years from the publication of the peace, to sell or dispose of their effects, lands, and all belonging to them, to the best advantage, without paying any more than is paid by every other person, agreeably to the laws and statutes of the country. And if hereafter it should happen that an inheritance should devolve to any person according to the laws of the country, and that such person shall not as yet have taken the oath of allegiance to his czarish majesty, he shall in such case be obliged to take the same at the time of entering on the possession of his inheritance, otherwise to sell off all his effects in the space of one year.

Also those who have advanced money on lands in Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Oesel,

Oesel, and have lawful security for the same, shall enjoy their mortgages peaceably, until both capital and interest are discharged; on the other hand, the mortgagees shall not claim any interests, which expired during the war, and which have not been demanded or paid; but those who in either of these cases have the administration of the said effects, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty. This likewise extends to all those who remain in his czarish majesty's dominions, and who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their effects in Sweden, and in those countries which have been surrendered to that crown by this peace. Moreover, the subjects of each of the reconciled powers shall be mutually supported in all their lawful claims and demands, whether on the publick, or on individuals within the dominions of either of the two powers, and immediate justice shall be done them, so that every person may be reinstated in the possession of what justly belongs to him.

Art. XIII. All contributions in money shall from the signing of this treaty cease in the grand duchy of Finland, which his czarish majesty by the fifth article of this treaty cedes to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden: on the other hand, the duchy of Finland shall furnish his czarish majesty's troops with the necessary provisions and forage gratis, until they shall have entirely evacuated the said duchy, on the same footing as has been practised heretofore; and his czarish majesty shall prohibit and forbid, under the severest penalties, the dislodging any ministers or peasants of the Finnish nation, contrary to their inclinations, or that the least injury

jury be done to them. In consideration of which, and as it will be permitted his czarish majesty, upon evacuating the said countries and towns, to take with him his great and small cannon, with their carriages and other appurtenances, and the magazines and other warlike stores which he shall think fit. The inhabitants shall furnish a sufficient number of horse and waggons as far as the frontiers: and also, if the whole of this cannot be executed according to the stipulated terms, and that any part of such artillery, &c. is necessitated to be left behind, then, and in such cases, that which is so left shall be properly taken care of, and afterwards delivered to his czarish majesty's deputies, whenever it shall be agreeable to them, and likewise be transported to the frontiers in manner as above. If his czarish majesty's troops shall have found and sent out of the country any deeds or papers belonging to the grand duchy of Finland, strict search shall be made for the same, and all of them that can be found shall be faithfully restored to deputies of his Swedish majesty.

Art. XIV. All the prisoners on each side, of whatsoever nation, rank, and condition, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of this treaty, without any ransom; at the same time every prisoner shall either pay or give sufficient security for the payment of all debts by them contracted. The prisoners on each side shall be furnished with the necessary horses and waggons gratis during the time allotted for their return home, in proportion to the distance from the frontiers. In regard to such prisoners who shall have

have sided with one or the other party, or who shall chuse to settle in the dominions of either of the two powers, they shall have full liberty so to do without restriction: and this liberty shall likewise extend to all those who have been compelled to serve either party during the war, who may in like manner remain where they are, or return home; except such who have voluntarily embraced the Greek religion, in compliance to his czarish majesty; for which purpose each party shall order that the edicts be published and made known in their respective dominions.

Art. XV. His majesty the king, and the republick of Poland, as allies to his czarish majesty, are expressly comprehended in this treaty of peace, and have equal right thereto, as if the treaty of peace between them and the crown of Sweden had been inserted here at full length; to which purpose all hostilities whatsoever shall cease in general throughout all the kingdoms, countries, and patrimonies belonging to the two reconciled parties, whether situated within or out of the Roman empire, and there shall be a solid and lasting peace established between the two aforesaid powers. And as no plenipotentiary on the part of his Polish majesty and the republic of Poland has assisted at this treaty of peace, held at Nyssadt, and that consequently they could not at one and the same time renew the peace by a solemn treaty between his majesty the king of Poland and the crown of Sweden; his majesty the king of Sweden does therefore engage and promise, that he will send plenipotentiaries to open the conferences, so soon as a place shall be appointed for the said meeting,

ing, in order to conclude, through the mediation of his czarish majesty, a lasting peace between the two crowns, provided nothing is therein contained which may be prejudicial to this treaty of perpetual peace made with his czarish majesty.

Art. XVI. A free trade shall be regulated and established as soon as possible, which shall subsist both by sea and land between the two powers, their dominions, subjects and inhabitants, by means of a separate treaty on this head, to the good and advantage of their respective dominions; and in the mean time the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall have leave to trade freely in the empire of Russia and kingdom of Sweden, so soon as the treaty of peace is ratified; after paying the usual duties on the several kinds of merchandise; so that the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall reciprocally enjoy the same privileges and prerogatives as are enjoyed by the closest friends of either of the said states.

Art. XVII. Restitution shall be made on both sides, after the ratification of the peace, not only of the magazines which were before the commencement of the war established in certain trading towns belonging to the two powers, but also liberty shall be reciprocally granted to the subjects of his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden to establish magazines in the towns, harbours, and other places subject to both or either of the said powers.

Art. XVIII. If any Swedish ships of war or merchant vessels shall have the misfortune to be wrecked, or cast away by stress of weather, or any other accident, on the coasts and harbours of
Russia.

Russia, his czarish majesty's subjects shall be obliged to give them all aid and assistance in their power to save their rigging and effects, and faithfully to restore whatever may be drove on shore, if demanded, provided they are properly rewarded. And the subjects of his majesty the king of Sweden shall do the same in regard to such Russian ships and effects as may have the misfortune to be wrecked or otherwise lost on the coasts of Sweden: for which purpose, and to prevent all ill treatment, robbing and plundering, which commonly happens on such melancholy occasions, his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden will cause a most rigorous prohibition be issued, and all who shall be found transgressing in this point shall be punished on the spot.

Art. XIX. And to prevent all possible cause or occasion of misunderstanding between the two parties, in relation to sea-affairs, they have concluded and determined, that any Swedish ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any of his czarish majesty's forts or castles, shall salute the same with their cannon, which compliment shall be directly returned in the same manner by the Russian fort or castle; and, *vice versa*, any Russian ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any fort or castle belonging to his Swedish majesty, shall salute the same with a discharge of their cannon, which compliment shall be instantly returned in the same manner by the Swedish fort; and in case any one or more Swedish and Russian ships shall meet at sea, or in an harbour or elsewhere, they shall salute each other with a common discharge, as is usually practised on such

such occasions between the ships of Sweden and Denmark.

Art. XX. It is mutually agreed between the two powers, no longer to defray the expences of the ministers of the two powers, as has been done hitherto; but their respective ministers, plenipotentiaries, and envoys, shall hereafter defray their own expences and those of their own attendants, as well on their journey, as during their stay, and back to their respective place of residence. On the other hand, either of the two parties, on receiving timely notice of the arrival of an envoy, shall order that their subjects give them all the assistance that may be necessary to escort them safe on their journey.

Art. XXI. His majesty the king of Sweden does on his part comprehend his majesty the king of Great Britain in this treaty of peace, reserving only the differences subsisting between their czarish and his Britannick majesties, which they shall immediately endeavour to terminate in a friendly manner; and such other powers, who shall be named by the two reconciled parties within the space of three months, shall likewise be included in this treaty of peace.

Art. XXII. In case any misunderstanding shall hereafter arise between the states and subjects of Sweden and Russia, it shall by no means prejudice this treaty of perpetual peace; which shall nevertheless always be and remain in full force agreeable to its intent, and commissaries shall without delay be appointed on each side to enquire into and adjust all disputes.

Art. XXIII. All those who have been guilty of high treason, murder, theft, and other crimes,

and those who deserted from Sweden to Russia and from Russia to Sweden, either singly or with their wives and children, shall be immediately sent back, provided the complaining party of the country, from whence they made their escape, shall think fit to recall them, let them be of what nation soever, and in the same condition as they were at their arrival, together with their wives and children, as likewise with all they had stolen, plundered, or taken away with them in their flight.

Art. XXIV. The exchange of the ratifications of this treaty of peace, shall be reciprocally made at Nyfstadt within the space of three weeks after the day of signing the same, or sooner if possible. In witness whereof, two copies of this treaty, exactly corresponding with each other, have been drawn up, and confirmed by the plenipotentiary ministers on each side, in virtue of the authority they have received from their respective sovereigns; which copies they have signed with their own hands, and sealed with their own seals. Done at Nyfstadt, this 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1721. O. S.

Jean Liliensted.

Otto Reinhold Stroemfeld.

Jacob Daniel Bruce.

Henry-John-Frederick Ostermann.

Ord-

Ordinance of the EMPEROR PETER. I.

For the Crowning of the Empress Catherine.

WE Peter the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. to all our officers, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and all others of the Russian nation, our faithful subjects.

No one can be ignorant that it has been a constant and invariable custom among the monarchs of all Christian states, to cause their consorts to be crowned, and that the same is at present practised, and hath frequently been in former times by those emperors who professed the holy faith of the Greek church; to wit, by the emperor Basilides, who caused his wife Zenobia to be crowned; the emperor Justinian, his wife Lucipina; the emperor Heraclius, his wife Martina; the emperor Leo, the philosopher, his wife Mary; and many others, who have in like manner placed the imperial crown on the head of their consorts, and whom it would be too tedious here to enumerate.

It is also well known to every one how much we have exposed our person, and faced the greatest dangers, for the good of our country during the one and twenty years course of the late war, which we have by the assistance of God terminated in so honourable and advantageous a manner, that Russia hath never beheld such a peace, nor ever acquired so great glory as in the late war. Now the empress Catherine, our dearly beloved wife, having greatly comforted and as-

fisted

sisted us during the said war, as also in several other our expeditions, wherein she voluntarily and chearfully accompanied us, assisting us with her counsel and advice in every exigence, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex, particularly in the battle against the Turks on the banks of the river Pruth, wherein our army was reduced to 20,000 men, while that of the Turks amounted to 270,000, and on which desperate occasion she signalized herself in a particular manner, by a courage and presence of mind superior to her sex, which is well known to all our army, and to the whole Russian empire: Therefore, for these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God has given us, we have resolved to honour our said consort Catherine with the imperial crown, as a reward for her painful services; and we propose, God willing, that this ceremony shall be performed the ensuing winter at Moscow. And we do hereby give notice of this our resolution to all our faithful subjects, in favour of whom our imperial affection is unalterable.

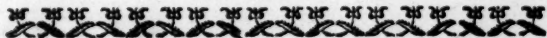
A P P E N.



APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A summary Account of the Climate, Soil, and Produce; Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs; Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, &c. of RUSSIA; with a Description of the City of PETERSEBURGH, the Capital of the Empire.



The Translator to the Reader.

M. De Voltaire having, in the foregoing sheets, confined himself chiefly to the events of the reign of Peter the Great; the Translator imagines that an account of the government, laws, manners, &c. of the empire of Russia, will not be unacceptable to such of his readers, who may not have had an opportunity of being acquainted therewith, and that it will at the same time throw a light upon some parts of the foregoing history, which are but slightly sketched out. He has likewise annexed a description of the city of Petersburgh, the capital of the empire; the whole collected from the best authorities, ancient and modern.

C H A P.

CHAP. I.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce of
RUSSIA.

IN a country of such vast extent as the Russian empire, at one extremity of which it is noon, when it is almost midnight at the other, the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

In the parts which lie beyond the 60th degree of latitude, the cold is excessively intense, the winter nine months long, the days extremely short during that season, the country full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley near Archangel, and about Jakutskoi; nor are any garden-fruits, or even trees, produced there.

From the 60th to the 57th degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned-cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn, and garden-productions.

The countries between the 57th and 54th degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild-fowl, cattle, and honey; and in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

From the 54th degree of latitude to the most southern boundaries of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot ; the whole extent of country is flat and even ; it has few morasses ; is watered by several rivers, which abound with fish ; and has sufficient plenty of game, though it be not over-run with woods.

The provinces in these parts are the most inhabited of any in the Russian empire, and naturally so fertile, that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing ; but that the natives are deterred from, partly by the overflowings of the Wolga, which lays the country on both sides of it under water in the spring, for many miles together, towards Astracan ; and still more by the ravages and incursions of the neighbouring Tartars.

In the middle and northern parts of the Russian empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts near three-quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spittle has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped ; birds have fallen down dead in the midst of their flight ; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses, and come into inns, sitting upright, with bridle and whip in their hands, as if alive ; and numbers have lost their nose, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off though the intense rigour of the weather, through their bodies have been well covered with furs. Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as great a degree of heat, as the other season had of cold : so that the Russian peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less than

than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season.

The middle provinces of Russia produce much more wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buckwheat, and a grain called psnytha, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them, and they accordingly supply therewith most of the other provinces; in exchange for their native commodities; besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to Holland. Apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and several other kinds of fruit, with all manner of pulse, pot-herbs, asparagus, onions, garlick, roots, cucumbers, melons, &c. grow in plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the Russian dominions, even so far north as Moscow. The south part of Kamtschatka is remarkable for a plant about two feet and a half high, and of the thickness of one's finger. The inhabitants call it Ahahatka. When cleaned, peeled, and dried in the sun, it becomes as white as snow; and, when pounded small, tastes like sugar.

The cedar grows naturally in many parts of Siberia, but much smaller than on mount Libanus and in the other parts of South Asia.

Olearius declares, that the famous vegetable lamb, or Boranetz, as it is called in the Russian language, does really grow near Samara, between the Wolga and the Don; that it is of the gourd kind, shaped exactly like a lamb, and fastened to the ground by a stalk which proceeds as it were from its navel: when it is ripe, the stalk withers, and the fruit is covered

with a soft frizzling wool, not unlike that of a lamb newly weaned, or taken out of the sheep's belly.

In all probability those who have believed it have been led into a mistake by the *Merluschka-Outschinka*, or *Alstracan* lambskins, of which there are three sorts, all of them the skins of flinks, or unborn lambs, imported into Russia, from *Bucharia*, *Persia*, and the country of the *Calmuks*.

The *Argali*, a sort of wild goats in *Siberia*, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and sheep; but with their heads erect, at the bottom of mountains, by reason of the size and weight of their horns. It has been remarked of the hares in *Russia* and *Livonia*, that they change their colour in winter, and become white. *Olearius* imputes this to external cold, and says, he has known the same thing happen to hares, even in summer, when they have been kept some time in a cave. The sable hides itself, as not easily to be discovered, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itself up in a ball, and sleeps for a while so sound, as to bear pulling about, without waking. These creatures live chiefly upon mice, cedar-kernels, red-berries, and fish; and it is observed of them, that their fur is most beautiful when they are put to the greatest exercise for subsistence; and that the finest sable skins have generally the worst tails, and the worst skins, on the contrary, the finest tails. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do prodigious mischief in most parts of these countries.

Snakes are deemed sacred among the *Calmuks*, who never kill any, but make them so familiar,

familiar, that they will creep into bed to them ; nor has it ever been heard among them, that they have done any hurt to man or beast.

In Russia, bees are not kept in hives near houses, but in the woods, upon the highest and straightest firs, the branches of which are cut off almost up to the bees nest, near the top of the tree ; and a scaffold, like the round top of a mast, is made round the tree, that neither men nor bears can easily climb up. Formerly the peasants of Dorpat made an agreement with the people of Plescow, to have their bees in the woods, under the jurisdiction of these last, for which every peasant was to pay yearly six whites (a Livonian coin) ; and when these woods were afterwards destroyed, John Basilowitz still insisted on payment of the sum stipulated, as a right due to him.

There are three sorts of eagles in Siberia ; the largest of which, about the size of our turkey-cock, is quite black, except the skin round the nostrils and legs, which is of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The smallest sort, which the Tartars use, as they do falcons, for hawking, a diversion they are extremely fond of, is the *Aquila Mævia*. In the province of Dauria, and near the river Amur, there are great numbers of milk white falcons, many of which are sent yearly to China. Partridges are found only in the southern parts of Siberia, about Crasnoyahr and Abakan ; but almost all Russia abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild-fowl, as we have already observed. There is a species of owls in Siberia, as white as snow, and as large as hen-turkies.

The beluja, of which frequent mention has been already made, is perhaps the largest eatable fish in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the Caspian and Baltic seas. Strahlenberg says, he saw one of them fifty-six feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. The best ising-glass is made of the inner-skin of the gut of this fish, and cavier of its roe. The Russian sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh is white, intermixed with yellow fat; and cavier, carluk, and weliga, are made out of this fish; but greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled sturgeon are exported every year. It is confidently affirmed, that not an eel is to be seen in all the numerous waters of Siberia; and the same is said of the Danube, and all the rivers that run into it: nor are there, according to Olearius, any carps in Muscovy or Livonia; though they abound in Astracan; where, however, they are not esteemed, their flesh being very coarse. The twisted horn of the sword-fish, such as we often see in the shops of druggists, are sometimes found near the mouth of the river Lena, and along the coast of Kamtschatka.

The iron mines of Russia, and especially those in Ugoria and Siberia, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of Europe. Strahlenberg says, that 20,000 muskets and 10,000 pair of pistols are made annually near the city of Tula; and 12,000 muskets and
6000

6000 pair of pistols, in the same space of time, at the saws or fabrics of Petrowka, Ustrowka, and Alexei in Carelia, besides anchors and other iron works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a-day is cast at Petrowka. The iron-works in Siberia are still more numerous than those in Russia.

Amethysts, and the brown-red sort of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, are found in the mountains of Catharinenberg, and in places near the river Isset, in Siberia; and near the city of Argunskoi, in the province of Dauria in the same country, there is a considerable mountain, which affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale green colour, so hard, that no steel tool will touch it; but it bears as high a polish as a looking-glass. Peter I. once thought of having some columns made of this stone.

In the kingdom of Casan, a pure solid sulphur is dug out of the rocks of talc or marienglas, in which it is enveloped. It is as clear as amber; and some lumps of it weigh upwards of fifty pounds. The finest parts of it are put to physical uses, and the others serve in the composition of gunpowder.

A lake near the river Isset in Siberia yields, like several other lakes in the Russian empire, great quantities of salt; one-third of which, in this, is saltpetre; but for want of wood near enough at hand, the expence of boiling and separating the saltpetre from the salt, is greater than the price of that commodity will bear. Thirty thousand puds of saltpetre are delivered annually into the imperial store-houses from Astracan. Between Tula and Kaluga, near a place called Revolski, in Russia, there is an

alum mine; and a lake in Siberia, though its water is clear and fresh, leaves an alummy salt on its shores, especially in summer. Asphalt, a bituminous inflammable matter, which we take to be what some Russian writers call earth-oil, is found in several parts of Siberia, and particularly near the river Irtysh.

The author of the *Verzändertes Rusland* is wrong in saying, that the kamina massa, or stone butter, as we should translate it, exudes from rocks in the same condition it is sold; for it is in fact a vitriolic water, which forces its way through mountains of slate and clay, and others which contain a ferruginous sandy ore, and is boiled, or rather evaporated in an oven, in well luted earthen pots, till its subsiding particles are brought to the consistence of a jelly, which is afterwards taken out, and dried in the air. The Russians make use of this drug to dye leather black; but it is too corrosive for linen.

Some pieces of amber have been found between the rivers Chatanga and Yanesci, towards the frozen ocean; and others in the sandy desert, between Mungalia and China.

Russia has its mineral waters in several places. The emperor Peter I. in the latter part of his life, used to go every year to those called Honseokertskie Wody, about 165 wersts from Olonets, and 50 from the Petrowian sawods, and thought he received benefit from them.

Manna is found upon a certain grass, and in particular places of the large deserts in the country of the Calmucks and Bukarians, who call it sherkest, and bring great quantities of it to Tobolsk. It must be gathered before the sun shines upon it; for otherwise it melts away.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Population, Government, Laws, Religion,
Manners, and Customs.

THOUGH Russia contains as great a number of subjects as any one christian state, it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent *.

Many, or perhaps most of the great families now in Russia, are of foreign extraction; as the Galitzins, Apraxins, Nareskins, &c. from Poland; the Czerkaskis from Tartary †; the Miletinkis from Mingrelia and Georgia; with numbers of others; and even the czars have prided themselves in a Prussian extraction ‡.

The Russians, in point of rank, are divided into three general classes; the nobility, called kneas; the gentry, called duornins; and the peasants.

The kneas, or dukes, were antiently heads of the little governments into which this country was divided.

The duornins are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the Sunbojarfskoy, or

* See the foregoing history, Part I. page 37.

† Prince Sunfalci Jacolowitz Zercaskoi, from the Circassian Cabarda, came to the czar Feoder Iwanowitz, and assisted him in conquering the country of Circassia, and the city of Terki. It is the chief Circassian family, and almost the richest in Russia, having near 70,000 peasants.

‡ Fletcher, c. v. mentions particularly of the czar Iwan Wasiliewitz, or, as we commonly call him John Basilowitz of the house of Beala, that he declared he was no Russian, but of Hungarian extraction.

sons of bojars, who are ranked in this class, hold their lands by knights service, to appear in war on horseback.

Such of the duornins as live on their estates, and are far from the capital, give themselves great airs; though they are, on the other hand, as humble and submissive to their chief nobility and officers: for in this country, as lord Whitworth observes, every one has his share of slavery and worship; except

The peasants, who are perfect slaves, absolutely subject to the arbitrary power of their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them, and liable to be transferred, with goods and chattels, from one master to another. A couple of earthen pots, a wooden platter, a spoon, and a knife, are all their household goods; their drink is water; their food oatmeal, bread, salt, mushrooms, and roots; on great days, a little fish, or milk, if it be not a fast; but flesh very rarely. Professor Busching says, that the Russian peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural parts.

The government of Russia is absolute in the last degree; not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided. However, such as are employed in the state have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men, they have precedents and written laws,
par-

particularly a code called Subornoe Ulaschenie, 'an uniform and universal law,' drawn up by order of Alexis Michaelowitz, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars *. The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is: and their punishments are very severe; though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The batto-

* Heretofore, in disputes between private persons, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence on either side, the judge asked the plaintiff, whether he would take his oath, that the matter was as he alleged, or refer it to the defendant's oath? He who offered to take his oath, was, once a week, for three weeks running, brought before the judge, who, every time, represented to him the importance of an oath, and the sin he would be guilty of if he swore falsely. If, after this, he still persisted in his readiness to take his oath, though he swore nothing but the truth, the people looked upon him as an infamous person, would spit in his face, and turn him out of church, into which he was never received afterwards, and much less admitted to the communion, unless it were at the point of death. Now they do not proceed with so much rigour, but only bring him who is to take his oath before a picture of one of their saints, where he is asked whether he will swear upon the salvation of his soul? If he persists, they give him a little crucifix to kiss, and afterwards the picture of the saint, which is taken down from the wall for that purpose. Though the oath be indisputably true, the person who took it is not admitted to the communion for three years; and though he be not treated as an infamous person, yet those of any rank will not easily suffer him in their company. A perjured person is most severely whipped, and then banished. The Russians therefore endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid taking an oath; though upon any trivial occasion, especially in their dealings, they make no scruple of swearing at every word, and have incessantly in their mouths, their Po Chrestum, 'by Christ,' making the sign of the cross at the same time. They permit strangers to take their oaths, according to the rules of their several religions.

gen, katze, and knute, are now deemed infamous*.

The

* They were not so formerly, according to Olearius; for not only those who had passed through the executioner's hands were admitted into the best companies, but likewise the executioner himself, whose profession was accounted so honourable, that sometimes even merchants quitted theirs, to serve the magistrate at executions, and would buy that employment as a lucrative post, the profits of which arose partly from their stipend, partly from what was extorted from the criminal under pretence of gentle treatment, but most of all from a clandestine sale of brandy and spirits to the prisoners. The Russians have now learnt another way of thinking from their more civilized neighbours: the executioner is looked upon as infamous, and is no longer permitted to sell his office; but it must continue in his family: on failure of which the butchers are obliged to chuse one out of their body.

The ordinary punishments in Russia are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the battogen, which is inflicted thus. He who is to receive this chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting crosswise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands or switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the knute, as it is given in Russia, is one of the most barbarous punishments ever heard of. Olearius relates thus, the manner of its being executed, in his presence, on eight men and one woman, for selling brandy and tobacco without licence. The executioner's man, after stripping them down to the waist, took them up one after another, upon his back, with their feet tied together with a cord, which passed between his legs, and was held by another servant of the executioner, so fast, that they were not able to stir. The executioner stood three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps or thongs of an elk's skin, not tanned, and consequently exceeding sharp, with which, springing forward whenever he struck, he laid on their backs with all his strength, so that the blood gushed out at every blow. The men had 25 or 26 lashes each, till an officer, who had in writing what number of stripes they were to receive, cried, *Polno*, 'enough.' The women had only 16, but fainted away. After their backs were thus shockingly mangled, they were all tied together by the

The governors of provinces are, generally, appointed for three years, in which time, if their

the arms, two and two together, those who had sold tobacco having a little horn full of it, and those who had sold brandy, a little bottle about their necks, and whipped through the city, for about half a league, after which they were brought back to the place of their first punishment, and there dismissed. This is so cruel a punishment, that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrapt themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to M. de la Motte, only what is called the moderate knute. When the sentence orders it between the moderate and severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner, striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

Another kind of chastisement is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

Even the holy inquisition cannot exceed the horrid refinements of cruelty formerly practised by these barbarians, and we fear too often used even now, to force people to confess by torture. One of the most terrible of these excruciating torments, called the Strapado, is executed thus. The malefactor, having his hands tied behind him with a rope, is hoisted up into the air by that cord, with a great beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner jumps up from time to time, to augment the pain, and farther the dislocation of the members, whilst a smoke and fire which are made under his feet, burn and fizzle him. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaven, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water, drop by drop, upon his crown; which occasions such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping, and then clapping a red hot iron upon the stripes, as is often done; or by tying to a spit, and roasting at a fire.

Thieves are tortured to make them discover their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. If it be the first offence, they are whipped from the prison to the market-place, where the offender hath an ear cut off, and is sent back to prison for two years. If he offends a second time, he is punished as before, and kept in prison, till there be a number of them to banish into Siberia. Theft is never punished with death in Russia: but the receivers and concealers of stolen goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder, committed without any necessity of defence,

their enormous rapine suffer them to continue so long in place, they made great fortunes; by which we may judge of their equity; especially as they had no sort of salaries allowed them, but only a present of three or four thousand rubles, according to the abilities of the people in their department, when they first entered on their government.

The czars used formerly to keep up the veneration of their subjects, by appearing very rarely, except in public acts of ceremony and devotion, and then with a solemnity suitable to the occasion; while the bojars, or privy-counsellors, disposed of the empire at their pleasure. In consequence of the regulations of Peter I. the affairs of the Russian empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called.

The senate, or directing council, is now the supreme court of judicature, to which all pro-

fence, is punished with death. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison, upon bread and water only; after which he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer appointed for that purpose, and has a certain farther time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, from whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin-bones with a wand about the bigness of a man's little finger, for an hour together. That done, he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen; and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children, are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

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cesses are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues out orders to them all accordingly. In the reign of the empress Catharine, the privy-council used to send orders to the senate; but in the reign of the empress Anne such orders were issued only by the cabinet-council, which consisted of two ministers of state. The late empress entirely abolished the cabinet-council, and, by an edict of the 12th of December 1741, restored to the senate the same power which it had in the time of Peter the Great.

The holy-synod, or ecclesiastical-council, instituted by Peter I. when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the church.

The war-college has the care of recruiting and exercising the whole Russian army, except the guards. Under the war-college are, the office of the general-commissary at war, the office of ordnance, that of the under commissary at war, the military-chest, the office for cloathing the army, the victualling-office, and the accountant's-office.

The admiralty-college manages all naval concerns without exception.

The college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the Russian ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the expences of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed.

The college of justice at Moscow determines suits brought thither by appeal from the conquered provinces, and has likewise a consistorial
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jurisdiction over the protestants and papists in that city.

The wotshnoi-college, or feudal-chancery, is held at Moscow, and has the care of every thing relating to the estates of private persons, and their boundaries or limits.

The college of the treasury has the direction of levying all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce of the salt-works.

The state-office issues out the public money, and gives the necessary directions to the chamber of accompts. The revenue-chambers at Petersburg and Moscow are accordingly dependent on this office.

The revision college is a sort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them.

The colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, are distinct offices; and besides the departments from which they take their names, they have also the management of the naval customs or tolls, and decide all commercial disputes between merchants and traders.

The confiscation-chancery directs the sale of all forfeited estates, and the levying of all fines imposed by the other colleges.

The salt-office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt-works, which are appropriated for the sovereign's privy-purse.

Besides these, there is a college of the magistracy, as it is called, to which all the magistrates in the empire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy-chancery, which takes cognizance of all hospitals, dispensaries, medicines, &c.

They

They hold three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and extreme unction; which last they look upon as extremely conducive, but not absolutely necessary to salvation. They likewise hold transubstantiation, and receive the eucharist in both kinds †, and observe four lents. They
use

† The consecrated bread is put into the wine, and a little of both is taken out of the chalice with a spoon, and given to the communicants. The wine is red, and mixed with warm water, the better to imitate the blood and water which issued from our Saviour's side. The communion bread, or wafer, as Romanists call it, is about twice as big as a crown-piece, and somewhat thicker; but the priest breaks it into as many pieces as there are communicants. It must be leavened, and have been kneaded and baked by the widow of a priest. This they think so essential to the sacrament, that one of the principal causes of the schism between the Greek and Latin church, is, that the latter makes use of unleavened bread, contrary to the express institution of Christ, who, to abolish the ceremony of the Jews, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take common bread. In the middle of this wafer is the figure of a crucifix, which the priest, after he has consecrated it, takes off with an instrument like a lancet, and puts into a pyx, or wooden-box, suspended over the altar. When the communion is to be administered to a sick person, a little of this consecrated bread is taken out of the pyx, mixed with three drops of wine and a drop or two of water, and given in a spoon: but if, through weakness, or otherwise, he be not able to swallow the bread, only a little consecrated wine is given. At the administering of the sacrament, the priest says, "This is the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he hath given for thee, and for many more, for the remission of thy sins; which thou shalt take in remembrance of him. God bless thee." The more devout sort sleep after they have received the communion, that they may not sin that day. What remains of the bread after consecration, serves for holy bread, which they call *kutja*; and on the Sunday following, the priest gives a morsel of it to each of those who had communicated the week before. Formerly the consecrated bread used not only to be sent into the country, to places where there was no priest, but also to be given to travellers, or persons going to the wars, who made their confession before they set out, and were to communicate themselves if they were in any danger of death. The custom of receiving the

use auricular confession, and think they are cleansed by it from as many sins as they confess by name, and in particular to the priest †. The

the consecrated wine in the church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as also that of the anchorets, who carried away both to the places of their retirements, is so ancient, that St Cyprian, and even Tertullian, speak of it as a thing commonly done in their times. But this kind of communicating is now absolutely abolished in Russia, as well as elsewhere. There is scarce a Russian but communicates at Easter, after an extraordinary mortification for eight days together; during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only water, or quas, which is so four, that it sometimes brings them almost to death's door. They generally receive the communion upon Easter-eve, and hold that it must at least be upon a fasting day; a circumstance which they observe so strictly, that if any one communicates on a Sunday, he is not to eat any flesh that day. They give the communion to infants, when sick, be they ever so young, but only in one kind, till they are seven years of age; after which they are communicated like grown persons, because, says the Greek church, one begins to sin mortally at about that age. Agreeable to this was the practice of the third century, when, as we learn from St. Cyprian, children were communicated immediately after baptism; a custom which continued till St. Augustine's time. The Russians also give the communion to distracted persons; but they only touch their lips with the bread, after it hath lain a while in the wine.

† Those who are come to years of discretion are obliged to go to confession before they communicate. They make their confession standing, in the middle of the church, and before the picture of some saint, on which they keep their eyes fixed, as long as the confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins, and at every sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The priest, with the absolution, enjoins them a penance, which generally consists in repeating several times the words *Gospodi Pomilui*, or in making a number of reverences before the pictures of saints, abstaining from women for a certain time, standing at the church-door; or, if the sins be very heinous, he orders them to use a holy-water, which is consecrated on Twelfth-day, and kept by the priests all the year long for this purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They think that water has the virtue to purify them of their sins, and restore them to a state of grace.

Atha-

Athanasian creed is their rule of faith. They believe in God the Father, as creator of all the world; in God the Son, as sanctifier and redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghost, as sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. They hold tradition to be of equal authority with the written word of God; and think to satisfy the second commandment by allowing no carved images; but their churches are filled with miserable paintings, without shade or perspective; and even some of those dawblings, as well as the finer strokes of the Italian pencils, are said to be the work of angels; particularly a celebrated piece of the virgin Mary with three hands, which is preserved in the monastery of Jerusalem, about thirty miles from Moscow †.

† The Russians relate very gravely, and deem those atheists who doubt the truth of their account, that the painter who drew this picture of the virgin Mary, with our Saviour in her arms, having sketched out his piece so as to make both her hands appear, was surprised to find, when he went next to look at it, three hands regularly disposed about the child: upon which, thinking that some other person of the trade had slipt privately into his room, and done this to put a trick upon him, he took his pencil, and in a kind of passion rubbed out the third hand, finished the picture, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. The next morning, he found a third hand painted again as before. Astonished and amazed, he crossed and blessed himself: but still concluding, upon reflection, that some wag had found means to get into his apartment, he again effaced the supernumerary hand, and then locked and sealed his doors, and secured his windows, with the utmost care. The next morning, he found the third hand painted a third time, and was going to alter it again, when the virgin Mary appeared in person, and bid him forbear; for that it was her pleasure to be so drawn.

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The respect paid to these pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry. That the gospel was first preached to the Russians by St. Andrew, as some of their chronicles pretend, is, at best, a very improbable story. But, as it is not our business here to write an ecclesiastical history, we shall content ourselves with noticing such particular religious ceremonies and customs of the people we are speaking of, as may help to throw a light upon their character and manners.

Their private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the papists. Wednesdays and Fridays are stated fasts all the year round. In Lent they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, or butter; but confine themselves wholly to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil.

The eighth week before Easter, which is called the butter-week, may be looked upon as the Russian carnival, and is spent in all kinds of entertainments and licentiousness. Among the diversions exhibited during this time, one of the most singular is that of riding in sledges down a steep declivity of twenty ells in height, which is made with boards, and covered with ice, by throwing water to freeze on it.

In their private devotions they kneel before a picture, for they will by no means allow of images of our Saviour, the virgin Mary, St. Nicolas, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb and forefinger, and third finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's prayer, and some other
short

short ejaculations, particularly the words, *Ghospodi Pomilui*, "Lord be merciful unto me."

Their church-service, which is recited in the Slavonian tongue, unintelligible at least to the common people, consists in abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the mean time saying *Ghospodi Pomilui*. A lecture from one of the ancient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached but in few churches; and even there but very seldom.

The Russians, like other people, have had their sectaries ever since the institution of christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance, as well as of pretended knowledge. But Russia is the only great christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there.

The inhabitants of the provinces conquered from Sweden profess Lutheranism; and the protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the Russians, as also the papists, enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches and priests or ministers at Petersburg, Cronstadt, Moscow, Archangel, and Astracan; but the papists have no longer the privilege of hanging up bells in their churches.

A considerable number of Russian subjects profess the Mahometan religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of christian knowledge; and some accounts say, that many thousands

sands of them have been converted to christianity.

Under the present government, the holy synod is held in great veneration. All the ecclesiastics are permitted to wear their beards and their own lank hair. Their dress is a sort of long cloak; and on their head they wear a high stiffened black cap, from which a piece of the same stuff hangs down on their back, and a large flapped hat. Secular priests, when they are out of the church, generally wear a blue or brown long coat. The protopopes, or parish priests, or chaplains, are of the meanest people, "husbands of one wife," in a literal explication of the scripture; being obliged to marry, but to a maiden only; and when she died, the priest was formerly excluded from all farther service, and obliged to turn monk, or be degraded, and take up some sorry trade for a livelihood; in which case he was allowed to marry again; but, in consequence of the regulations of Peter I. they are now permitted to be continued in the under offices of the church.

In the thirteenth century several popes laboured hard to put the great dukes of Russia out of conceit with the Greek religion, by recommending to them that of Rome, but without success. The doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris made the same attempt of late years; endeavouring, at the suppression of the patriarchate by Peter I. to bring about an union of the Russian church with that of Rome; but they were not able to carry their point.

Idleness, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domestic discontent, violence, and sometimes the overflowings of a misguided devotion, fill

fill the numerous convents of Russia, as they do those of other countries; notwithstanding the care of Peter I. to stop this evil, by wisely ordering that no man should be permitted to embrace the monastic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fifty.

The abbot, or head of a monastery, is called Archimandrite, and the prior of a convent Ingumen. An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is stiled Ingumenia. Deacons, popes, or papas as they are sometimes called, and protopopes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal churches, are exceeding numerous in Russia. Every large village there has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

The Russians baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though never in the room where the mother lies-in: but if well, it is carried to church by the godfather and godmother. The priest receives the infant at the church-door, and there exorcises it, by laying his hands upon it, saying, "Get out of this child, thou unclean-spirit, and make way for the Holy Ghost;" and by blowing three times, cross-wise upon the child, to drive away the devil, by whom the Russians believe children are really possessed before baptism, and who, they think, would profane the church, were he to be ejected in it.

The ceremony is concluded with a small cross of gold, silver, or lead, according to the abilities of the parents, which the priest hangs about the child's

child's neck, with so strict an injunction to wear it all his life, that if it be not found about him at his death, the Russians would not bury the carcase, but drag it to a dung-hill.

If more than one child is to be baptised at the same time, the font is emptied after each christening, and the new water is consecrated; the former being defiled, say they, with the impurity of the original sin of the child that was baptised before, and therefore not fit to cleanse a second.

They will not, by any means, heat the water intended for christening with fire; but, when it is very cold, they put it into a warm place till the chill is taken off. Adults, who are baptised, whether pagans, mahometans, or christians of another communion, who embrace the religion of the Greek church, receive their baptism in a brook or river, where they are plunged over head and ears, be the weather never so cold: nay, sometimes, the ice is broken to get them into water. The latter of these converts, in particular, are obliged to go for six weeks into a monastery, where the monks instruct them in the Russian manner of honouring the saints, of doing reverence to their pictures, and of making the sign of the cross. They are afterwards brought to the place of baptism, where they are obliged to abjure their former religion, to detest it as heretical, and to spit as often as it is named.

Till the time of Peter I. who rectified many strange customs and abuses among the Russians, the young men and maids of that nation were not permitted to see, or have any discourse with each other before marriage; and much less to make one another any promise to that effect, by word or writing. When those
who

who had children marriageable, especially daughters, had found out a match they liked, they used to speak to the young man's parents, and declare their desire of making an alliance with them. If the girl was handsome, or rather if she was not deformed, the mother of the intended husband, or some other woman related to him, was allowed to visit her, and the friends on both sides afterwards settled the match.

This way of marrying, without the man's ever seeing the person he is contracted to till it is too late to recede, may do, as M. de Voltaire observes, in Turkey or Persia, where polygamy is established, and the women are locked up: but it is bad for countries where only one wife is allowed, and where divorces are rare. The remedy of this abuse was therefore a care well worthy of Peter the Great.

Olearius gives the following account of the ceremonies used by the Russians, in his time, at their funerals. As soon as a person expired, notice was sent to his relations and friends, who thereupon repaired to his house, stood round his corpse, excited one another to bemoan him, as if they intended purposely to heighten the lamentations of the women.

The coffin was covered with a cloth, or sometimes with a coat which the defunct had worn, and carried to church; preceded by a priest, bearing a picture of the saint assigned to the deceased for his patron, at his baptism, and by the four nearest unmarried female relations, as chief mourners, who filled the air with howling cries, measured in such exact time, that they all ceased, and all began again together. Other priests walked round the coffin during this procession,

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and incensed it all the way. If the deceased was a rich man, and the season of the year permitted it, he was kept above ground eight or ten days, during which the priest incensed the corpse, and sprinkled it with holy water every day. When the ground was frozen so hard that a spade could not enter it, the bodies of the poorer sort were laid up in dead-houses, which they call God's houses, till graves could be dug for them. At the grave, the coffin was opened, and a picture of the deceased's saint held over him, while the priest recited the funeral service; after which the kindred and friends took leave of the dead person, by kissing either him or the coffin; and then the priest put between his fingers a piece of paper, signed by the bishop or other principal ecclesiastic of the place, and the confessor, certifying that the deceased died in the true faith, and recommending him to suitable treatment in the other world *.

The Russians had a tradition, which was generally received, that whoever was buried in the monastery of Petersky at Kiow, would be

* The form of this pass-port runs thus: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, the patriarch, or metropolitan, and priest of the city of N. do make known and certify, by these presents, that the bearer of these our letters, hath always lived among us like a good christian, professing the Greek religion; and though he hath committed some sins, yet that he hath confessed the same, and thereupon received absolution, and taken the communion for the remission of his offences: that he hath honoured God and his saints; that he hath said his prayers; that he hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; and that he hath demeaned himself so well towards me, who am his confessor, that I have no reason to complain of him, nor to deny him the absolution of his sins. In witness whereof we have given him the present testimonial, to the end that, upon sight thereof, St. Peter may open unto him the gate of eternal bliss."

saved,

saved, even though he died without repenting of his sins. But Peter I. took care to abolish, as far as he could, these, and many other superstitious abuses, when he settled the national synod.

Before the time of Peter I. the Russians were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that wise and great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about, by degrees, such an alteration in their manners, as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations of Europe, at least whilst he lived; for they seem now to be retrograding apace. The work which he begun would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The Russians are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

The insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to their rigorous fasts, and the slender diet they live upon throughout the year. Their usual drink is *quas*, which is a kind of small beer, and *brago*, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men give themselves up most to excessive drinking, which they do to such a degree,

as to pawn every rag upon their backs at ale-houses, and go home stark-naked.

The ancient dress of the Russians, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar Peter obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of prominent bellies, they were great admirers.

The women of fashion in this country live extremely retired, seldom going out of their houses, and receiving the visits of their friends and relations much oftener than they return them. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value: but when they go to church, or their husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently.

C H A P. III.

Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and
Commerce of Russia.

THE Russian language, which is remarkably soft, derives its origin from the Sclavonian, though it differs greatly from it at present, and with regard to religious subjects, is intermixed with numbers of Greek words. The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which are Greek characters, as they were written in the ninth century, when the knowledge of letters was introduced into Russia. But as those letters did not express every particular sound in the Sclavonian tongue, recourse was had to several Hebrew letters, and some arbitrary signs. The Muscovite, Novogrodian, and Ukrainian dialects, are the most used in Russia, together with that of Archangel, which greatly resembles the Siberian.

The several branches of learning were but little known in Russia, before the reign of Peter the Great, who, sparing neither pains nor expence, to dispel the clouds of ignorance in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy at Petersburg, besides other schools in the different parts of his empire. However, the number of Russian literati is as yet but small : and as there are only three universities in that vast empire, which are those of Petersburg,

Kiow, and Moscow, learning may still be said to be only in its infancy in Russia.

The members of the academy of sciences at Petersburg, not only publish collections of their own memoirs; but compose books for the instruction of youth in the sciences, besides translating several useful works published in foreign countries.

Formerly the Russians, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to Petersburg by Peter the Great, the Russians shewed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want a capacity for all kinds of handicraft-trades; for they have now flourishing manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin; and make great guns, fire-arms, wire, cordage, sail-cloth, paper, parchment, glass, gun-powder, &c.

Peter the Great first established the art of printing in Russia. His types and other implements were brought from Holland. A press, with letters, had been sent from Poland to Moscow, and a printing-house erected, by the approbation of one of the czars; but the building was set on fire in the night, and burnt to the ground, by the procurement, as was generally supposed, of the priests, who looked upon all books, and especially such as treated of their own history, and the miracles of their saints, to be as dangerous as witchcraft.

Russia affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners. As the exports of this

this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour †.

To

† In order to give the reader some idea of the yearly exports of Russia, we shall transcribe the particulars collected by Dr. Busching from authentic accounts, according to which the following quantities of the commodities here mentioned, are annually exported from Petersburg, viz.

	Arshines.
Gallimanco	1,214,000
Linen	4,000,000
Table ditto	600,000
	Puds.
Bees-wax	22,000
Iceing-glass	1,500
Flax	65,000
Hemp	1,000,000
Tallow	100,000
Russia leather	200,000
Pressed caviar	20,000
Hogs-bristles	6,500
Hare-skins	400,000
Pieces of furr, &c. &c.	70,000

The red and black yuchte, or Russia leather, cannot be equalled in any other part of the world for colour, smell, and softness. The best sort of it is dressed at Jaroslaw, Rostrom, and Pieskow. One may judge of the genuineness of Russia leather, not only by the colour and softness, but also by its fuming and smelling like burnt leather, when rubbed hard. The word yucht, or juchte, signifies a pair; two skins being always put together.

The quantity of bar, and other unwrought iron, annually exported from Russia, amounts, one year with another, to 300,000 puds; and the Russian iron is little, if at all inferior to that of Sweden.

Caviar, or Caweer, is made of the roes of the fish called beluga, and the sturgeon. The best is made of the beluga roes, and is of two sorts; namely, the granulated, and the pressed caviar. The former, which is most valued, is prepared in autumn and winter, but the latter is made in summer: and both sorts are exported to the southern parts of Europe. The granulated sort is first salted, and then put into kegs for exportation. Caviar is most palatable when fresh, and spread on bread, with salt, leek, and pepper: but as it soon becomes tainted by

To enter more particularly into the commerce of Russia, would exceed the limits of this volume. I shall therefore refer those readers who are desirous of a more particular account thereof to the account given by lord Whitworth.

Money was formerly so very scarce in this country, that foreigners were obliged, when they bartered their goods for those of Russia, to give specie with them to the Russians, who had no idea of any commercial course of exchange till the year 1670. Most of the foreign merchants used to reside at Moscow, and went in the summer to Archangel, where they had their warehouses and factors. The practice continued till the year 1721, when the seat of commerce was transferred from Archangel to Petersburg, by order of Peter the Great, and the foreign traders were, in consequence thereof, obliged to remove their factories to the latter. At the same time also, among other regulations, a tariff was settled: but this was abolished in 1733, and the old Russian rubel was restored, by which the customs and duties are computed to this day. That rubel, before the present century, was only an imaginary piece, containing an hundred silver copeiks of those times, the only real current coin formerly known in Russia, which,

warmth, it cannot well be exported fresh. The Russians, in their language, call it Ikra.

No greater quantity of rhubarb is exported from Russia, than what is allowed by the empress, who also fixes the price of it,

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however, were as large and heavy as those coined since †.

The first real rubels, half rubels, &c. were coined in 1703. Their standard should be of the same goodness with Lyon dollars, viz. twelve ounces fine silver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight: but most of the bullion that is carried into the mint, is not above ten ounces fine silver; and being seldom tried when melted, the Russian coins are of different intrinsic value, as the run happens to be good or bad.

The merchants and traders at Petersburg consist of natives and foreigners. The former may sell by wholesale only, and that to none but the natives: for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in Russia, nor are they allowed to keep the goods consigned to them in their own warehouses; but are obliged to deposit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpose, and to pay rent for warehouse-room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are possessed of.

Most of the foreign traders at Petersburg are only factors: the rest, who trade on their own bottoms, deal chiefly in toys and grocery. The factors are intrusted with very large capitals,

† 3 copeiks make an altine. 10 copeiks a grieven. 25 copeiks a popoltine. 50 copeiks a poltine. 100 copeiks a rubel. The copeik is divided into Denushkas and Polushkas. The denushka, which Conslett takes to have been the first coin of the country, because the Russian word for money in general is denga, from whence, according to him, the diminutive denushka, is half a copeik, and the polushka is half the denushka.

and may get handsome fortunes without engaging in any commerce for themselves.

All foreign merchandize is generally sold at a year's credit : but the Russian commodities must be paid for on delivery, unless the owners of them find a difficulty in selling their stock ; in which case they deal by way of exchange : though even then they will not barter goods for goods, but commonly insist on a fourth, a third, or half of the value of the whole in specie.

The English enjoyed considerable privileges in their trade to Russia, so early as the year 1553, when the czar Iwan Basilowitz was on the throne, as we observed before. These privileges were renewed by Peter I. who gave them great encouragements ; but permitted them to send their goods only to Moscow. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded betwixt Russia and England, by which it was stipulated that the English should be allowed to send goods through Russia into Persia : but captain Elton, a Scotchman, having entered into the service of Shach Nadir in 1746, and built ships for him on the Caspian sea, the Russians put a stop to this trade to Persia. However, the English still have a more considerable trade to Russia, than any other nation.

Such foreigners as settle at Petersburg, without actual commissions, and a sufficient credit in exchange, run a great risk of becoming bankrupts ; of which there have been too many instances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the Russians : but they are so full of chicanery and finesse, that a stranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

As we gave in our last note some account of the money of the Russians, our commercial readers, in particular, if any such we have, will perhaps not be displeased at our subjoining here, in another, their weights and measures †.

† The weights peculiar to Russia, are,

A solothnick, which is the sixth part of an ounce, and is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.

A pound, which is equal to ninety six solothnicks.

A pud, which is forty of their pounds, and thirty-six of ours.

A berkowitz, which is equal to ten puds.

The Russian measures of length, are,

The arshine, which is equal to twenty-eight inches, and one-tenth, English measure.

The werchock, which is a tenth of the arshine; and

The sashen, or fathom, which contains three arshines.

Among the measures of capacity, are

The galenok or kruschka, a measure for liquids, eight of which are equal to a vedro; which last contains about twenty gallons English, and answers to the German cymmer.

The chetwerick, a dry measure, reckoned equal to 320 Russian pounds,

CHAP. IV.

Of the Coronation, Titles, Court, Revenues,
Expences, Forces, &c. of the Czar.

AT the accession of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are summoned to Moscow, against the day of the coronation ; when the officiating prelate, which used to be the patriarch, while there was one, but now it is the archbishop of Moscow, conducts the new great duke to the church of Precheste, or our lady, within the Kremlin, where a scaffold is erected three steps high, and covered with rich Persian tapestry, on which are set three chairs, at equal distances one from the other. One of these is for the great duke, another for the archbishop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple satin, lined with sable ; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, set as thick as possible with diamonds, and said to be the same which the great duke Demetrius Monomach took at Cassa in Tartary, and immediately destined for the coronation of his successors.

As soon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbishop prays to God, to St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russians, and to the other saints, desiring their presence at that day's solemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counsellor of state takes the great duke by the hand, presents him

him to the archbishop, and says to him ; “ The Knez and Bojars acknowledge the prince here present, to be lawful heir to the crown ; and desire that, as such, you immediately crown him :” Upon which the archbishop leads the prince up to the scaffold, seats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead with a little cross of diamonds, and blesses him. Then one of the metropolitans reads the following prayer. “ O Lord our God, King of kings, who didst chuse thy servant David, by thy prophet Samuel, and didst cause him to be anointed king over thy people Israel, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee. Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations : Anoint him with the oil of gladness ; protect him by thy power ; set upon his head a precious diadem ; grant him a long and happy life ; put into his hand a royal scepter, and make him sit upon the throne of justice ; make subject to him all barbarous nations ; let his heart and understanding always continue in thy fear. In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obedient to thy commandments ; suffer not any heresy or schism to come near his person or government ; but shew him the salvation of thy holy and universal church ; that he may judge thy people with justice ; protect the children of the poor, and finally attain everlasting life : for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God the father, God the son, God the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us.”

After this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropolitans to take the cap and robe ; and some

some of the bojars, whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on the great duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching his forehead with the little cross of diamonds. The ducal cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the prince's head, while the archbishop says, In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and blesses him the third time. That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach; and each of them gives the great duke his benediction; but only with the two fore-fingers. The great duke and the archbishop then sit down; but rise again immediately, to order the singing of the litany, every verse of which ends with Ghospodi pomilui, "Lord have mercy upon us," and is frequently intermixed with the great duke's name. After the litany, they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans goes up to the altar, and says, singing, "God preserve in health our czar and great duke of all the Russias, whom he hath of his love bestowed upon us, and grant him a long and happy life." The words are echoed round for some time, by every one present; after which the archbishop alone goes up to the prince, and tells him, "That since, through the providence of God, all the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned him great duke over all the Russias, and entrusted him with a government of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his commandments, administer justice, and protect and maintain the true Greek religion." He then bows himself down to the ground, before the czar, even touching it with his forehead, as a token

token of his homage ; and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of St. Michael the Archangel, and afterwards to that of St. Nicholas, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of Precheste, and, after singing in each of them the same litanies as before, conclude the ceremonies with dining in the great hall of the Kremlin.

The title of the Russian sovereign, at full length, runs now as follows :

“ N. N. Emperor and sole sovereign of all the Russias, sovereign lord of Moscow, Kiow, Wlodimiria, Novogrod ; czar in Casan, Astracan, and Siberia ; lord of Pleskow ; great duke of Smolensko ; duke of Esthonia, Livonia, and Carelia ; of Tweria, Ingoria, Pernia, Wiatkia, Bulgaria, and lord of several other territories ; great duke of Novogrod in the low country of Tchernickow, Resan, Rostow, Jaroslaw, Bielskero, Uldoria, Obdoria, Condinia ; emperor of all the northern parts ; lord of the territory of Iweria ; of the Carthalinian, Greuzinian, and Georgian czars ; of the Kabardinian, Circassian and Gorian princes ; and lord and supreme ruler of many other countries and territories.”

The Russian court has always been very numerous and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the bojars, or privy-counsellors, with all the officers of each prikase ; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, by titles of honour and distinction, without any salary. But the czar Peter I. abolished these formalities, without settling any other court ; some said, to save the expence during the wars he was engaged in ; others

others from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraints. On any ceremony, he was attended by the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of.

The first, and most honourable, is that of St. Andrew, or the blue ribbon, instituted by Peter the Great in 1698, in honour of St. Andrew, the patron of Russia. The empress Catharine gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its ensigns, motto, and collar.

The second is the order of St. Alexander Newski, or the red ribbon, which was indeed instituted by Peter I. but the czarina Catharine first conferred it in the year 1725. This order has also its badge and motto.

The third is a female order, which Peter the Great founded in 1714, in honour of his consort Catharine; and from her name he called it the order of St. Catharine.

These honours, as Voltaire observes, command respect, cost the sovereign nothing, and flatter those who receive them, without adding to their power.

An hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a-day at the Russian court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court-purveyor receives for this purpose, two thousand rubels every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown-estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices. The daily consumption of coffee is a pud, or thirty-six pounds.

pounds of our weight ; and seven thousand puds of salt are expended there every month.

The revenues of the Russian empire are variously computed. The author of the *Anmerkung uber die Moscovitischen briefe*, or “ Observations on the Moscovite letters,” pretends that they amount to sixty millions of rubels ; but this is certainly exaggerated. Some compute them at twenty millions of rubels, which is still beyond the mark ; and others ||, on the contrary, reckon them to be eight millions, which is too little †. M. de Voltaire says, that according to a state of the Russian finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of rubels.

M. Busching agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates at near a fifth-part, in consequence of an imperial ukase, or edict issued in 1752 by the late empress Elizabeth ; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress’s whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only about ten millions of rubels. Which ever of these authors is right, it is very certain, that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the Russian dominions ; that they do not all consist of ready money, the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of Siberia paying

|| Among which number are the author of *Das Veränderte Rußland*, and the writer of the remarks upon *L’histoire géaéalogique des Tartares*. Strahlenberg says they amounted to five millions of rubels in the time of the czar Alexis.

† Lord Whitworth reckoned them at only about seven millions of rubels in the year 1710.

their

their tribute in furs ; and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

By the indefatigable care of Peter the Great, the military establishment of Russia has been entirely new modelled. The Russians at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined : but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the German footing.

According to the state of the Russian forces drawn up by M. Van Hoven in the year 1746, the army then consisted of 246,494 regulars, and 120,000 irregulars. The fleet was composed of 24 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 3 bomb-ketches, and 2 praams or flat-boats ; besides the galley fleet at Petersburg, consisting of 102 galleys. The compliment of the whole fleet amounted to 10,570 men, of whom 7701 were sailors.

The men of war are laid up at Revel and Cronstadt, and the galleys at Petersburg. The Russians cannot as yet be said to have a complete good harbour in the Baltic, the water at Cronstadt being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there ; the mouth of the harbour being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands ; and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of May. Some sea-officers and ship carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of Siberia, towards Japan, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships : but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made.

CHAP. V.

Description of the City of Petersburg, the Capital of the Russian Empire.—Its Situation, Extent, Public Buildings, &c. &c.

ST. Petersburg, situate in 59 degrees, 57 minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the Russian empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in Ingria and Finland, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channel of the Neva, which divides itself into two main branches, called the Great and Little Neva, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers Fontanka and Moika, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands, has been considerably raised with trunks of trees, earth, and stone: its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city of Petersburg is about six English miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The number of its houses is computed at eight thousand, about six hundred of which are of stone; but the rest are built with timber, and, for the most part, in an irregular manner, after the Russian taste.

The soil about Petersburg is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly,

chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom abounded in money.

The river Neva is about 800 paces broad near Petersburg, but not every where proportionably deep; so that large ships are cleared at Kronstadt; but the men of war built at Petersburg are conveyed to Kronstadt by means of certain machines called camels. There is but one bridge over the Neva, which is built with large flat-bottomed boats, and joins the dock-yard to Basili-Ostrow.

Petersburg-island, called, by way of distinction, the island of Old Petersburg, is formed by the Great and Little Neva, and the Newka, and is upwards of two leagues in circuit. It is well peopled, but most of the houses upon it are very indifferent. Here is still to be seen the little wooden house built by order of Peter the Great, for his residence at the time that he arrived upon the spot where the city now stands: and, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this remarkable circumstance, it is inclosed within a stone-wall, and has been covered with a new roof.

Petersburg-island is separated by the Carvowka from another, called the Apothecaries-island, which is about five or six miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred houses, besides the large physic-garden, where all kinds of European and Asiatic plants, roots, and trees, are cultivated in green-houses and other proper places. The other part of this island consists of a pleasant wood.

From this island of Old Petersburg you cross the Little Neva to that of Wasili-Ostrow, or Basil's Island, which is the largest of all these islands.

islands. It is surrounded by the Great and Little Neva, and lies towards Kronstadt. Several large canals are cut through this island, particularly at the places where the buildings stand: but most of them being now gone to decay, those parts are little better than morasses. Adjoining to the hemp-warehouse, and opposite to Petersburg-island, are the exchange, the custom-house, the pack-house, and the merchants key. Contiguous to these are several large stone-buildings, belonging to the imperial academy of sciences, which Peter I. founded in 1724, and endowed with an annual revenue of 24,912 rubles. That monarch also designed to erect an academy of the polite arts: but as an estimate of the expences attending such an institution has not yet been made, the late empress Elizabeth, in the mean time, augmented the former endowment to 53,298 rubles.

The academy is divided into two classes, viz. the academy properly so called, and the university. The members of the former are employed solely in finding out new inventions, or in improving the discoveries of others. They are properly stiled academicians; but are commonly called professors. Every academician has an adjunct or assistant, who is under his care, and succeeds him in his place. The academy is governed by a president, but in such manner, that every thing is transacted under the auspices and direction of her imperial majesty.

The university has its particular professors, who read lectures in the sciences, both in the Russian and Latin languages. No person is disqualified from being a professor on account of his religion; but he must not inculcate in his pupils

pupils any thing contrary to the doctrine of the Greek church. In the year 1750 the number of students amounted to thirty, who were sent from different convents, and lived in one house, under the inspection of a professor.

The gymnasium and seminarium belong also to the university.

The next remarkable place, in order, is the theatrum pyrotechnicum, or fire-work theatre, built on piles in the river Neva, opposite to the imperial winter-palace. Here is a long stone-building, appropriated to the state-colleges and offices.

Just beyond these stands the magnificent and spacious edifice, which was formerly prince Menzikoff's palace, but is now the academy of the corps of cadets of noble families, and has received considerable additions, though it still wants a left wing. In 1731 the empress Anne, by the advice of the field-marshal count Munich, issued a proclamation, by virtue of which all the young nobility, and officers sons, of Russia and Livonia, were invited to Petersburg, where they were to be educated gratis, according to their rank, &c. In consequence of this ordinance, in the beginning of the year 1732, they made their appearance at Petersburg, and the above-mentioned palace was assigned for their dwelling.

In 1731.] At that time the number of Russian cadets on this foundation was to be 240, and that of the Germans 120; which number was then indeed complete, besides some supernumeraries: but it is now no longer so, particularly with respect to the German cadets, as, of late years, they have been obliged to engage,
that

that they will never quit the Russian dominions, nor enter into foreign service. The Germans and Russians, intermixed together, lodge, three, four, five, seven, eight, or ten, in one apartment, under the inspection of a monitor, who is either a subaltern, or one of the senior cadets. At dinner they have three, and at supper two dishes served up; a captain and a lieutenant being always present. They form three companies, each of which ought to consist of 120 persons. There is a director, or governor in chief; next to him is the commandeur, who is a lieutenant-colonel, and under him is the major. Every company has a captain, a lieutenant-captain, a first and second lieutenant, ensign, serjeant major, two serjeants, a capitaine d'armée, a quarter-master, a vice-ensign, four corporals, and eight exempts. Their uniform is green, with straw-coloured waistcoats; and the coats they wear upon duty are bordered with a narrow gold lace. Their hours for instruction are from seven to eleven in the morning, and from two to six in the afternoon. According to the original plan, their education was to be entrusted to three professors of law, mathematics, history, and the Russian language; four adjuncts or assistants, and twenty-four masters; but some of these places are now vacant. There are also a riding-master and his assistant, an equerry, and four grooms, with a stud of seventy or eighty horses, maintained on this foundation. The corps is under the controul of the council of state, and the senate. The salary of the governor in chief is 1000 rubles, that of the colonel 1500, that of the major 700 rubles, and the rest in proportion. The
pro-

professors and masters have apartments gratis in the house, to which belongs a very fine garden.

Near this academy is the bridge of boats over the Neva; and not far from thence is an academy for 360 sea-cadets.

On the right-hand is the Admiralty-side, or Admiralty-island, which is surrounded by the rivers Neva and Fontanka; and from this island the bridge of boats is laid in the summer to Wafil-Ostrow, or Basil's-island. Here are a great number of stone-houses, and elegant palaces along the river-side, reaching almost to the bridge of boats. The English factory have their place of worship in this part, and behind it is New Holland, with the rope-walk. The admiralty, or dock-yard, is fortified with a wall and five bastions, planted with several guns; and all ships salute it upon their entrance into the harbour.

Not far from this is the imperial winter-palace, a large square building of three stories high; but the architecture is not extraordinary. Behind it is a spacious area, in which stands a noble equestrian statue of gilt brass, erected in honour of Peter I. Contiguous to this, upon the banks of the Neva, are several other palaces, among which is the old imperial winter-palace. The dock affords a double vista, one to the Russian church of the Ascension; the other is terminated by the convent of St. Alexander Newski. The magnificent buildings on both sides of the river Fontanka make also a very fine appearance from thence. The streets behind the admiralty, and through the fields behind the imperial

imperial summer-palace, are very grand and magnificent.

The Muscovite side, which is properly the city, lies on the continent; and a part of it is very well built. In this quarter are the following remarkable places: the private dock; the court victualling-office; the foundry on the Neva, in which great numbers of cannon and mortars are cast; the fire-work elaboratory; the aqueduct which supplies the fountains in the emperor's garden; the German Lutheran church, dedicated to St. Anne; three Russian churches; the pheasant-house; the Italian garden; Muscovite Jemskoi; the barracks for the horse-guards, together with the stables for their horses; and the convent of St. Alexander Newski. In this convent are deposited the remains of that saint, for which the late empress Elizabeth ordered a silver shrine to be made, which lies on a superb monument, covered with silver plates of a considerable thickness.

Lastly, on the Wiburg-side, as it is called, are the following places of note, viz. St. Samson's church, with the Russian and German burial-places, the sugar-house, the land and sea-hospital, the hospital church, the beer-brewers quarter, the Dutch beer-brewhouse, a rope-walk, the suburb called Sloboda Kosatschia, a nursery of young oaks, called Great and Little Ockla, a Russian church, and the ruins of the fort called Nienfchanz, which was taken and destroyed by Peter I. in 1703.

The inhabitants of this large city, besides Russians, consist of all nations; so that a person hears a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs at

Petersburg. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred ; but the place contains upwards of an hundred thousand souls. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupt and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the Russian government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circumspect in his behaviour and words ; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say any thing against the Greek religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

As the limits of this volume will not permit us to enter into a more minute description of this city and its environs, we shall conclude with a short view of the political interests of Russia, with respect to other nations.

These, says the judicious author of *The Present State of Europe*, are neither so many, nor so complicated, as might be expected, considering the extent and situation of the empire, which gives its monarchs a right to be considered as Asiatic, as well as European powers. The northern parts of the empire, from the frontiers of the Swedish dominions, to those of China and Japan, are guarded in such a manner, as to be secure not only from danger, but from apprehension ; having on that side a sea, hitherto impenetrable, and through which a passage, if any could be found, must turn to the benefit, but can never prove of any disadvantage to the subjects of Russia ; which is a point of great consequence, and a blessing scarcely known to any other country. The frontiers of the empire towards China are also inaccessible,

consisting of desarts impenetrable by armies, but which yield a tolerable passage for caravans; so that the Russians may always depend on the friendship of the Chinese; and whenever they apply themselves seriously thereto, may make this friendship turn to their advantage. The Tartars, inhabiting the countries between Persia and Russia, are no longer formidable to this vast empire; on the contrary, they all respect it, and many of them have voluntarily submitted, and become its vassals. The Caspian sea, and the dominions which the Russians have on that side, give them a fair opening into Persia, which they have already improved so as to gain to themselves a very advantageous trade; and this, by degrees, may perhaps be extended as far as the East Indies.

It will always be the interest of Russia to cultivate a good understanding with the shah: but in case of a rupture, she would not have much to fear, since, the frontiers being open, she might soon make an end of the war, by letting loose upon them the Tartars, who are her tributaries. The Turks, and their associates the Crim Tartars, are more dangerous enemies: but, at present at least, the circumstances of the Porte will scarce allow her to break with the Russians, who, if such a thing should happen, can never want the power of defending themselves against them, or even of making themselves of the folly of wantonly seeking a quarrel. The two Christian principalities dependant upon the Ottoman empire, have always a bias in favour of the Russians; and therefore the Turks run a greater hazard by making war with this, than with any other nation.

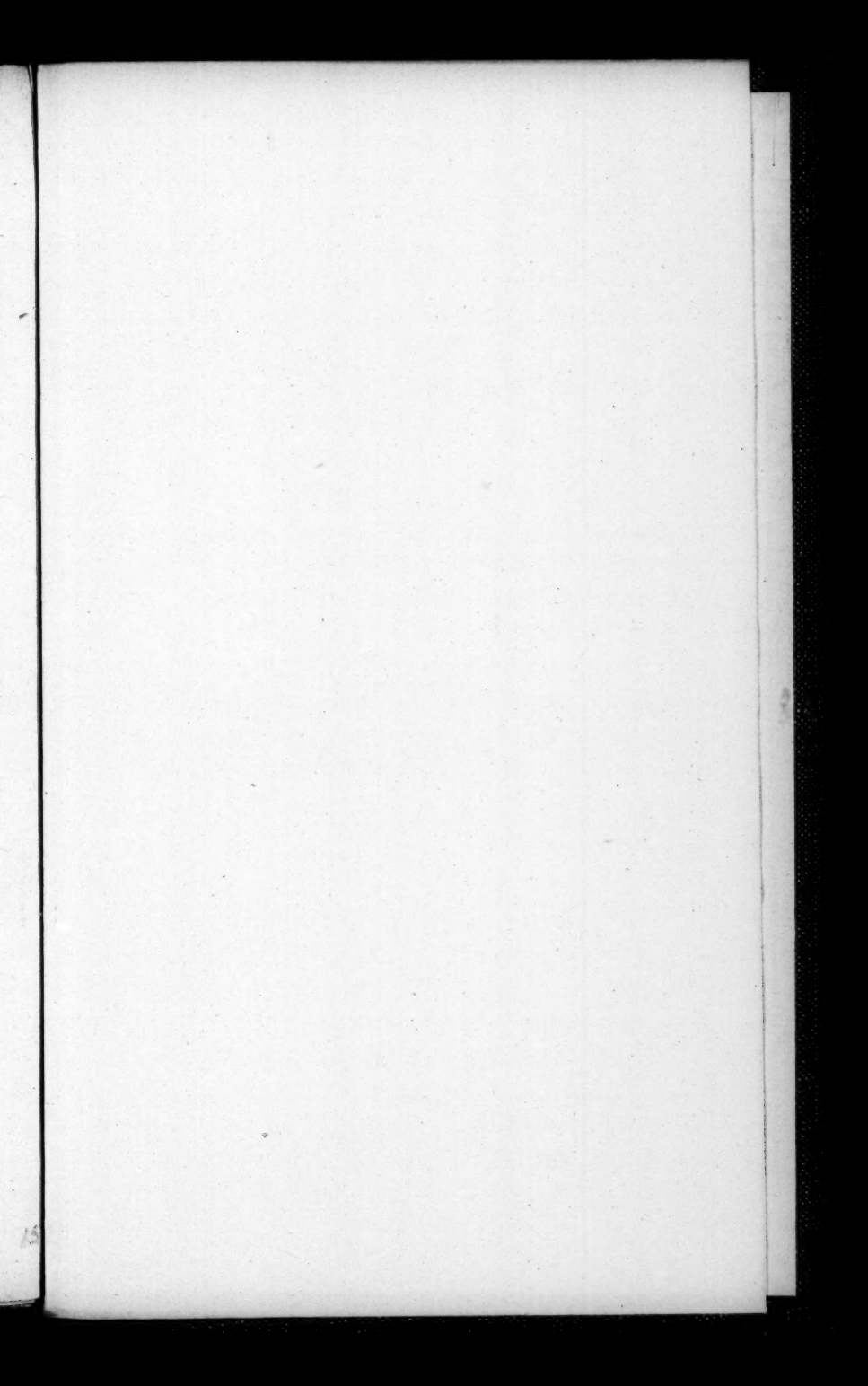
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The interests of Russia in Europe are not hard to assign. As to Sweden, it is of great consequence to her to live upon good terms with that crown; and, on the other hand, the superiority of Russia, when forced into a war, has been so apparent, that there is great reason to think the Swedes will continue quiet on that side for a long series of time. It is equally requisite for the court of Petersburg to be upon good terms with the Poles; to which end every proper measure seems to have been taken.

There seems to be no great cause of intercourse between Russia and Denmark, farther than what results from attention to the balance of power in the north, which will always incline a wise administration in this empire, to keep the scales as even as may be between this crown and that of Sweden.

The interests of Russia with respect to the house of Austria, are its most material concern; for while these imperial houses are united, not only by general alliances, but by a due and hearty regard for each others prosperity, neither has much to fear from the Turks: but if they are divided, and the Ottomans should recover their ancient power, these may be formidable to both.

END of the Twenty-First Volume.





Edward the third, King of England, crowning his Prisoner the Chevalier du Ribaumont, at Calais.

THE *14 A.D. i*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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ADDITIONS
TO THE
ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,
AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations,
from CHARLEMAGNE to the present
Time.



Of the GERMANS.

ÆSAR tells us, in his See Intro-
Commentaries, that the duction to
days of battle were al- Gen. Hist.
ways appointed by their vol. I. p. 8.
magicians or soothsay-

ers; and that when Ariovistus, one of their
kings, led an army of an hundred thousand
wandering Germans, to pillage the country of
the Gauls, that he (Cæsar) being desirous to
subdue these people, rather than plunder them,

B

sent

sent two Roman officers to Ariovistus, to confer with him on the occasion; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country; which inhuman sentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæsar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of these barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children, lay all huddled together naked upon straw, while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, were the same people who became masters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the antient Germans, is like Horace when he sings the praises of the barbarians Getæ; both writers shew themselves equally ignorant of their subject, and in fact only make the satire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midst of his panegyric, acknowledges what every one knew, that the Germans chose rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands; and that after having plundered their neighbours, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always subsist by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incursions, and subjected a great part of them, they were constrained to seek a livelihood by labour, which they considered as the greatest hardship.

CHANGES in the GLOBE.

Idem, page 9.] **T**HOSE pleasant and fruitful tracts of land in the western part of Europe, that sweet country watered by the Rhine, the Maese, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is physically demonstrated by those deep and horizontal beds of sea-shells, which are found far in-land, and which were deposited there by little and little, as the ocean left it.

It is not so certain that those chains of mountains, which run across the old and new world, were formerly covered by the sea.

1. Because these mountains are many of them 10,000 feet and more higher than the surface of the sea.

2. Because, if there was a time when these mountains did not exist, whence did those springs and rivers of fresh water arise, which are so necessary to the lives of all animals?

3. In supposing these mountains to have been covered with waters, we must contradict the order of nature, and the known laws of gravity and the hydrostatics.

4. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and in this cavity we find no chain of mountains stretching from one pole to the other, or from east to west, as on the earth; we cannot therefore, with any degree of truth, conclude that all our globe was for a long time covered with sea, because several parts of it have been formerly overflowed. We must not assert, that the

sea once divided the Alps and the Cordilleras, because it has covered the lower parts of Gaul, Greece, Germany, Africa and India: neither should we infer that mount Taurus was once a navigable flood, because the Philippine and Molucca islands were once part of the continent. And altho' it is probable that the mountainous parts of the earth may have undergone many physical and moral changes, as well as the more level parts, yet we do not know what these have been: human nature is entirely new to us.

OF CHINA.

Vol. I. **I**T is said in the Book of the Five chap. I. Kings (by far the most ancient page 11. and authentic of the Chinese) that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in succession to Fo-hi, there was observed a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our astronomers pretend to dispute among themselves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even supposing the Chinese to have been mistaken in this celestial observation, the very mistake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chinese knew that the planets Venus and Mercury revolved round the sun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reason not to perceive, that such a knowledge supposes a vast number of preceeding ages; and what renders those first writings so peculiarly venerable, and gives them such an acknowledged superiority over all those that relate the origin
of

GENERAL HISTORY. 5

of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, any predictions, or any of those political impostures, with which the founders of all other states stand charged, unless we will except that of Fo-hi, who is said to have given out that he saw his laws written on the back of a flying serpent. But even this imputation, if true, shews us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this western corner of the globe, to dispute the archives of a nation who were compleatly civilized, while we were no more than a herd of savages.

* * *

Id. page 12.] The Chinese invented a cycle, or computation of time, which begins 2602 years before ours. Is it for us then to dispute a chronology which has been unanimously received by a whole people? Is it for us, I say, who have at least threescore different systems for reckoning antient dates and times, and consequently have not one on which we can depend?

* * *

Id. page 15.] Certain learned chronologists have computed, that from one single family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were constantly employed in the business of procreation, and their children the same, there was begotten in the space of 250 years, a far greater number of souls than the whole world at present contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached any thing half so absurd! Children are not begot with the dash of a pen. Examine our colonies; examine the prodigious cluster of

B 3 islands

islands in Asia, which furnish not a single soul; or the Moldavian, Philippine and Molucca islands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

* * *

Id. page 18.] The journal of the Chinese empire, which is the most authentic and useful work of its kind in the known world, inasmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the resources and interests of all the orders of the state: This journal, I say, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar æra 1725, the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had caused to be declared empress, did, according to the ancient custom on such occasions, distribute presents to all the poor women in China above seventy years of age. The journal reckons in the single province of Canton 98,220 women of seventy years of age who received the bounty on this occasion, 40,893 of eighty and upwards, and 3453 who were near an hundred. How many women then must there have been, who were not entitled to this donation? We have here above 142,000 who partook thereof in one province only. These are among the number accounted of no use to the state. How prodigious then must be the population of this country? Only supposing every one entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres *, to what an immense sum must this have amounted!

* About eight shillings and sixpence sterling.

* * *

Id. page 20.] There is a particular passage in the third book of Confucius, which shews how very ancient the use of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroys, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furnish the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thousand war-chariots, drawn by four horses a-breast, and a thousand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flourished a century after the Chinese philosopher, never speaks of chariots with more than three or four horses a-breast. The Chinese had undoubtedly first begun, and were become perfect masters in the use of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chinese, appear to have made use of single cavalry, and yet it is almost beyond dispute, that the method of fighting on horseback was prior to the use of chariots. We are told that Pharaoh king of Egypt had horsemen, and at the same time that he made use of chariots of war.

* * *

Id. page 22.] It is certain that the Chinese were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years assure father Parenin, the most learned and wise of any of the missionaries who had access to the person of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made use of the properties of the right-angled triangle, in drawing the geographical plan of a province above 3960 years ago; and father Parenin himself quotes a book wrote above 1100 years before our vulgar æra, which says, that the famous demonstration which the western part of the world attributed

to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the most generally known theorems.



Id. page 23.] The fundamental law in China being, to consider the empire as one family, is the reason why the welfare of the community is attended to as the first and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the several tribunals shew in keeping the highways in repair, in making communications between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging the agriculture and manufactories.

We shall set apart another section for treating of the Chinese government. But you are to observe before hand, that the travellers and missionaries have affirmed it to be altogether despotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and because they see men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine from thence, that they must all be slaves to that person, and that he has absolute power over the lives and fortunes of an hundred millions of men, to whom his sole will must be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we shall shew more at large in another place; for the present I shall content myself with observing, that, in the first ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have against the administration, on a long table placed for that purpose in an apartment of the palace, and that this custom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar æra; and lastly, that, in times of peace, the representations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

Chap;

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Chap. II. page 29.] Confucius begins his book by saying, that whoever is destined to rule over a nation, ought “ to purify that reason “ which he has received from heaven, in the “ same manner as we cleanse a mirror when “ it is sullied ;” and also, that he ought “ to “ form himself anew, in order to new-model “ the people committed to his care.” All he says tends to the same end. He does not pretend to inspiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a constant endeavour to gain the mastery over his passions, and he writes only as a philosopher : accordingly the Chinese consider him only as a philosopher.

* * *

Id. page 30.] We know very little about materialism, and far less about immaterialism. The Chinese did not know more of it than ourselves, and their learned were satisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and his angels were corporeal, was an old metaphysical error ; but not to believe that there is any God, is an error incompatible with a wise government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourselves to cry out with vehemence against Bayle, for believing that a society of atheists may subsist, and at the same time to affirm, that the wisest empire in the universe is founded on atheistical principles.

Father Fouquet the Jesuit, who lived 25 years in China, and left it a declared enemy to those of his own order, has told me several times, that there were very few of the Chinese

philosophers atheists. The same may hold good amongst us.

Of the INDIES.

Vol. I.
chap. III.

THIS country is the only one in the world that produces those spices which the temperance of the natives can do without, and which the epicurism of the inhabitants of these northern climates have rendered a necessary food.

[Id. page 33, 36.] Pythagoras, the gymnosophist, may alone serve as an incontestible proof that true science was cultivated in India. A master in politics and geometry would not long have remained in a school where they taught nothing but empty words. It is even more than probable that Pythagoras learnt the properties of the right-angled triangle from the Indians, the invention of which was afterwards ascribed to him; for as it was so well known in China, it might easily be the same in India. It has been frequently said, that he offered an hecatomb of bullocks on the discovery. This was rather an extravagant offering for a philosopher. It is certainly well becoming a wise man to return thanks for a happy thought, to him who is the giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; but it is more likely that Pythagoras was indebted for this theorem to the gymnosophists, than that he sacrificed an hecatomb of bullocks.

[Ibid.] The Indian sages treated morality and philosophy under the veil of fable and allegory long before the time of Pilpay. When they wanted to describe the equity of any one of their
their

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their kings, they said, that "the gods who
 " preside over the several elements having a
 " dispute among themselves, had chosen this
 " king as umpire between them." Their an-
 cient traditions give an account of a judgment
 much like that of Solomon's. They have a
 fabulous story exactly the same as that of Jupi-
 ter and Amphitryon, but more ingeniously
 imagined, for a sage by his superior knowledge
 discovers which of them is the god, and which
 the mortal. These traditions shew the great
 antiquity of those allegories which make all
 extraordinary men to be children of the gods.
 The Greeks learnt all their mythology from the
 Indians and Egyptians. All these parables former-
 ly included a philosophical meaning; in process
 of time the meaning was lost, and the fable re-
 mained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the
 Indians: possibly the Tartarian government may
 have damped the genius of those people, and
 the Ottoman government has that of the
 Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has
 in a manner made stupid. The sciences are
 likewise almost annihilated among the Persians,
 from the multitude of revolutions that state has
 undergone. We have seen, that they have
 continued in China in much the same degree of
 mediocrity as amongst us in the middle age,
 and from the same cause which operated with
 us, namely, a superstitious veneration for an-
 tiquity, and the rules and dogma's of schools.
 Thus the human mind finds something to
 check its progress in every country.

* * *

Id. Page 35.] Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indostan, and alledged in defence of their opinion, that the most helpless of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildest of all climates, and in a country where the ground spontaneously produced the most wholesome and nourishing fruits; such as dates and cocos, the latter of which in particular, produce with a very little trouble, wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodgings; and what more can an inhabitant of this isthmus stand in need of? The labourer there works almost naked, and two yards of a thin stuff is more than sufficient for a covering to their women, who are strangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born till the age of puberty. Mattraffes, featherbeds, rich coverlids, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchase with so much pains and expence, would be insufferable inconveniences to these people, who cannot sleep otherwise than upon a mat, in the open air.

Those houses of carnage, which with us are called flesh-markets, and where so many carcases are sold to nourish our's, would occasion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly bestowed on them, with a liberal hand, vast woods of citron, orange and fig, palm and cocoa trees, and fields covered with rice. The most robust man in that country could not expend more than two-pence a-day for his diet, whereas a labouring man with us spends more in eating in one day, than
would

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would serve a Malabar for a month. These several considerations seem to corroborate the antient opinion, that man is originally a native of a country, where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himself. But this only proves that the Indians themselves are *indigenæ*, and not that the several other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplander, the Samojedes, and the Albino's, or white Moors, are certainly not natives of the same climate. There is as distinguishing a difference between all these kinds, as between a horse and a camel. No one then but an ignorant and obstinate braman would attempt to say that all mankind are descended from the Indian and his wife.



Id. page 36.] The western nations have always carried their gold and silver into India, increasing the wealth of that country already so rich of itself. Hence it comes that we never see the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country, to make incursions on other nations, as was the custom with the Arabs, both Jews and Saracans, the Tartars, and even the Romans themselves, who being situated in the worst part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at present by religion.

It is beyond doubt, that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at present. The islands which are scattered between it and the eastern and southern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world,

world, a part of the Terra Firma, as may appear by the shallowness of the sea which separates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the same with those found on the islands, and, lastly, those new portions of land which it frequently leaves dry; all which shews that this part of the continent has been formerly overflowed; and this has happened as a necessary consequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loses in another, returned from our western shores.



[Id. page 36.] The abominable custom by which the women in India make a point of honour to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, is not yet abolished. The widow of the king of Tangour burned herself in this manner, in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her husband. Mr. Dumas and Mr. Dupleix were witnesses of several of these inhuman sacrifices. This is certainly the utmost extent of error and superstition over the perverted mind of man. The most austere dervis is a pusillanimous wretch in comparison of a Malabar woman.



[Id. page 37.] It certainly was not christianity that flourished in India in the sixth century, it was mahometanism, which had been introduced there after the conquest of the caliphs, and Aaron Raschild, or Haroun Alraschid. This illustrious cotemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Persia, and a part of India, sent some musulmen missionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, those of the isles in the Indian sea, and even a hord of negroes.

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negroes. From that time there were a great number of missionaries in India. We do not find that the great Aaron converted the Indians by fire and sword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refused to submit to the yoke of Aaron Raschid, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildness, as our northern race for their roughness. The softness which is begotten by a climate, is not to be overcome, but roughness is to be softened.

In general, the men inhabiting the south-east part of the globe, have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the western hemisphere. Their climate naturally disposes them to abstinence from strong liquors and flesh-meats, foods which inflame the blood, and frequently to a degree of madness; and altho' the natural goodness of their dispositions may have been corrupted by superstition, and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree, that these people have nothing of that petulance and sourness in their nature, which has cost so much pains to keep under in the people of the north.

There being so great a physical difference between us and the natives of India, there must undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general less violent than ours. Like us they in vain sought for a remedy against the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them, and the Chinese, "that the wise man was to come from the west". We Europeans, on the contrary, said, "that the wise man was to come from the
the

“the east.” All nations have, in all times, stood in need of a wise man.

Of the BRAMINS, the VEDAM, and the EZOUR-VEDAM.

AS India supplies the wants of all the world, but is herself beholden for nothing, she must for that very reason have been the most early civilised of any country, and by a like consequence necessarily have had the most ancient form of worship. It is most probable the religion of India was for a long time the same with that of the Chinese government, and consisted only in the pure and simple worship of a Supreme Being, free from any superstition and fanaticism.

This simple religion was formed by the first bramins, such as it was established in China by the first kings of that country. These bramins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and discerning people, and were at the same time the chiefs of religion. That religion must be simple and rational, because its chiefs have no occasion for errors to procure them obedience. It is so natural to believe in one only God, and to adore him, and to feel from the very soul that he must be just, that where a ruler declares these truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires some time to establish arbitrary laws, but a single instant is sufficient to teach a number of people assembled, to believe that there is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

The

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The first bramins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not establish religion but on the foundation of universal reason; but it is not so in those countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are separate. In this case the religious functions, which belong originally to the heads of families, form a distinct profession. The service of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourse must sometimes be had to delusions and impostures.

Religion then degenerated among the bramins as soon as they ceased to be sovereigns.

The bramins had ceased to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great; but their tribe, or *cast* as it was called, still held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day; and it was from this tribe that they took those sages (true or false) which the Greeks called Gymnosophists. It cannot be denied, that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illusions of fanaticism. They continued to acknowledge one supreme God, in the midst of the multitude of subordinate deities, which popular superstition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expressly says, that in the main the bramins acknowledge only one God. In this they resemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the sages, and all the hierophantes, or those who had the care of the sacred mysteries. The seven years of probationership among the bramins, and the silence enjoined during that term, were still in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be observed during this noviciate, the abstaining from the flesh of household animals, were laws

laws which they never transgressed, and which still subsist among them. They held one God, the creator, preserver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is every where to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea fata est ætas* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrius, Philostratus, Porphyry, and Palladio, all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the bramins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they shew for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambrose makes no scruple to prefer their manners to those of the christians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of those allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow-citizens; and this panegyric on the bramins might be intended as salutary satire on the monks; and had St. Ambrose lived in India, he would probably have praised the monks, in order to put the bramins to the blush. However, we know, from a multitude of testimonies, that these men were every where in high reputation, on account of the sanctity of their lives.

That belief of one only God, for which they are so esteemed by all philosophers, continues with them, in the midst of the numberless idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant superstition of the common people.

A French poet says, in one of his epistles, of which every line is almost a falsehood,

L'Inde

“ L’Inde aujourd’hui voit l’orgueilleux brachmane,

“ Deifier brutalement zélé,

“ Le diable même en bronze ciselé.”

“ ——— India beholds

“ Her bramin, vain of fancy’d piety,

“ Prostrate before his brazen deity,

“ With brutal zeal e’en Satan’s name invoke.”

But certainly men who do not believe in a devil, will hardly invoke that devil. Such absurd reproaches are unsufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themselves never paid any worship to the evil spirit, nor is it any where enjoined in the religion of Zoroaster. It is high time for us to lay aside the mean custom of calumniating all sects, and abusing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a translation of one of the most antient manuscripts in the world. I do not mean the *Vedam* which is so much spoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *Ezour-vedam*, an ancient commentary, composed by Chumontou on this *Vedam*, which the bramins pretend to be the most holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God himself to man. This commentary has been digested by a very learned bramin, who has done many great services to our India company, and who translated it himself out of the holy tongue into French *.

* I have made a present of this MS. to the king’s library, where any one may have a sight of it.

In the *Ezour vedam*, or commentary, Chumontou strongly attacks idolatry. He first quotes the words of the Vedam itself :

“ The Supreme Being has created all things,
 “ both animate and inanimate. There have
 “ been four different ages of the world ; every
 “ thing perished at the end of each age. The
 “ whole world was drowned, and a deluge is
 “ the passage from one age to another, &c.

“ When God existed alone, and no other
 “ being existed with him, he formed the design
 “ of creating the world. He at first created
 “ time, and then the water and the earth,
 “ and from the mixture of the five elements,
 “ namely, earth, water, fire, light and air,
 “ he formed the different bodies, and gave them
 “ the earth as their basis. He made the globe
 “ we inhabit oval, or in the shape of an egg.
 “ In the midst of the earth is the highest of all
 “ mountains, whose name is Meron, (i. e.
 “ *Immaus*.) The first man created by God was
 “ called *Adimo*, his wife’s name was *Procriti*.
 “ Of *Adimo* was born *Brama*, who was the
 “ lawgiver of nations, and the father of the
 “ bramins.”

How many curious things are here in a few words ! The first that presents itself to us is this important truth, that God is the creator of the world : then follows the primitive source of the old fable of the four ages, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the Vedam. We there find the Deucalidonian deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in those times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers

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thers had suffered to lie under water. The quotations in this Vedam, or holy manuscript, are all of them surprising. We there find the following admirable sentence word for word :

“ God never created sin, nor can he be the author thereof. God, who is wisdom and holiness, created only virtue.”

The following is one of the most singular passages in the Vedam :

“ When the first man came from the hand of God, he said to him, There will be different occupations on the earth, every man will not be fit to exercise all, how are we to distinguish such as are proper for each ? God answered him, Those who are born with a greater knowledge of, and inclination for virtue than the rest, shall be bramins. Those who partake the most of *rosogoun*, (*i. e.* ambition) shall be warriors, those who partake the most of *tomogun* (*i. e.* avarice) shall be merchants, and those who partake the most of *comogun* (*i. e.* bodily strength, and a limited understanding) shall be employed in servile labours.”

In these words we have the true origin of the *four casts* in India, or rather of the four conditions of human society ; for, indeed, on what can the inequality of these conditions be founded, but on an inequality of talents ? The Vedam goes on and says,

“ The Supreme Being has neither body nor figure ;” and the Ezour-vedam adds, “ All such who give the Deity hands or feet, are fools or madmen.” Chumontou then quotes these words of the Vedam :

“ When

“ When God took all things from nothing,
 “ he created a distinct individual of each species,
 “ willing that it should contain its own germ
 “ within itself, in order to produce its like.
 “ He is the sovereign and lord of all things.
 “ The sun is but a body without life and
 “ knowledge, and is, in the hands of God, like
 “ a candle in the hands of a man.”

After this, the author of the commentary, as
 he is attacking the opinion of the modern bram-
 mins, who admit several incarnations in the
 gods *Brama* and *Wisnou*, expresses himself
 thus :

“ Tell me, blind and senseless man, who
 “ were *Kochiopo* and *Odite*, of whom thou sayest
 “ thy god was born? Were they not mortals
 “ like us? Shall then that God, who is pure
 “ in his nature, and eternal in his essence,
 “ stoop to lose himself in the embraces of a
 “ woman, in order to take a human shape?
 “ Dost thou not blush to represent that God
 “ to us, in the posture of a suppliant before
 “ one of his creatures? Hast thou lost thy un-
 “ derstanding? or art thou come to that
 “ height of impiety, as not to blush at mak-
 “ ing the Divine Being act the part of an im-
 “ postor and a liar?——Cease then to de-
 “ ceive mankind; and on this condition, and
 “ this only, I will explain to thee the *Vedam*;
 “ for if thou remainest in the same sentiments,
 “ thou art incapable of understanding it, and
 “ it would be profanation to attempt to teach
 “ it thee.”

In the third book of this commentary, the
 author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the
 god *Brama*, invented by the modern bramins,
 who

who pretend he appeared in India under the name of *Kopilo*, that is to say, the Penitent, and that he chose to be born of *Debobuti*, the wife of a man in good circumstances, whose name was *Kordomo*.

“ If it is true, says the commentator, that Brama was born upon earth, how came he eternal? Would he, who is supremely happy, and in whom alone is our happiness, have submitted to suffer all the pains and inconveniencies of an infant, &c.”

After this there follows a description of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. “ What must we do, it then says, to avoid hell?” “ We must love God, replies the commentator Chomontou; we must do what is ordered in the *Vedam*, and in the manner there prescribed. There are, says he, four ways of loving God. The first is, to love him for his own sake, and without any self-view; the second is, to love him thro’ interest; the third is, to love him only in those moments when our passions are predominant; and the fourth is, to love him only for the sake of obtaining the object of those passions; and this last way does not deserve the name of love.”

This is the summary of the most remarkable passages in the *Vedam*, a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and to almost all Asia.

The bramins have degenerated more and more. The *Cormoredam*, which is their ritual, is a collection of superstitious ceremonies, which would make any one laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indies;
or,

or in other words, any one, who not being a philosopher, is surpris'd at the follies of other nations, and not at those of his own country. As soon as an infant is born, it must have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be for ever unhappy. Its tongue must then be rubbed with consecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be said over it, and at each prayer, the name of some god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon, the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned towards the north.

The detail of every trifling circumstance is immense. The whole is a collection of all the follies, wherewith the study of judicial astrology can have inspired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or designing body of learned men. The whole life of a bramin is taken up with these ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind seem to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been subjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conquest they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Sha Nadir, by their successive incursions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees, of those whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagods, or temples, were never so rich as in times of the greatest misery and humiliation. Each of these pagods has a considerable revenue belonging to it, which is further increased by the offerings of the devout. When
a raja

a raja (or Indian nobleman) passes by a pagod, he immediately alights from his horse, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the district of that pagod.

The antient commentary on the Vedam, from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conquests in India, for we meet with none of those names which the Greek conquerors gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itself is called *Zomboudipo*; mount Immaus, *Merou*; and the Ganges, *Zenoubi*. These antient names are at present known only to those learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the first bramins subsists no longer, except among a few of their philosophers, and these do not give themselves the trouble of instructing a people who will not receive instruction, and who indeed deserve it not. They would even run some hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant bramins would set up the cry of heresy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the service of their pagods, and fond, to a degree of enthusiasm of all the little superstitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow citizens reason, is sure of being persecuted for his pains, unless he has the arm of power on his side; and we generally find, that those who use the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance instead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progress in India, especially

ally among the higher rank of people: the reason is, that it is the religion of the sovereign, and that it teaches the worship of one God, agreeable to the antient doctrine of the bramins. Christianity has not met with the same success in this country, notwithstanding the evident holiness of its doctrine, and the numerous settlements of the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progress of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war between themselves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach despised. Moreover, the Indians are disgusted with our customs, and scandalized to see us drink wine, and eat flesh-meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of speech, which occasions us to pronounce the Asiatic languages so badly, is another almost insurmountable obstacle; but the greatest is the difference of opinions which divide our missionaries. Those of the catholic communion oppose those of the church of England, these latter the Lutherans, who are again opposed by the Calvinists; thus, every one contradicting another, and all pretending to publish the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falsehood, confound a simple and peaceable people, who view, with astonishment, a set of furious men crowding into their country from the western extremities of the earth, to cut each others throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It must be confessed that we have had some missionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded respect by their piety, and the gentleness

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tleness of their manners, and who cannot be accused of having exaggerated their labours or their successes. But all those who have been sent from Europe to make converts in Asia, have not been men of understanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the history of the Tranquebar mission, acknowledges, "That
 " the Portuguese filled the seminary of Goa
 " with malefactors who had been condemned
 " to banishment, who being afterwards made
 " missionaries, could not even in that cha-
 " racter forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progress in these parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately subject to the great mogul. Mahometanism and the religion of Brama continue to divide this vast continent between them.

MAHOMET.

Vol. I. **T**HERE never was a con-
 chap. IV. queror or legislator whose
 p. 41, 42. life has been written with greater
 authenticity, or handed down to us
 with a more circumstantial exactness, than that
 of Mahomet, by those writers who were his co-
 temporaries. If we divest it of those miracles,
 with a belief of which the people of that part of
 the world were infatuated, we shall have an ac-
 count agreeable to known truths in all its parts.
 He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in
 April 579, according to our vulgar æra. His
 father's name was *Abdala*, that of his mother
Emena. It is beyond contradiction that his fa-
 mily was one of the most considerable of its
 C 2 tribe,

tribe, which was that of Korah. But the genealogy which makes him to be descended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of those fables invented by the natural desire which mankind have to impose upon one another.

The manners and superstitions of the primitive ages, of which we have already taken a review, were still preserved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abdallah Moutaleb, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in sacrifice. A priestess of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his son by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration common among the Arabians makes to amount to an hundred. This priestess was dedicated to the service of a star, which is supposed to have been Sirius, or the dog-star, for each tribe had its particular star or planet; they also paid divine honours to genii and demi-gods, but still acknowledged a superior deity; and in this respect almost all nations seem to be agreed.

Abdallah Moutaleb is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and ten; his son Mahomet carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war upon the confines of Syria; but being afterwards reduced to very low circumstances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Cadesche, who exercised the profession of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow soon after took her young factor for her husband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or near nine hundred franks of our money*;

* About 371. Sterling.

which

which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the most extensive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obscurity with his mistress, now his wife, to the age of forty.

[Id. page 43.] Mahomet resolved within himself to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which consists in a medley worship of the true God and of the stars. Judaism, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a considerable progress in Asia, and lastly, christianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the several sects spread over the face of his country; he designed to restore the simple worship of Abraham, whose descendant he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God; a tenet which he thought grievously changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himself in the third sura or chapter of his Alcoran, where he thus expresses himself, "God knows; and ye do not know. "Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but "a believer of the true God. He had given his "heart to God, and was not of the number of "idolators."

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthusiasts, being forcibly struck with his own ideas, uttered them at first as he felt them; these growing afterwards more strong by being often repeated, he deceived himself while he was deceiving others; and at length he had recourse to imposture to support a doctrine which he thought right. He began by establishing his credit as a prophet with those of his own family, which

was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. His wife, and young Ali the husband of his daughter Fatima, were his first disciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incensed against him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce; but this was no more than what he had reason to expect. His answer to the threats of the Korashites, at once paints the character of the man, and shews the method of expression used by those of his nation. "Though ye were to come against me," says "he, with the sun in one hand, and the moon in the other, I would not depart from my purpose."

He had raised only sixteen disciples, four of which were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the persecution raised against them; and sent them to preach his religion in *Æthiopia*. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he sent into *Æthiopia* to the number of an hundred. But that which gave the greatest weight to his new religion, was the conversion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his persecutor, became his disciple. This Omar, who was afterwards a great conqueror, standing up in the midst of a numerous assembly, cried out with a loud voice, "I attest that there is but one God, that he has neither companion nor equal, and that Mahomet is his servant and prophet."

* * *

[Id. page 45.] Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as some have pretended. He must, on the contrary, have been a person

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person of great learning for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, since we have some medical aphorisms of his; and that we know he corrected the Arabian calendar, as Cæsar did that of the Romans. He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the last verses of every chapter being in rhyme, and the rest in measured prose; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book respectable; for the Arabians held poetry in the highest esteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any one of their tribes, the other tribes sent a kind of ambassador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked upon as inspired, and an useful member. The best productions of this kind were fixed up in the temple of Mecca, and where the second chapter of Mahomet's Koran was placed there, which begins thus, "There is no room for doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, and of those who believe in the holy mysteries, who pray at the proper times, who give with liberality, &c." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the first poet in Mecca, tore down his own verses which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a disciple of Mahomet's. These are manners, customs and facts, totally different from any amongst us; and may serve to shew us what an amazing variety of colouring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we should be not to judge of the manners and customs of other nations by those of our own.

Id. page 48.] Notwithstanding the strong conformity of manners between the Ismaelites, and the antient Hebrews, as to their enthusiasm

and thirst after plunder, yet the former were greatly superior to the latter in courage, generosity and magnanimity. Their history, both true and fabulous, before the time of Mahomet, abounds with examples of friendship, equal to any in the Græcian fables of Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Pirithoüs. The history

See page 57 and note of the Barmecides is one continued tale of unexampled generosity, which transports the

soul with admiration in the recital. These instances characterise a nation. On the contrary, we do not meet with one generous action in all the Hebrew annals. They were strangers to hospitality, generosity, and clemency. Their greatest happiness consisted, and still does, in exercising the most rapacious usury towards strangers; and this spirit of usury, which is the foundation of all baseness, is engrafted in their hearts, which is the perpetual object of the figures which may employ us in that kind of eloquence peculiar to themselves. They glory in laying waste, with fire and sword, those defenceless towns or villages, of which they can make themselves the masters. They put to death all the old men and children, reserving only young maidens who are marriageable. They assassinate their masters when they are slaves, and never listen to mercy when they are conquerors; in a word, they are enemies of human kind. We find not the least footsteps of politeness, knowledge, or any one of the useful or agreeable arts among this nest of barbarians. But after the second age of the Hajira, the Arabians became the preceptors of Europe in the arts and sciences, notwithstanding

notwithstanding that their religion seems to be the professed foe of all polite accomplishments.

See page 49.] This division sowed the first seeds of that great schism, which at present separates the two sects of Omar and Hali, the Sunni and the Chias, the Turks and the modern Persians.

The Arabians carried their superstitious respect for the Alcoran, so far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand dispute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The most devout espoused the opinion of its being eternal.

It is well worthy of observation, that Omar indulged the Jews and Christians, who inhabited Jerusalem, with full liberty of conscience.

Those who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuses of different nations, will be pleased to see the great resemblance between the manners and customs in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker and Omar, and those of which Homer has given us so faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party, defying those of the opposite party to single combat, and stepping forth from their respective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the presence of both armies, who remain inactive spectators of the contest, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were several of

these single combats fought at the siege of Damascus.

It is evident that the combat of the Amazons, mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, were not founded upon fabulous reports, for the women of the tribe of Himear in Arabia Felix were warriors, and fought in the armies of Abubeker and Omar. However we are not to believe that there was a nation of Amazons, who lived without having any intercourse with men. But in those ages and countries where every one lived a rude and pastoral life, it is not to be wondered at, that women who were bred up as hardy as the men, should sometimes wield the sword as well as them. We have a particular instance in the siege of Damascus of one of these women of the tribe of Himear, who shot the governor of the city dead, with an arrow, in revenge for the loss of her husband, who was killed by her side.

This instance may serve to justify Ariosto and Tasso, who introduce so famous warriors in their poems.

History affords us several examples of the like nature in the time of knight errantry. These customs, which were at all times rare, appear to us at present as wholly incredible, especially since the invention of artillery, which no longer gives room for the combatant to avail himself of his valour, skill, and agility; and when armies are become a kind of regular machine, that move, as it were, by springs.

The speeches of the Arabian heroes at the head of their armies in single combat, or in ratifying a truce, are entirely in that natural taste which

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which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthusiastic and sublime.

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general Derar, being taken prisoner, and the Mussulman forces being struck with a panic at the news, one of their captains, whose name was Rasi, riding up to them, cried out, "What matters it if Derar is taken prisoner or killed? God yet lives and looks upon you; fight on, countrymen." With this short and emphatical speech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out, "Yonder is heaven, fight the cause of God, and he will give you the dominion of the earth."

The Mahometan general Caled takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius prisoner in Damascus, and sends her home without ransom; when he is asked the reason of acting thus, he replies, "Because I hope soon to take the father and daughter together in Constantinople."

When the Caliph Mohavia, on his death-bed, in the year of the Hegira 60, secured the succession, which till then had been elective, to his son Yefud, he expressed himself thus, "Great God! if I have settled my son on the throne of the Caliphs, from a belief that he was worthy of it, I beseech thee to confirm him on the same; but if I have only acted from the dictates of a father's fondness, I in like manner beseech thee to drive him headlong from it."

Every thing that happened in those times spoke the character of a nation and people superior to all others.

* * *

[Id. page 56.] Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itself shews it to be from the Arabian *Algarabat*, unless we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian Geber, who was the first who taught this art in the eighth century according to the Christian æra.

Of the ALCORAN and the MAHOMETAN LAW.

WE have already seen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent so surprising and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful description of their religion.

[Id. page 44.] We have long entertained a mistaken notion that the great progress of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the sensual passions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the east allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great dispute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to society and propagation. The eastern practice seems to have decided this question pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her testimony in favour of this decision, with respect to almost every species of the animal

mal

mal creation, where there is but one male to several females. The time lost in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other disorders incident to the female sex, seems to call for some opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are soon past their bloom, and cease to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and prosperity in the number of his children, has an absolute necessity for another woman to supply the place of a wife, who is no longer in a condition to answer the purposes of marriage. Our laws in the west seem to be more favourable to the women; those of the east to the men and to the government. There is no one object of legislature, but which may be made the subject of dispute. But as we have not room here for entering into a dissertation, we shall confine ourselves to the description of men and manners, without passing judgment on them.

[Ibid.] We every day hear people exclaiming against the sensual paradise of Mahomet; but the antients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labours on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was supposed to rise again after death, with all his senses about him, it was likewise very natural to suppose that he would taste, whether in a garden or in any other mansion, those pleasures which were the objects of the senses that he still retained. And this belief was likewise that of the fathers of the church in the second and third century. St. Justin, in the second part of his dialogues, expressly says, that “Jerusalem shall
“ be enlarged and beautified to receive the saints
“ who

“ who will there enjoy the highest pleasures, during a thousand years.”

An hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Alcoran was composed by a Nestorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius ; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Alcoran were written occasionally by Mahomet during his several journies and military expeditions. Quere, Had he this monk always at his elbow ?



The Alcoran is not an historical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the sacred writings of the Hebrews, and of our holy gospels ; neither is it a book purely containing a body of laws, like those of Deuteronomy and Leviticus ; nor is it a collection of psalms and spiritual songs, nor a prophetic vision and allegory, like the apocalypse : It is a mixture of all these several kinds of writing ; a body of homilies, in which we meet with some historical facts, some visions, some revelations, and some laws, both civil and religious.

The Alcoran is become the code of jurisprudence, as well as of the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.



The commentators on the Alcoran always make a distinction between the positive and the allegorical sense of the several passages in that book ; that is, between the letter and the spirit. The Arabian genius is equally discernible in the comment as in the text. One of the most approved commentators has this expression to denote the letter and the spirit : “ The Koran,”
says

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says he, "sometimes wears the face of a man, "and sometimes that of a beast."

There is one thing that will perhaps surprise the generality of readers, namely, that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, save only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the first place, the unity of a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe, is a doctrine of a very antient date. The rewards and punishments of a future state, the belief of an heaven and an hell, had been long received among the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Christians, whose holy religion seemed to sanctify this doctrine.

The Alcoran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian spirits; that of a resurrection and last judgment, was obviously taken from the Jewish Talmud, and the doctrine of the Christians. The thousand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumstances, which in no wise hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The sharp point over which those who arise at the last day are to pass, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

Id. page 44.] It was from these very Magi, and their *Jannat*, that Mahomet first took his ideas of a paradise or garden, where men, after rising again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, to taste by their senses, all those pleasures which are peculiar to their nature, and which
without

without those senses would be useless and of no effect. Here he learnt his notions of the *Houris*, or those heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the blest, and which the Magi in their *Sadder* call *Houranis*. Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradise, as we have so often heard reported. This is only a rallery without foundation, such as every nation casts upon another. He promises his followers that they shall dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradise; but the height of their felicity is to consist with the beatic vision and intercourse with the supreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and absolute predestination, which seems in our days to be the peculiar characteristic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the antients, and prevails as much in the *Iliad* as in the *Alcoran*.

With regard to legal ordonnances, such as circumcision, washing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in these only conformed himself to the established customs of his time. Circumcision had been a practice for time immemorial among the Arabians, the ancient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution or washing had been always recommended in the east, as an emblem of the purity of the soul.

[Id. page 43.] Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliged its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great restraint, but a restraint highly laudable and respectable. Would any one dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worship his creator five times in a day?

As

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practised in the Kaaba, and on the black stone, almost every one knows that this had been a favourite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the most antient temple in the world; and although no less than three hundred idols were helped therein at that time, the holiness of the place was derived principally from the black stone, which was said to have been the tomb-stone of Ishmael. Therefore Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himself with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, to visit this precious monument of antiquity at least once in a person's life.

Fasting was a religious rite observed by almost every nation, particularly by the Jews and Christians. Mahomet made it extremely strict, by extending it to a whole lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted to taste even a drop of water, or to smook till after sun-set, and the lunar month frequently falling out in the midst of summer, this ceremony was found so very severe, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, especially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be dispensed with. The Alcoran commands every one to set apart two and an half per cent. of their income for this purpose, either in money or goods.

In all the positive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the most established customs, and consecrated by long

long antiquity. In the negative precepts, such as those which enjoin the abstaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Mussulmans so much complain, and with the observance of which they frequently dispense, especially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men easily liable to the loss of their health and reason. But furthermore, it was no new thing for persons devoted to the service of God, to abstain from this liquor. Several societies of priests in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impose this mortification on themselves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could disgust the Arabians; and Mahomet could not possibly foresee that it would one day become insupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colours on the ramparts of Vienna.

The same may be said of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the flesh of beasts dying of any disease; these are precepts of health. The flesh of swine in particular is a very unwholesome food in those hot countries, as well as in the Palestine, that lies in their neighbourhood. When the Mahometan religion spread itself into colder climates, this abstinence ceased to be reasonable; but nevertheless did not cease to be in force.

The

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The prohibiting all games of chance, is perhaps the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It resembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be observed by a whole nation. Mahomet seems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all (except that of polygamy) so severe, and the plainness and the simplicity of his doctrine, soon gained his religion respect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without mystery, and suited to the most ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coast of Africa, and those who inhabit the islands in the Indian ocean.

[Ibidem.] This religion is called Islamism; which signifies resignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itself sufficient to make a number of proselytes; and we may observe that Islamism has not established itself throughout one half of our hemisphere by dint of arms only, but by enthusiasm, the art of persuasion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themselves, which always has the most powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet when he first took up arms in Arabia against his countrymen, who imposed his imposture, put to death, without mercy, all those who would not embrace his religion. He was not at that time sufficiently powerful to let those live who might afterwards subvert his infant faith. But as soon as he became settled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and the sword, his followers, when they made excursions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not
com-

Id. page 47.] compel the strangers they conquered to become Mussulmans, but left it to their option either to profess the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were desirous of plunder, conquest, and making slaves; but not of obliging those slaves to change their belief. When they were at length driven out of Asia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proselytes even of their conquerors; and the wild herds of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may see that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here said is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our historians and declaimers, and even to our own general received opinions; but nevertheless, the truth should prevail against error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by those who write history. Although the Mussulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, established his tenets by his courage, and the success of his arms; yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine institution of christianity, who himself lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon those who had offended us; and yet we see his holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the most insupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their sects and scholastic disputes; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having seventy-three different sects amongst them. This is an idle story. They pretended that the Magi had seventy; the Jews seventy-one; the Christi-

ans.

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ans seventy-two; and that the Mussulmans, as being the most perfect believers, must necessarily have seventy-three. A strange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the schoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Alcoran among the Mahometans gave rise to two principal sects, called the Orthodox and the Heretick. The Orthodox were the Sonnites, that is to say, the traditionists; or those doctors who were attached to the most ancient tradition, which serves as a supplement to the Alcoran. These are again divided into four sects, one of which still prevails in Constantinople; the other in Africa; the third in Arabia; and the fourth in Tattary and Arabia; and are all looked upon as equally necessary to salvation.

The Hereticks are those who deny the doctrine of absolute predestination, or who differ from the Sonnites in some points in the schools. Mahometanism has had its Pelagians, its Scotists, its Thomists, its Mohists, and its Jansenists. But yet all these sects have not produced more revolutions than amongst us. For a sect to occasion any great commotions in a state, it must attack the foundations of the prevailing sect, accuse it of impiety, and of being an enemy to God and men; and must set up a certain standard of opposition that may easily be perceived and understood by the common people, and under which they may, without much enquiry, raise themselves. Such was the sect of Haly, which set itself up for a rival to that of Omar; but this grand schism was not established till about the sixth century, and reasons of state had

had a much greater share in this revolution than those of religion.

OF CHRISTIANITY.

Vol. I.

UNDER Dioclesian the Christians did not only enjoy that liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, in which the Roman state always indulged all its subjects; but they likewise were admitted to a share in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Christians were governors of provinces; and Eusebius mentions two by name, viz. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Dioclesian bestowed many favours. Therefore

Id. page 64. whatever our pulpit orators have said or written against this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a persecutor of the Christians, he raised them to such a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to suppress them.

Of the POPES.

Vol. I.

THERE are but three ways of bringing mankind under subjection, namely, by civilizing them, by giving them certain laws and regulations for their observance; by employing religion in support of these laws; and lastly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more ease. I do not know of a fourth; and all these three require a chain of favourable circum-

circumstances. We must go back to the earliest ages of antiquity to find instances of the first; and these are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Albouin, and Alaric, made use of the last; and the second has been adopted by the popes.

Id. page 75.] The pope had originally no other power in Rome, than St. Augustin would have had in the little town of Hippona. And even supposing St. Peter himself to have lived in Rome, as is pretended, because one of his epistles is dated from Babylon, nay even had he been bishop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular see existing, his residence in Rome could not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæsars; and we have seen that the bishops of Rome, for the space of seven hundred years, looked upon themselves in no other light than that of servants.

Of the ANOINTING of KING PEPIN.

Idem, page 79. **T**HIS was an imitation of an ancient Jewish ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus consecrated; and even the dukes of Benevento have adapted this custom. Oil was used in the installating of bishops; and they thought to stamp a kind of religious character on the temporal crown, by annexing to it an ecclesiastical ceremony. A king of the Goths, named Vamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became masters of that country, they soon made
this

this ceremony forgotten, and the Spaniards have not revived it since.

Pepin therefore was not the first anointed sovereign in Europe, as we read of every day. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the English monk Boniface, who was a missionary in Germany, and bishop of Mentz; and who having been a long time on his travels in Lombardy, consecrated him after the fashion of that country.

Let us not forget to observe in this place, that this Boniface had been created bishop of Mentz, by Carloman, brother to the usurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the Pope; nor had the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to bishopricks in the kingdom of the French. Nothing can be a more convincing proof, that all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, are dictated by conveniency, maintained by force, destroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The bishops of Rome pretended to absolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their ecclesiastical authority in France, to the first person of that nation who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen stood in greater need of the assistance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the priest's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king caused himself to be again anointed by the bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Dennis in France. This fact appears somewhat singular; for it is not customary to be crowned twice, when the first

first ceremony is thought to be sufficient. It should appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was something more sacred and authentic in the person of a bishop of Rome, than in that of a German bishop; that the monks of St. Dennis, in whose church this second anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a missionary of Mentz; and lastly, that the successor of St. Peter had a superior power to any other, to make an usurpation lawful.

Pepin was the first king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was so by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by bishop Remi; and he had reigned some years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the sacred unction, his successors would undoubtedly have kept up so solemn a ceremony, which soon afterwards became necessary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the sacred unction in the abbey-church of St. Dennis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, declared in his writings, that a pidgeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this story to give a religious sanction to the right of anointing kings, which the Metropolitans then began to exercise. This right, however, was established only by length of time, like all other customs; and these prelates did a considerable time afterwards perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to

D

Henry

Henry IV. who was crowned at Chartres, and anointed with the Ampulla of St. Martin; the Leaguers being at that time in possession of the Ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, these ceremonies add nothing to the right of kings; but they seem to encrease the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony of anointing, as well as the custom of carrying the kings of the Franks, Goths and Lombards, on a shield, came originally from Constantinople. The emperor Cantacuzenes tells us himself, that it was a practice from time immemorial, for the emperors to be carried on a shield, upon the shoulders of the patriarch and principal officers of the empire; after which the emperor quitting his throne, went up to a desk in the church, where the patriarch made the sign of the cross on his head, with a feather dipt in oil, which had been consecrated for the purpose. The crown was then placed on the head of the new Cæsar, by a chief officer of state, or a prince of the Imperial family. The patriarch and people crying out, *He is worthy*. But at the anointing of the sovereign of the west, the bishop addressed himself to the people, saying, "Will you accept this person for your king?" And then the new monarch made an oath to his people, after having taken it in the first place to the bishops.

* *

See note, page 79.] All the events of these times were a continued chain of injustice, rapine and imposture. An head-servant of Childeric III. king of France, deposed his master, and confined him in the convent of St. Bertin; kept

kept the son of his sovereign a prisoner in the convent of Normandy ; and a pope comes from Rome to sanctify these rebellious proceedings.

Of the PAPAL POWER.

Idem, page
81, 82, 83.

THE Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were desirous of subduing Italy likewise ; the dominion of this country had always been the favourite object of all the barbarous nations, not that Italy was in itself a better country than Gaul, but it was at that time better cultivated ; the towns and cities which had been built, beautified, or enlarged by the Romans, were still in a good condition ; and the fruitfulness of Italy had always been a strong temptation for a restless, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could have made the conquest of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have done it ; and if he did conclude a treaty with Astolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumstances, he not being sufficiently established on the throne of France, which he had lately usurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony to contend with, whose rights to those countries were much better than those of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have bestowed so many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return back to France to support his usurpation there ?

* * *

Observe the different degrees through which the pontifical power has passed. The first bishops of Rome were indigent and obscure persons,

sons, who preached the word to others as poor as themselves in cells and caverns in Rome. In the space of two centuries we find them at the head of a considerable flock; under Constantine they are rich and respected; they become patriarchs of the west, they acquire immense possessions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful sovereigns, and thus have almost all things deviated from their first origin. Were the antient founders of the Roman, and Chinese empires, and that of the caliphs, to rise again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. **T**HE great respectation of
 ch. viii.--xi. Charlemagne is one of the
 strongest proofs that success sancti-
 fies injustice, and confers glory. His father
 Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions be-
 tween his two sons Carloman and Charles.
 This will was ratified in an assembly of the na-
 tion. Carloman had for his portion Provence,
 Languedoc, Burgundy, Swisserland and Alsace;
 Charles had all the rest for his share. The two
 brothers always lived at variance with each
 other. Carloman died suddenly, leaving a wi-
 dow and two children very young. Charles im-
 mediately seized upon their patrimony, and their
 mother was obliged to fly with her children for
 refuge to the court of Desiderius king of the
 Lombards, whom we call Dedier. This De-
 dier was a natural enemy to the Franks, and
 the father-in-law to Charlemagne had as great
 an hatred to him, because he feared him. It is
 cer-

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certain that Charlemagne had no greater regard to the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than other conquerors.

* * *

Charles sent several colonies of Franks to settle in the territories he had conquered. We have no instance of any prince thus transporting his subjects without their consent. You may have observed great emigrations, but no one sovereign who thus established colonies after the old Roman method. It is a strong proof of the policy and stretch of despotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

* * *

Chap. ix: page 100.] Desiderius was obliged to deliver the sister-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. History does not inform us whether they were shut up in a cloister, as well as their protector, or if they were put to death.

* * *

Id. page 103, and chap. xv. page 164.] It was the custom of the senate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna, when there was one, " We humbly pray that " you will order the consecration of our father " and pastor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewise came in for his share of the complement. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! but where is that greatness which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

* * *

Id. page 108, 109.] This man, who shed such a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was suspected of incest,

has, by the church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her saints.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I.

chap. x. xi.

A Young barbarian named Chram makes war upon his own father Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father causes his son to be burnt, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made prisoners. This happened in the year 559.

* * *

Europe was for so many ages like a strayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tigers in the midst of a desert.

* * *

Bishops had no share in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himself king; neither had they a seat in the assemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people considered as vassals; and tho' bishop Remi, the same who baptised Clovis, wrote to king Sigambrius the famous letter in which is the following expression: "Be sure you do not take the upper hand of the bishops, follow their councils, for so long as you act in concert with them, your administration will be smooth and easy:" Nevertheless, neither Clovis nor his successors made the clergy one of the orders of the state; and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared than

than to the states of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

Page 115.] But when the majordomos, or mayors of this militia, insensibly usurped the supreme power, they endeavoured to strengthen their authority by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the assemblies in the *Champs de mai*.

According to the annals of Metz, it was in the year 692, that mayor Pepin, the first of the name, procured this prerogative for the clergy; an era which has been very negligently passed over by most historians, but which is very considerable, and deserving of notice, as it laid the first foundation of the temporal power of the bishops and abbots in France and Germany.

* * *

YOU ask whether Charlemagne, his predecessors or successors, were despotic? and if their kingdom was secured to them by right of inheritance in those times? It is certain that Charlemagne was despotic in fact, and consequently that his kingdom was hereditary, seeing that he declared his son emperor in full assembly of the states of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of those times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the north and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters, and the Gauls, who were conquered by the Romans, were either husbandmen or burghers; now a people who always went ready armed for the chase, would naturally get the better of, and subject a set of clowns and shepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labour; and still more easily of the quiet citi-

zens, who dwelt in unarmed security by their fire-sides. Thus the Tartars over-run Asia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hords of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals and Franks, were governed by chiefs. These wandering chiefs were chosen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwise, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow-robbers? The most dexterous, bold and fortunate spoiler, must at length gain the sovereignty over those who did not possess those qualifications, so effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himself. They all shared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had subsisted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the story of the Frank, who would not suffer Clovis to take a silver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the vessel in pieces with his battle-ax, without the chief daring to oppose him.

Clovis became despotic in proportion as he became powerful. This is the usual progress of human nature. It was the same with Charlemagne; he was the son of an usurper. The son of the lawful prince was shaven and condemned to say his breviary in a cloister in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to observe the greatest precautions before a nation of warriors assembled in parliament. "We will ye to know," says he in one of his capitularies, "that in consideration of our humility, and the readiness with which we observe your advice, out of the fear of God; that ye, on your parts, take care to maintain the dignity
" which

“ which God hath bestowed on us, in like manner as your ancestors acted with regard to ours.”

His only ancestor, however, was his father, who had usurped the kingdom, and he himself had robbed his nephews of their birth-right. He flattered the great men while assembled in parliament; but that parliament once dissolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the succession, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavour to gain their suffrages, in favour of his own son, to succeed him. This custom of conferring the succession by election, became in time the most legal and inviolable of any, and still continues in force in the German empire; and the right of election was deemed to belong so peculiarly to the conquering people, that
Vol I. chap. vi.
when Pepin usurped the kingdom of the Franks, to page 80.

whose king he had only been a domestic servant, pope Stephen II. who was in the usurper's interest, forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a descendant of any other race. This excommunication was indeed as striking an example of superstition, as undertaking Pepin's was of boldness; but this very superstition is a proof of the right of election, and shews that the conquering nation could chuse from among the descendants of its chief, the person who was most agreeable to it. The pope does not say, You shall not chuse for your king any other than the first born of the house of Pepin, but You shall not chuse any but one of his family.

Charlemagne says in one of his capitularies,
“ If of one of the three princes. my sons, there

“ should be born a male child, whom it shall
 “ please the nation to call to the succession after
 “ his father, I will that his uncles do not op-
 “ pose such succession.” It is evident by this
 title, and a multitude of others, that the French
 nation had, at least in appearance, a right of
 election. This custom was originally that of
 all nations: we find it established among the
 Jews, the other Asiatic nations, and the Ro-
 mans. The first successors of Mahomet were
 elected; the sultans of Egypt, and the first Mi-
 ramolins held their power by no other tenure,
 and it is only by length of time that a king-
 dom becomes entirely hereditary; valour, ad-
 dress, and necessity, are the only laws.

OF RELIGION in the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. **T**HE books called Carolins were
 chap. xii. written in a Latin tole-
 page 127. rably pure, which shews that Char-
 lemagne had succeeded in restoring
 literature; but, at the same time, they furnish
 an incontestible proof that there were never any
 theological disputes carried on without invect-
 tives on both sides. The very title of these
 books is itself an invective. “ In the name of
 “ our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, begins
 “ the book of the most illustrious and excellent
 “ prince Charles, &c. against the absurd and
 “ audacious symbol held by the Greeks for the
 “ adoration of images.” The title of this
 book makes king Charles to have been its au-
 thor in the same manner as public edicts are is-
 sued

fued under the name of the reigning prince, tho' he may have no hand in forming them. It is certain that all the subjects of Charlemagne looked upon the Greeks as idolators.

* * *

Id. page 128, 129.] The dispute touching the Holy Ghost, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterwards cleared up, was then in a state of obscurity. Several passages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is said, that "one of the three persons is the *cause*, and the other comes from the *cause*. One proceeds immediately from the first, and the other proceeds from him also, but by the means of the Son, by which means the Son reserves to himself the property of unity, without excluding the Holy Ghost from a relation to the Father."

These authorities did not at that time appear sufficiently demonstrative, and therefore pope Adrian II. did not come to a decision. That pontiff was very sensible that one may be a sound Christian without being able to penetrate these profound mysteries.

* * *

Id. page 132.] In the first age of the church it was believed, that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a passage in St. Luke, where these words are put into the mouth of our Saviour; "There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth; distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and waves roaring; mens hearts failing them for fear of those things which are coming on the earth; for

“ the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and
 “ then they shall see the Son of Man coming
 “ in a cloud, with power and great glory: and
 “ when ye see these things come to pass, know
 “ ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.
 “ Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall
 “ not pass away till all be fulfilled.”

Several pious persons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which, say the commentators, regard Jerusalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being destroyed, and expected the approach of the last day, when Jesus Christ was to come in the clouds. Hence arose those numberless imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

* * *

[Id. page 134, 135.] One would imagine that the precise date of the establishment of our church-rites should be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for instance, at what time the mass, as now celebrated, first came into use. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptism by aspersion or sprinkling, of auricular confession, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with bread only without wine; neither do we know who first gave the name of sacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing persons at the point of death.

* * *

[Id. page 136, 137.] Auricular confession was not received so late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alwin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of those countries appear to have always had an inclination

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tion to abide by the customs of the primitive church, and to reject the tenets and customs which the church in its more flourishing state judged convenient to adopt.

* * *

Id. page 138.] The weakness of the sex was sometimes the cause that women stood more in awe of their confessors than of their husbands. Almost all those who were confessors to queens availed themselves of that private and sacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themselves into state-affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the ascendent over the mind of his sovereign, the rest of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made use of the credit of the confessor to wreak revenge on their enemies.

* * *

Id. page 139.] Idolatry, or the religion of image worshippers, must certainly consist in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the representation of some particular person or thing; therefore this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, because they had neither painter nor sculptor amongst them.

Of the PURGATIONS or TRIALS.

Vol. I. chap. xiii.
page 143, 144, 145.

YOU would know if these customs were first established by the Greek or the Latin church? We find examples of these trials at Constantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachemire declares he was an eye-witness of it; it is probable, therefore,

fore, that the Latins received these oriental superstitions from the Greeks.

STATE of EUROPE after the Death
of LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xv. **T**HE fate of the world
page 160. always depends on the
interests of princes: a Frank
and a Salian founded the kingdom of France.
The son of Pepin, a mayor or majordomo of the
palace, held the empire of the Franks, which was
ever divided by the quarrels of three brothers.
These unnatural children, Lotharius, Lewis of
Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, after spilling a
deluge of blood at Fontenoy, at length dismem-
bered the empire of their father Charlemagne by
the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles
the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Pro-
vence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Swisserland, Lor-
rain, Alsace and Flanders; and Lewis of Bava-
ria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epocha that the most learned
historians begin to give the name of French to
the Franks. From this time Germany may
date her private, as well as public laws; and this
was the origin of the hatred between the Ger-
mans and the French. Each of the three bro-
thers was disturbed in the enjoyment of his por-
tion by ecclesiastical disputes, and those divisions
and bickerings which always arise between par-
ties who have been compelled to make peace
against their wills.

Id. page 161.] In the midst of these dis-
cords and dissensions, Charles the Bald, the first
sole

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sole king of France, and Lewis of Bavaria, the first sole king of Germany, called a council against Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though stripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

Of the NORMANS.

Vol. I. chap. xvi. **T**HE invention of battering rams to make

a breach in walls, is of as ancient a date as walls themselves, for mankind are as industrious to destroy as to raise up. And here I must beg leave to step aside from my subject for a moment to observe, that the Trojan horse was absolutely the very same kind of engine, to which was fixed an horse's head of brass, in like manner as was afterwards that of a ram's. This we are told by Pausanias in his description of Greece.

Of SPAIN and the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xviii. **Y**OU have seen states unfortunate and badly governed ; but Spain, whose portrait we must now exhibit, did, for a long time, suffer the most deplorable calamities. The Barbarians who over-run the greatest part of Europe in the beginning of the 5th century, laid waste this country as well as they had done others : But how happened it that Spain, who defended herself so bravely against the incursions of the Romans,

mans, sell so suddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reason was this : At the time she was attacked by the Roman arms, she abounded in patriots, but when once subjected by that republic, her people became slaves, ill treated by effeminate masters, and she soon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After these latter came the Visigoths, who now began to settle themselves in Aquitain and Catalonia, while the Ostrogoths were subverting the Roman empire in Italy. These Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, as we know, outwardly Christians, but not of the Roman church, nor that of the eastern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which had been long received by the Greek church, and which believed in Jesus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceses were divided between Arian and Athanasian bishops, as in Italy; a division which still added to the suffering of the nation. The Visigoth kings wanted to do the same in Spain as we have seen done since in Italy by the Lombard king Lotharius, and which Constantine did at his accession to the throne of the empire, that is, to unite by a liberty of conscience people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Lovegildus, king of the Visigoths, was desirous of uniting those who were the advocates for consubstantiability, and those who were against it. His son Hermigeld rebelled against him.

him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi who was in possession of the country of Galicia, and some places in its neighbourhood. The rebellious Hermigeld made an alliance with this prince, and for a long time carried on the war against his father. At length, after refusing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken prisoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without considering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion against his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many instances of the deplorable state to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Visigoths was not hereditary. The bishops, who had then the same authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raised up and deposed princes, and the leading men of the state, at their pleasure. This was another source of continual disturbances; for example, they elected the bastard Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock: and this Liuva having been assassinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they chose this Witteric to succeed him.

Wamba, one of the best of their kings, and of whom we have already spoken, having fallen sick, was clad in sackcloth, and submitted to do public penance by the advice of the priest, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterwards was declared incapable

pable of exercising the kingly office, having done penance, and was shut up for seven days in a monastery. This precedent was quoted in France at the deposition of Louis the Feeble.

The first Gothic conquerors who subjected Spain, did not suffer themselves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangiers in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, soon

Id. page fell to ruin. There were so many
83. and rebellions in Spain, that at length
Note. king Wilika disarmed his subjects,
and dismantled several towns. In

so doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himself of their assistance. In order to gain the clergy on his side, he convoked an assembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which bishops and priests were permitted to marry.

* * *

Id. page 185.] The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill use of the success of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their possessions, laws, and worship, contenting themselves with a tribute, and the honour of being masters; and not only the widow of king Roderic espoused young Abdalis; but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been scrupulously attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Mosarabians, which signified half Arabians, instead of that of Visigoths, which their nation till then had borne. This name Mosarabian had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquished,

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quished, as the Arabians were the most gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and sciences.

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The title of Don is an abridgment of *Dominus*, a title which the Roman emperor Augustus thought too ambitious, because it signified master. It was afterwards given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and lastly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then first began to assume the title of *ricos hombres* (i. e. *rich men*) rich signifying he who had great possession in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandee was not then known, and the title of great was not in use till three centuries afterwards, in the reign of Alphonso, tenth of the name, king of Castille, at which time Spain began to be in a flourishing condition.

Of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. I. **B**Asilius, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is chap. xix. page 199. the same who was thought just when he deposed the patriarch Photius.

* * *

Id. 198, 199.] Did not the Switzers set fire to their villages and hamlets, in order to remove into Languedoc, when Cæsar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had transplanted themselves, and did not meet with a Cæsar?

OF PHOTIUS, &c.

Vol. I.
chap. xxi.
page 208,
&c.

THE Greek church accused us of refusing to learn the catechism, that we might not be Christians.

A MONK whipped for the SAVING
GRACE.

Idem, page
215.

IN the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whose name was John Godescald, having raised some trifling contest concerning predestination and grace, the event proved how dangerous it is to meddle with these matters; and especially to dispute against a powerful antagonist. The same monk having taken certain expressions of St. Paul and St. Augustine in too literal a sense, thought proper to preach up the absolute and eternal predestination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man as violent in church-matters, as in those of state, sent for this monk, and told him that he was predestinated to be tried, condemned; and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the lesser councils, held in the year 850, and then stripped naked in the presence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his shoulders to his legs.

This trifling contest, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, has been but too much

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much revived. In Holland you will find the synod of Dordrecht, which consisted of persons who favoured the doctrine of Godescald, treating those of Hincmar's sect there worse than with a simple flogging. Again, in France, you will find the Jesuits of Hincmar's party persecuting to the utmost of their power the Jansenists, who were attached to the tenets of Godescald. These disputes will end only when the number of philosophers shall exceed that of teachers.

Of the Emperor O T H O.

Vol. I. chap. xxvi. **H**OW could the emperor Otho, by an act confirming one made before by Charlemagne, bestow the sovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himself never bestowed? How could he make a present of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in possession, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corsica and Sicily, when those islands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho must have been greatly deceived, or this act is spurious.



Vol. I. chap. xxv. page 231.] The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome, proved the source of all those troubles which Rome and Italy afterwards experienced.

Of

OF OTHO II. and III. and of ROME.

Vol. I. **N**Ever was Rome and the Latin church held in a more contemptible light at Constantinople than in these unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambassador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tells us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout the Imperial city, and the bishops of Rome were looked upon only as a schismatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome, was considered as an absurd fable, founded wholly on an expression of that apostle in one of his epistles, where he says he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were also held in as low esteem at Constantinople, being looked upon as a set of barbarians.

And yet the court of Constantinople itself was very little superior to that of the German emperors ; but there were more trade, industry, and riches, in the Greek empire than in the Latin, for every thing had fallen to decay in the west since the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty, prevailed in every state, and ignorance seemed to lord it with universal sway, and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in these days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only since the establishing academies of arts and sciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we

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no longer meet with them ; or if, by chance, some do now and then make their appearance, sound natural philosophy soon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY I. of FRANCE, marries a RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

Vol. I. chap.
xxix. page
251, 252.

WE do not know whether that Russia, from which this princess came, was Black, Red, or White Russia ; whether this princess was born a Pagan, a Christian, or a Greek ; whether she changed her religion when she was married to the king of France ; nor how in those days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was so very rare, the king of France came acquainted with a princess of the country of the antient Scythians ; nor yet who proposed this strange match.

Of the STATE of FRANCE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Idem, page
251, 252.

IN general, if we compare these two centuries with the present one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, in every thing that respected government, religion, commerce, the arts and sciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular astonishing to behold the abject and scandalous state of the church of Rome,

Rome, and the power she had over all minds in the midst of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the slavish condition of those pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became masters; and the great abuse they made of that power. Silvester

II. who was the same Gerbert, Id. p. 249. who made such a noise on account of his learning in the tenth

century, and was even thought to be a magician, because he had learnt a little arithmetic and some few elements of Geometry from an Arabian: This man, I say, who had been preceptor to Otho III. was driven from his archbishoprick of Rheims, by king Robert, and afterwards created pope by Otho III. is still reputed to have been a man of letters, and a wise pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his cotemporary and admirer, tells us the following story of him in his chronicle.

Guy, viscount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had some dispute with Grimoard, bishop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The bishop excommunicates the viscount; and this latter imprisons the bishop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the see of Rome in these times of general anarchy, that the bishop (after being released from his confinement) and the viscount both went from France, to plead their cause before pope Silvester II. in full consistory. When, who would believe it! the viscount was sentenced to be drawn asunder by four horses; which sentence would most certainly

certainly have been executed upon him, had he not found means to make his escape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in causing a bishop to be imprisoned who was not his subject; the penitence he expressed for the same; his submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the sentence equally absurd and inhuman of the consistory, altogether form a most lively portrait of the character of those brutal and uncivilized times.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND
by WILLIAM DUKE of NORMANDY.

Vol. I. chap. xxxii. page 270. **T**HE monks tell us, that Edward was the first king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already restored sight to seven or eight blind persons; when a poor woman who was attacked with an obstruction, applied to him for relief, and he cured her instantly by touching her, and making the sign of the cross; so that from a state of barrenness, she afterwards became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterwards arrogated this healing power to themselves; they did not indeed pretend to make the barren fruitful, or to restore sight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Lewis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewise for the king's evil; and his successors preserved the

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same

same right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come, when reason having made a little more progress in France, will totally abolish this custom there.

* * *

Id. page 271.] The custom of keeping a number of concubines, authorised throughout all the east, and by the Jewish law, was prohibited in the gospel dispensation. Nevertheless, general practice still gave a sanction to it; and so far was it from being considered as a matter of shame, that William the Conqueror frequently used to sign *William the Bastard*. There is still a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this signature. Bastards frequently shared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

* * *

Id. page 273.] The old chronicles tell us, an esquire named *Taillefer* or *Cut-Iron*, being at the head of the Norman army on horseback, sang forth the famous song of Roland, which was so long in the mouth of every Frenchman, and of which there is not the least fragment remaining. This same Taillefer, after singing this song, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the midst of the English forces, where he was presently cut in pieces.

* * *

Ibid.] Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the parliament of England. It is indeed the authority

authority of slaves, trained to war, who grant their masters the liberty of scourging them.

William having received a consecrated banner from the pope, when he set out on his English expedition, in return now sent his holiness the banner of king Harold, who had been slain in the battle, and a small share of the small treasure, which a king of England in those times could be supposed to be possessed of. This was a considerable present however for pope Alexander II. who was still disputing his see with Honorius II. and who, in consequence of a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a state of indigence. Thus a Barbarian, the son of a prostitute, and the murderer of a lawful king, divides the spoils of that king with another barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke of Normandy, king of England and pope, and we shall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver; and to this, in fact, may every kind of usurpation be reduced.

Of the STATE of EUROPE in the
Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap.
xxxiii. page
277.

THE dukes of Muscovy were not at that time called czars or tsars, or tchards; nor did they assume this title till after they became masters of those countries about Casan, which belonged to certain Tsars. Tsar is a Slavonish term, taken from the Persian language; and in the Slavonian bible, king David is called Tsar David.

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Id. page 279.] Albert, furnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purpofely to root out their shocking customs; but it was a confiderable time before he could fucceed. All the reft of the nation lived after a manner equally favage, the true ftate of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

Of SPAIN, and of the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap.
xxiv. page
286.

WE are not told whether the Cid's wife Chimene † embraced the Chriftian religion. The Moors at that time paffed for a people of great confequence; and an alliance with them was deemed an high honour. The furname Rodriguez was Moorifh; and it is from hence that the Spaniards were called *Maranas*.

* * *

Id. page 27.] It was from the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century, that the Cid rendered himfelf fo famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the fame time was the æra of the insolent attempts of Gregory VII. of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the firft crusade.

† Or *Kimena*.

Of

OF RELIGION and SUPERSTITION
in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. **T**HOSE who were called Manicheans, and those who
xxxv. page were afterwards named Albigenses, Vaudois, Lollards, and
291, 292. who appeared so often under different names, were remnants of the first Gaulish christians, who were attached to several antient customs, which the church of Rome thought proper to alter afterwards; as likewise to certain vague opinions, which that same church adopted in process of time; for example, these primitive Christians knew nothing of image-worship. They had never been enjoined auricular confession. We must not suppose, that, in the time of Clovis, or those preceding his reign, the inhabitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma of transubstantiation, and such like. In the eighth century, Claude, archbishop of Turin, adopted most of those opinions which at present constitute what is called the protestant religion, and pretended that they were those of the primitive church. There is almost always a small flock separated from the principal one; and from the beginning of the eleventh century, this small flock was butchered or dispersed, whenever it attempted to shew its head.

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Id. page 294, 295. "It is evident" says Ratram, "that the bread and wine do not undergo any change, and therefore they must be the same that they were at first;"

and concludes with this quotation from St. Augustin, " That the bread which is called the " body, and the wine which is called the blood, " are emblems, because the whole is a mystery."

In whatever manner Ratram himself, or others, might understand this, they wrote against him. And much about the same time another Benedictine monk, named Paschasius Rathbert, passed for the first person who had explained the general opinion in express terms, by saying, " That the bread was the real body of our Lord, " which was brought forth by the Virgin ; and " the wine mixed with the water, the real " blood which flowed from his side, absolutely, " and not figuratively." This dispute gave rise to the sect of the Stercorists or Stercoranists, who had the boldness to examine physically an object of faith; and pretended that the consecrated elements must undergo digestion, and be evacuated again like common aliments.

As these controversies were all carried on in Latin, and that the laity were in those times wholly occupied in warlike affairs, they seldom took part in such scholastic disputes; and by a happy consequence, they produced no mischievous effects. The common people had in general a vague and obscure idea of holy mysteries, and almost always received their articles of faith as they did their money, without being at the pains to weigh or examine it.

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[Id. page 296.] It was after the controversy and condemnation of Berenger, that the church instituted the ceremony of elevating the host; that the people in having the object of their adoration

adoration before their eyes, might no longer doubt of its reality, which had been so warmly disputed. But the term transubstantiation was not annexed to this mystery, nor adopted till the year 1215, at the council of Lateran.

The opinion of Scotus, Ratram and Berenger, was not entirely buried, but was preserved by some of the clergy, from whom it was transmitted to, and received by the Vaudois, the Albigenes, the followers of Hus, and the protestants, as we shall see hereafter.

You may have observed, that in all the disputes which have armed the Christians against each other, since the first rise of their church, the see of Rome has always sided with that doctrine which tended the most to degrade the human understanding, and obscure the light of reason. I here speak only as an historian; I set aside the inspiration and infallibility of the church, which make no part of history. It is certain, that, in making marriage a sacrament, they rendered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue, and adultery a more heinous crime; and that by inculcating the belief of the real presence of God in the bread and wine which were taken into the stomach, they filled the mind of the communicants with a more reverential awe for the mystery of the Eucharist. What reverence was not due to those, who could with a few words change a common aliment into the divine nature, and especially for the chief of a religion that could operate such a prodigy? When human reason, left to itself, began to examine this mystery, the object of former veneration became lessened in the general esteem; and the multiplicity of priests, by rendering this

miracle too common, made it at length less respected by the people.

And here we must not forget the custom which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the punishments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living; and freeing their souls from purgatory, and the establishing a solemn festival for this act of piety.

The opinion of a purgatory, as well as that of an hell, is of the most antient date; but it is no where so clearly expressed, as in the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, in which we meet with most of the mysteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The passage I mean is the following.

*Ergo exerceantur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendant, &c.*

This notion was by degrees adopted and sanctified by the professors of christianity; and some carried it so far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of providence, and obtain of God the immediate salvation of a soul condemned to undergo a temporary punishment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the same who relates the story of king Robert's queen being delivered of a monster, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jerusalem, was cast by a tempest on a desert island, where he found an old hermit, who told him that the island was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighbourhood of his cottage was entirely covered with flames, into which the devils used to cast the souls of the dead; and that these same devils were incessantly crying and howling against St. Odilon, abbot of Cluni, who was their mortal enemy,

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enemy, and whose prayers, they said, with those of his monks, robbed them of some soul almost every day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he instituted the festival of the dead (or *fête des morts* *) in his convent. The principles of humanity and piety, which constitute the basis of this institution, may in some measure serve as an excuse for the fable of the pilgrim. The church soon adopted this solemnity, and made it an obligatory one. Great indulgences were annexed to those who offered up prayers for the dead; and if it had stopt there, it would have been an act of devotion; but it soon degenerated into an abuse. These indulgences were sold at an extravagant price, and the mendicant friars in particular made people pay for taking the souls of their friends out of purgatory. Nothing was talked of but apparitions of deceased persons, who complained that their souls were suffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be released, with denunciations of sudden death, and eternal punishment, to those who refused to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extortion succeeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reasons which in process of time lost the church of Rome one half of Europe.

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[Id. page 299.] The reverence paid to the asfs, was in commemoration of that on which our Saviour made his entry into Jerusalem.

* This festival is with us called All Soul's day, and is held on the second of November.

REFLECTIONS on the EMPEROR
HENRY IV.

Vol. II. chap.
36. page 19.

LET us stop for an instant to contemplate the exhumated corpse of that famous emperor Henry IV. a prince still more unfortunate than Henry IV. king of France. Let us examine whence came such repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand; and on the other, such a bold exertion of power, so many shocking actions deemed holy, so many crowned heads made the victims of religion; and we shall find that the true cause of all these calamities and disorders, was in the common people, who are always the foremost to arm the hands of superstition. It was on account of the blacksmiths and butchers of Germany, that this emperor appeared barefooted before the bishop of Rome. It is the common people who, always slaves to superstition themselves, are for having their masters loaded with the same yoke. When once a prince suffers his subjects to be blinded by fanaticism, they will soon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themselves; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are so fond of wearing, they will rebel against him. Though he may perhaps imagine that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion (which ever ought to be light and gentle) the more submissive his people will be; the event will shew him he has been mistaken, and that his subjects will make use of those very chains to bind him

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on his throne, and even to drag him from it.

OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

Vol. II. chap.
38. page 26.

THIS emperor promised that he would attempt nothing against the life, the person, nor the honour of the popes, the cardinals, or the magistrates; and the pope, on his side, took the same oath to the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the state of the western part of Christendom, that the two principal personages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boasted himself the successor of the Cæsars, and the other of Jesus Christ, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be assassins during the time of the ceremony. A knight completely armed took this oath to pope Adrian IV. in the emperor's name; and the pontiff took his oath in the presence of the knight.

The crowning or consecrating of a pope, was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of simplicity than barbarism. The pontiff elect was seated on a close-stool called the *Stercorarium*, and afterwards on a marble chair, where they presented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was presented with twelve coloured stones. All these customs have been abolished by time, by which they were first introduced. When the emperor Frederick had taken the above oath,

the pope then went to meet him some miles from Rome.

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Id. page 31, 32, 33.] The Germans always wanted to be masters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to support their liberties. And most certainly they had a more natural right to that liberty, than any German could have to be their master.

The Milanese set the example. The citizens become soldiers, surprized a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been seconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederick had time to recruit his army.

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Id. page 34.] The election of a pope had been always attended with a civil war for upwards of two centuries.

THE FEUDAL LAW, which obliged the Liege-Man to march against his Sovereign, in the Service of his Lord.

Vol. II. chap. xl. page 39.

THE emperor Frederick Barossa abolished this law in the year 1158: A law which had been established by custom, and which that custom still maintained in the empire, notwithstanding all his care, whenever the great vassals were powerful enough to make war against their prince. It remained in full force in France, till the extinction of the house of Burgundy. In England the feudal government soon

soon gave place to the liberty of the subject; and in Spain it submitted to the absolute power of the sovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nick-name given to that king, all the little vassals were in arms against the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the dutchy of France. The race of the antient Danish pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced these dissensions; on which account Lewis the Fat, found so much difficulty in reducing the sieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the sieur de Montleri, and another sieur of the village of Puiset, the lord of Baudouin and of Chateaufort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death these rebellious vassals. Things are greatly changed in France since that time.

England, from the time of Henry I. was governed in the same manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, son to Henry I. they reckoned no less than one thousand fortified castles or strong holds in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the consent and assistance of a number of barons; and these times were, as we have seen, the reign of anarchy and confusion.

DIVORCE

DIVORCE between LEWIS the Young,
and his Queen ELEANOR.

Idem,
page 40.

THIS divorce makes one of the greatest objects of the common law, which historians ought to have well understood. The marriage was dissolved at Beaujenci, by a council of bishops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was second cousin to Lewis; and moreover, the Gascon lords were obliged to make oath, that the married couple were within the decrees of consanguinity, as if the truth of such a relationship could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the superstitious laws of those times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage must have been bastards; and yet they were both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of Lewis; and of consequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithstanding the decision of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be dissolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accused his wife of adultery. Therefore it was in fact a divorce in full council upon the most frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Christian religion, Eleanor and Lewis could again be married to each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly, that a man cannot marry after having put away his former

former wife ; nor can any man marry a woman who has been so put away by her husband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Christ himself, and yet it has never been observed. What a source for excommunications, interdicts, commotions and wars ; had the popes then intermeddled in such an affair with which they have since so frequently concerned themselves !

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Id. page 45.] While Thomas Becket was in France, he excommunicated several of the lords of Henry's privy council ; and wrote in the following manner to that prince. " It is true " that I owe you respect as my king, but at the " same time I owe you chastisement as my " spiritual son." And in the same letter he threatens him with being changed into a beast like Nebuchadnezzar ; though there does not seem to have been any great resemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II. KING of ENGLAND.

Idem, **T**HIS king made the conquest of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a savage country, and had been subdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only 1200 men. This nobleman wanted to secure his conquest ; but the king being stronger than him, and being moreover furnished with a bull from the pope, easily made himself master of the whole island, which ever afterwards remained under the English dominion ; though in a barren, poor and useless condition, till

till towards the end of the eighteenth century; when agriculture, manufactures, arts and sciences, have been all carried to perfection there; so that Ireland, though a conquered country, is become one of the most flourishing provinces in Europe.

JOHN LACKLAND.

Idem, **W**HO were the peers of France, that passed sentence of death on the king of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot assist on a trial upon life and death. We are not told that there was at that time in Paris a count of Toulouse, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accused person was himself duke of Guyenne and Normandy. The assembly of the peers was composed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance, which our historians ought to have well examined, instead of amusing themselves with drawing up armies in battle array, or tiring our patience with relations of sieges of castles that no longer exist.

LEWIS VIII. KING of ENGLAND.

Vol. II. chap.
xl. page 60, 61.

THIS king did not long keep possession of the English throne. The people of England who had a liking to Henry, afterwards Henry III. obliged Lewis to restore to that

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that prince the crown which he had taken from his father John. Thus Lewis was only made use of by them as a scourge to chastise a monarch who had displeased them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as master the conditions on which Lewis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince for presuming to keep possession of the throne against his holiness's decree, compelled him to do penance for the same, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to ask absolution, which they did; and were ordered as a punishment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feasts in the year, barefooted, and in their sheets, with each a discipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is said that they actually performed a part of this penance.

This incredible transaction passed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip-Augustus, who suffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put upon his nation and his own son; so that the victor of Bouvines could not be said to have ended his career with glory.

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Id. page 61.] This is the proper place to controvert a strange story, which has been told by all our historians, and which is as follows: Lewis VIII. being ill of a dangerous malady, his physicians thought that there were no means left to save his life, but the use of women. Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into
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the bed to him ; but the king, who chose rather to die than stain his soul with a mortal sin, sent the damsel away. Father Daniel has caused a copper-plate of this memorable exploit to be prefixed to the life of Lewis VIII. in his history of France, as the most glorious action of this prince.

This fable has been since applied to several monarchs, and is like all the other tales of this kind, the pure effect of the ignorance of the times. But at present we should certainly know, that the use of women is by no means a cure for sickness ; and moreover, if Lewis VIII. could not have recovered by any other means, there was Blanche his queen, the handsomest woman of her time, who was very able to have performed this cure. However, Father Daniel will have it, that Lewis made a truly noble end, by resisting his passions, and fighting against the hereticks. It is true, that, a little before his death, he went into Languedoc, to take possession of part of the country of Toulouse, which young Amauri, count of Montfort, son to the usurper of that name, had sold to him. But can it be said, that buying a country of a person, who had no right to that country, was fighting for the faith ? A person of sound understanding, when he reads history, will find little else to do than to refute the errors with which it abounds.

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OF FREDERICK II.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 70. **I**T was upon a letter of pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in those times *, that there really was a book entitled *De tribus Impostoribus* (of the three impostors.) This book has been sought for in every age, and has never yet been found.

OF PALESTINE.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 80, 81. **A**LL the country to the southward of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Esongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of sandy deserts, or hideous mountains. These rocks and sands, which are now inhabited by a set of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterwards extended themselves a little northward into Arabia Petræa. The small country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the best they possessed; the soil of Jerusalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being situated on a river. There is very little pasture in this country, so that the inhabitants not being able to find food for horses, are obliged to make use of asses as their only beasts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but sheep thrive a little better; they have olive-trees in some places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are like-

† In the Thirteenth Century.

wife some palm-trees here and there ; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labour, was to them a paradise, in comparison with the deserts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived so long in Bethlehem, acknowledges, that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and sandy country, where it seldom or never rains, and where there are no springs or fountains ; the want of which, the natives are obliged to supply by vast cisterns, at a prodigious expence.

OF the FIRST CRUSADE.

Vol. II. chap.
xliv. page 82,
&c.

ANTIQUITY had never beheld an instance of emigrations, from one part of the world to another, set on foot by religious enthusiasm. This epidemic madness now made its appearance for the first time, in order that there might be no scourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.



[Id. page 90.] A certain French count, having had the insolence to seat himself by the side of the emperor Alexis Commenes, and being asked by that prince's order, who he was, made this answer. " I am descended of a right noble family. When in my own country, I went every day to the church which is in my own lordship, where were assembled all the brave lords who had vowed to fight duels, and who prayed to Jesus Christ and
" the

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“ the holy Virgin, to be favourable to them ;
“ but not one of them would fight with me.”

The TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Idem, **E**LMACIM writes, that at the page 94. taking of Jerusalem in 1099, the conqueror shut up all the Jews found in the place, within the synagogues which had been granted them by the Turks ; and setting fire to it, every soul perished in the flames. This action may be credited after the horrible cruelties they exercised upon this unhappy people in their march.

CRUSADES after the TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Vol. II. chap. **I**N the year 1148, Lewis the xlv. page 104. Young, whether he thought himself in danger from the Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took his wife away privately from that city, and went with her to Jerusalem ; by which he had at least the satisfaction of fulfilling the vow he had made, and of telling St. Bernard, that he had seen Bethlehem and Nazareth. But during this journey, the few troops he had left were beaten and dispersed on all sides ; and at length, three thousand of the French deserted in a body, and turned Mahometants to keep themselves from starving.

Of

OF SALADIN.

Idem, **T**HE Christians were yet * in possession of Jerusalem, and disputing with the Turks and Tartars some territories in Syria. While Europe was torn in pieces by this holy war, while Andronicus Manuel ascended the tottering throne of Constantinople, by the murder of his nephew, and while Frederick Barbarossa and the popes kept all Italy in arms, nature produced one of those tremendous accidents, which should make mankind enter into themselves, and reflect upon their own nothingness; an earthquake more violent and extensive than that in 1755, ruined most of the cities in Syria; and also this petty kingdom of Jerusalem. The earth opened in an hundred different places, and swallowed up men and beasts. The Turks were told by their priests, that it was a judgment of God upon the Christians; and the Christians were taught to believe, that God declared himself in this manner against the Turks; and both parties continued to butcher each other on the ruins of Syria.

* * *

Idem, page 112.] It is said that the emperor Henry VI. demanded an hundred thousand marks of silver, for the ransom of Richard, king of England; but an hundred thousand marks would, according to the present value of money, make five millions of livres, a sum which

• In the Twelfth Century.

England

England in those days was not able to furnish : it was more likely an hundred thousand *Marques* or *Marcas*, that is, about an hundred thousand of our present crowns.

* * *

Id. page 113.] The Christians who followed Baldwin count of Flanders directed their Crusade against the chief of the Christian religion*.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINO- PLE.

Idem, page 114, &c. **T**HE empire of Constantinople, which had still the title of the Roman empire, was still in possession of all Greece, the Archipelago and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Walachia. It disputed the remains of Asia Minor against the Arabians, the Turks, and the Crusades, and the arts and sciences were constantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted succession of historians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himself master of it. These historians were either emperors, princes, or statesmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, disguise facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preserve nothing of the ancient Greek stile but its loquacity. Controversy was the favourite study of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the 12th century, had a long dispute with his bishops on the

† Pope Innocent III.

words,

words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatened by the Crusaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechism which anathematized, in the severest manner, that well-known verse in the Alcoran, which says, "that God is an infinite Being, who has neither begot nor has been begotten of any one." Manuel was for taking this anathema taken out of the catechism. These disputes signalized and enfeebled his reign; but observe how cautiously Manuel acted with regard to the Mussulmen in this dispute. He was not willing that the Greek catechism should offer so great an insult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the son of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Lewis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relations. This Andronicus was himself afterwards deposed by an officer of his palace, named Isaac Angelus, dragged through the streets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterwards boiling water poured over his body, till he expired in the most dreadful agonies.

Isaac Angelus, who punished an usurper with so much barbarity, was himself stripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenes, though no ways related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cause of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

The

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The son of Isaac Angelus solicited the assistance of the Pope and the Venetians against his cruel uncle ; and in order to secure them in his favour, he renounced the religion of the Greek church, and embraced that of the Latin. The Venetians, and some of the princes of the Crusades, such as Baldwin count of Flanders, and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, granted him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries were equally hateful to all parties. They encamped with their forces without the gates of the city, which was still in the greatest confusion and tumult. Young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, in a short time fell a victim to a new faction. One of his relations, named Mirziflas, strangled him with his own hands, and seized on the red sandals, which were part of the insignia of the imperial dignity.



Id. page 115.] The French officers and soldiers danced with some ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, while one of the prostitutes who followed Baldwin's army seated herself on the patriarch's throne, and from thence entertained the company with songs suitable to her profession.

Of St. FRANCIS D'ASSISE.

Id. page 119. **S**UCH is the fate of enthusiasm, that St. Francis not being able to compass his design of burning himself alive, and converting the Sultan, was resolved to try the same frolic once more in Morocco ;

F

rocco; he accordingly took shipping for Spain, but having fallen ill by the way, he prevailed on friar Giles, and other four of his companions, to promise to go and convert the people of Morocco. Friar Giles and the four monks set sail for Tetuan, got safe to Morocco, and preached in Italian out of a cart. The Miramolins taking compassion on their folly, sent them back again to Spain. They returned a second time, and he sent them back as before. They came again a third time, and then the emperor, incensed at their insolence, caused sentence of death to be passed on them by his divan, and with his own hand struck off their heads. By a custom equally superstitious and barbarous, the emperors of Morocco are the chief executioners in their own dominions. The Miramolins pretend to be descended from Mahomet. The first persons who were sentenced to die after the erection of their empire, requested, as a favour, to die by the hands of the emperor, thinking thereby to receive a full expiation of all their sins; since which time this horrible custom has been so well kept up, that Muley Ishmael, the last emperor, during his long reign, put to death no less than 10,000 persons.

The death of the five companions of Francis d'Assise is still celebrated annually at Coimbra, by a procession as singular as their adventure. It is pretended that the bodies of these Franciscans came back to Europe after their execution, and stopped at Coimbra, in the church of the Holy Cross. Every year, on the eve of the arrival of these martyrs, the young men and women of the place go in procession from the church of the Holy Cross, to that of
the

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the Franciscans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of drawers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as short. The procession has a considerable distance to march, and they stop several times by the way.

OF SAINT LEWIS.

Vol. I. chap. xlvi.
page 127.

THE greatest part of the large ships of burthen, in which the troops of St. Lewis were transported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1800 in number. A king of France could not fit out such an armament in these days, by reason that timber of all kinds is beyond comparison dearer, all the concomitant expences greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now used, and becomes a necessary part of the equipment, still enhances the expence and difficulty of fitting out so numerous a fleet.

OF GENGIS-CAN.

Vol. II. chap. xlviii.
page 142.—146.

THE Chinese author who has written the conquests of Gengis-Can, and whose work has been translated by father Gaubel, assures us, that the Tartars had not the least knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great

Wall; as likewise to the Celtes, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other side of mount Atlas. The use of transmitting to posterity the several articulations of speech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of society, improved and known only to some nations more highly civilized than others, and was never universally known even among those nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no symbols to perpetuate the memory of them.



The Greeks, and before them the Asiatics, were frequently accustomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legislators, and even to successful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honours were lavishly paid to whoever instructed, served, or oppressed the rest of mankind.



The monks who travelled thro' Tartary, in the thirteenth century, tell us, that Gengis-Can and his sons governed their Tartars with absolute sway; but can it be supposed that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief went in search of plunder, to be equally shared between them; men, by nature robust, free, and used to a wandering life, making the snow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in summer, would suffer themselves to be treated like beasts of burthen by their leaders? This was far from being the disposition of the people of the north. The Alands, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Franks, were the compani-
ons

ons, not the slaves of their barbarous chiefs. Despotic power is the work of time, and the result of a long combat between the spirit of ruling and the spirit of independence. A chief has always more ways of oppressing his companions than they of resisting, and at length money makes him their master.

The monk Planus Carpinus, who was sent in 1243 by Pope Innocent IV. to Caracerum, at that time the capital of Tartary, and who was present at the inauguration of the great Khan Ootai, tells us, that the principal Tartars made their khan sit down upon a piece of coarse beaver's skin, and addressed him thus: "Honour the great, be just and merciful to every one, otherwise thou shalt be so wretched that thou shalt not be worth the skin upon which thou now sittest." This was not the speech of slavish courtiers.



If we compare the vast and sudden depredations of Gengis-Can and his followers, with the transactions of our days, we shall find a surprising difference between them. Our generals, who understand the art of war incomparably better than Gengis or his sons, or than many of the other conquerors of antient times, aided with armies, a simple detachment of which, with a few cannon, would have put to rout all these numerous herds of Huns, Alands, and Scythians, can with difficulty take a few towns in the most successful expeditions: the reason is, that in those days there was no art in war; strength alone decided the fate of the world.

Gengis and his sons, elevated with the rapid success of their arms, thought that they should

be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view Coblai-Can, after having made himself master of China, sent an army of 100,000 men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of Japan, and another son of Gengis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celestine IV. sent four monks to him in the quality of ambassadors, the only set of people who would have accepted such a commission. Father Asselin says, that he could only be admitted to speak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holiness:

“ If thou wouldst continue on the face of the earth, come and do homage to us. If thou obeyest not, we know what will be the consequence. Send new deputies to us, to inform us whether thou wilt be our vassal or our enemy.”



The race of Gengis-Can continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed that the science of astronomy, for which the Chinese were so famous, fell greatly to decay during these revolutions; for after these times we find none but Mahometan astronomers in China, and they had almost always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jesuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reason of the mediocrity of the Chinese in this respect.

This is the whole of what is necessary for us to know concerning the Tartars in these distant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law; no division between the throne, the altar,
the

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the courts of justice; no council, no universities, nor any of those institutions which have improved or over-loaded society among us. The Tartars left their desarts about the year 1212, and in the year 1236 had conquered one half of the hemisphere. This is all their history.

OF MAINFROY, or MANFRED- DO, &c.

Vol. II. **T**HE emperor Conrad IV. was
chap. xlix. accused of having poisoned
page 157. his son Henry. You will find that
in all ages the suspicion of poison-
ing was always more common than the fact it-
self.

The homage paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one source of the calamities which beset those provinces, and the imperial houses of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having stripped the lawful heirs of their right, perished itself in a miserable manner. This homage was at first nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other princes, put their dominions under the protection of the church, in order to stop, if possible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of those who wanted to take from them what they had usurped. The Popes soon converted this oblation into an homage, and though not masters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor Frederick II. when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the most flourishing condition, and left behind him as monuments of his reign, wise laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and sciences in high esteem *. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his son. We do not know whether Manfred or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful son or bastard of Frederick ; but the emperor seems to have considered him in the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and several other principalities in sovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the absence of Conrad, and declares him his successor in case of the death of Conrad, and his son Henry, without issue. So far every thing appeared well settled on a peaceable footing ; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The Popes hated the house of Swabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines still continued as strong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent II. who had deposed the emperor Frederick II. at Lyons, that is to say, who had the insolence to declare him incapable of reigning †, did not fail on this occasion to assert that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not succeed to the possessions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, in order to hasten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to ex-

* See vol. xxi. (xvi of the prose works) page 23.

† See vol. xxi. (xvi of the prose works) page 20.

hort the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion ; and you have seen what dangerous weapons these were. Manfred did not dare to trust the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the house of Suabia. There were still some Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederick II. had always kept a guard composed of these Mahometans ; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, insomuch that it got the surname of *Lucera di Pagani*, or the city of infidels, tho' the Mahometans were far from deserving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had less of what is called paganism in their belief, or were more strongly attached to the worship of one pure God ; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederick II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred still more so. Nevertheless this latter, with the assistance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples excepted, who acknowledged Innocent as its only master. This pontiff pretended that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property in virtue of the words he pronounced when he deposed Frederick II. and his family at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in person to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples ; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himself with offering the kingdom to prince Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a single vessel, and

who thanked his holiness for his dangerous present, without accepting it.

The unavoidable dissensions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more service than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have observed, that he was poisoned. The papal see gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant of only seven years of age, This was the unfortunate Conradine, whom we shall see come to a tragical end. Conradine was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he caused a report to be spread that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in case Conradine was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his side in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the sworn enemies of the imperial race, and also the strength of his excommunications. He declares himself king of the Two Sicilies, and grants certain investitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length see the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of short duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at its head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with some barons, who were not quite so scrupulous as the rest, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this situation of affairs that pope Innocent, finding that he could not get possession of the kingdom of Naples for himself, thought him of offering to the count of Anjou,

you, brother to St. Lewis, a crown of which he had no right to dispose, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and such is generally the end of all those ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was succeeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi) who adopted all the views of his predecessor. He could not however prevail on the brother of St. Lewis, the French king, to enter into his measures. That monarch had unfortunately exhausted his kingdom by his last crusade, and his ransom while in Egypt, and was spending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of some towns on the coast of Palestine, which were in a short time afterwards demolished again by the christians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by summoning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vassal; but as this right went always with the strongest, it was not to be supposed that a vassal, powerful in arms, would appear at the summons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vassals who were in Apulia. Manfred desired his holiness to send a cardinal to treat with him. The pope's council determined, *id non convenire sanctæ sedis bonari, ut cardinales isto modo mittentur*; "that it was not agreeable to the honour of the holy see to send cardinals in that manner."

The civil war then was continued. The pope published a crusade against Manfred, in the same

manner as they had been published against the Mussulmen, the emperors, and the Albigenes. It is a considerable distance between Naples and England; nevertheless this crusade was published there; a nuncio was sent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio absolved king Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry the war into Palestine, on taking another, to furnish the pope with men and money for his war against Manfred*.

Matthew Paris says that this nuncio raised 50,000 l. sterling in England: to see the English at present, we could hardly suppose their ancestors could have been so weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with hopes of getting the crown of Naples for his son Edmund, and at the same time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to bestow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to whomsoever would bid most for it. However, all these negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope squandered away the money he had raised in England in preparing for his crusade, which at last did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and pope Alexander IV. died without having succeeded in any thing but extorting money from England.

A cobbler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV. continued what his predecessors had begun. This cobbler was born at Troyë in Champagne. His predecessor had caused a crusade to be preached in England against the Two Sicilies; this sent to preach one in France, where he scattered his plenary indulgences with

* See vol. xxi. (xv. of the prose works) p. 30;

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a liberal hand, but could raise only a small sum and some few troops, which the count of Flanders, son-in-law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himself at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily ||, with the consent of St. Lewis king of France; but pope Urban died before he saw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes who waste their lives in fruitless attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian, (Clement IV.) a subject of Charles of Anjou, compleated what the others had begun, and had the honour to have his master for his vassal †.

* *

Id. page 158.] The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of senator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the antient tribunes. This senator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who so freely disposed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impose a single tax on the people of Rome. They were then the same that an elector of Cologne is in that city.

* * *

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of christian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; here the church extended her's to both living and dead †.

|| See vol. xxi. (xvi of the prose-works) p. 34.

† Id. p. 35.

† Ibid.

TO ADDITIONS TO

Of the Crusade against the ALBIGEN-
SES.

Vol. II. chap. I. **T**HE Jesuit Daniel, in
page 165.

speaking of these unhappy wretches, † in his history of France, calls them infamous and detestable heretics ; but, with the good father's leave, men who could thus voluntarily embrace martyrdom, could not be persons of infamous morals ; and most certainly there was nothing detestable in this, but the cruelty with which they were treated. We may indeed lament the blindness of these poor creatures, who imagined that God would make them everlastingly happy, because the monks thought fit condemn them to the flames.

The spirit of justice and reason, which has of late times been introduced into the law of nations in Europe, has at length evinced that nothing could be more unjust than this war against the Albigenes, in which those concerned did not take arms to quell a people who had rebelled against their sovereign, but to oblige a sovereign to destroy his people. What should we say in these days, if a number of bishops were to besiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector Palatine, in their capitals; on the pretence that the subjects of these princes performed peaceably certain ceremonies which were not in use among the subjects of those bishops ?

† The 140 poor creatures, who, chanting a psalm, ran and threw themselves headlong into the fire that Simon of Montfort had ordered to be kindled for their execution.

GENERAL HISTORY. III

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Id. page 167.] A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouse a pension of 400 marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really 20,000 of our present franks; and if marques, (marcas) about 1200. The latter is most probable, if we consider that the poorer they kept him, the more he must be dependent on the church.

Of the Crusade against LANGUEDOC in 1228.

Idem. THE reign of St. Lewis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily by a horrible crusade against Christians, his vassals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great increase of glory by crusades. Blanch of Castille, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and consequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to share the spoils of the oppressed, did all in her power to assist a brother of Simon of Montfort, to compleat the ravages in Languedoc. Young count Raymond defended himself gallantly against his enemies. A war was lighted up, resembling that in the Cevennes, which has been already treated of. The priests shewed no mercy to the Languedocians; and these never spared the priests. All the prisoners, on both sides, were put to death, and every town that was taken, reduced to ashes, for the space of two years.

At

At length, the queen regent Blanch, who had other enemies to guard against, and young Raymond, weary of such a scene of slaughter, and unable to support the expences of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One cardinal St. Angelo was chosen arbitrator on the occasion, who imposed the following conditions, which were agreed to, and executed on the side of Raymond.

The count of Toulouse was to pay 10,000 marks or marques, for the use of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a person appointed by the cardinal to receive the same; 2000 to the monks of Citteaux, who were already immensely rich; 500 to the monks of Clervaux, who were still richer than them; and 1500 to the other abbies. He was to go and make war for five years upon the Turks and Saracens, who, most assuredly, had never made war upon him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this side the Rhine; for what he possessed on the other side of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond signed this instrument, which stript him of all his possessions, and then cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good catholic; only they led him, for form's sake, in his shirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he asked forgiveness of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for having signed so infamous a treaty.

Idem:

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* * *

Idem.] The crusades against Languedoc lasted twenty years. The desire of possessing another's property gave rise to them, and at the same time to the inquisition. This new scourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its first form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was established in France as early as 1229, in the reign of St. Lewis. A council held at Toulouse, in the last mentioned year, began by forbidding Christian laymen to read the Old and New Testament. It was a downright insult to mankind to dare to say to them, "We will that ye have a certain belief, but we will not, that you read the book on which that belief is to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Aristotle to be burnt, that is to say, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Constantinople, during the first crusades. These were books that no one understood, and on which the heresy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Aristotle almost in the same rank with the fathers of the church. Thus you will see, every where, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the superstition of the people, and enthusiasm in general, continually putting on new shapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbarism and misery, till certain academies, or assemblies of men of learning, and enlightened knowledge, arose and made the present age blush for the ignorance of its ancestors.

Id.

Id. page 69.] But it was still worse in 1237, when the king had the weakness to give leave for a grand inquisitor to reside in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciscan friar, who exercised this new office, first in Toulouse, and afterwards in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at least, the appearance of zeal in his ministry, which might have excused the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigotted; but he was an apostate, and carried about with him an abandoned prostitute, whom he entertained as a mistress, and who, to compleat the horrible scene, was herself an heretic. Thus says Matthew Paris and Mousk; and we find it proved in the Specilegium of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Lewis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exercise his inquisitorial functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy and Flanders. He made the king believe that there was a new sect arisen, which privately infested these provinces. On this pretence, the inhuman monster condemned to the flames, without mercy, every one whom he thought proper to suspect, or who had not interest or money sufficient to ransom themselves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the best judges of those who impose upon their kings, never gave this Robert any other title than that of Robert the B——r. He was at length discovered, and his villanies and infamy brought to light; but what will strike you with a great indignation and astonishment, is, that he was only condemned to perpetual imprisonment;
and

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and to encrease your indignation, you will find no mention made of this man in father's Daniel's history of France.

In this manner, then, did the inquisition first begin in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the institution itself. You are doubtless fully sensible, that it must be the height of brutal and absurd barbarism to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almost as contradictory, as to amass for one's own private use all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

Of the PONTIFICATE in the Thirteenth Century.

Vol. II. **I**N the year 1339, Christopher, chap. li. king of Denmark, having been deposed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, sends to the pope, to ask of him Scania, and some other territories. "You know, most holy father," says he, in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of Denmark depends altogether on the church of Rome, to whom it pays tribute, and not on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a suitor, and whose temporal jurisdiction over all the sovereigns of the earth, he so fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII. who then resided at Avignon. However, the name is not material: the question is, to shew that every prince who had a mind to usurp or recover any dominion, always

always addressed himself to the pope as his master. Benedict sided with the king of Denmark, and returned for answer to the above letter, "That he should not proceed against that prince, till he had summoned him to appear before him, agreeable to the antient customs."

STATE of the SCIENCES in EUROPE
in the Thirteenth Century.

IN this century, men passed from a state of brutal, to a state of scholastic ignorance. Albert, surnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture; he also taught politicks *according to the rules of astrology, and the influence of the planets*, and morality *by Aristotle's logic*.

It often happened that the wisest institutions arose only from blindness and weakness. There is not a more noble and splendid ceremony belonging to the church, nor one better calculated to inspire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy sacrament, or *Corpus Christi*. Antiquity could not boast any thing equal to it; and yet from whence had it its rise? A nun of Liege, whose name was Moncomillon, dreamt every night that she saw a hole in the moon; she had afterwards a vision, which told her that the moon was the church, and the hole signified a festival, which was wanting in the church. Upon this a monk, named John, assisted her in composing the office of the holy sacrament: this festival was established at Liege, and in a short time pope Urban

Urban X. made it an immoveable feast throughout the whole Christian church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the same manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united against these new-comers, till at length one half of Europe was raised against them all. The studies of the schools were then, and indeed are at present, such systems of absurdity, as were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we should think those people belied. One question was, "Whether God can produce the universal nature of things, and preserve it without there being things?" Another, "Whether God can be in a predicate sense, whether he can communicate his creating power, or render what he has made not-made, and change a married woman into a virgin?" A third, "Whether each person in the Godhead can assume which of the three natures he pleases?" A fourth, "Whether God can be a beetle or a grasshopper?" A fifth, "Whether God produces the Son by intellect, or by will; by essence, or by attribute; naturally, or of his free will?" And the doctors, who resolved these curious questions, called themselves the great, the subtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the solemn, the enlightened, the universal and the profound. These doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to a man of solid learning.

Of

OF SPAIN.

Vol. II. chap.
lii. page 175,
176.

THE kings of Castille, in the twelfth century, still continued to take the title of emperor of Spain. Alphonso, count of a part of Portugal, was their vassal while he was weak; but as soon as he found himself master, by right of arms, of a considerable province, he erected himself into an independent sovereign. The king of Castille made war against him as a rebellious vassal; but the new king of Portugal submitted himself and his crown to the holy see, in like manner as the Normans, who became vassals to Rome, for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius III. confers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to Alphonso and his posterity, for an annual tribute of two pounds weight of gold. Pope Alexander III. his successor, confirms this donation, on condition of the same payment. These popes then actually gave kingdoms. The estates of Portugal being convoked at Lamego, by Alphonso, in order to frame laws for the government of his new kingdom, began by reading the bull of pope Eugenius III. which bestowed the crown on Alphonso; therefore they considered it as the principal right of their sovereignty. This is an additional proof of the customs and prejudices of these times. No new prince dared to assume the title of sovereign, nor could be acknowledged such by other sovereigns, without the permission of the pope; and the basis of all the history of the middle age, is always, that

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that the popes looked upon themselves as lords paramount of every state, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended successors of Jesus Christ; and the German emperors, on their side, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the several kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, because they pretended to be successors to the Cæsars. In the mean time, the Spaniards were taken up with establishing more real rights.

* * *

Id. page 184.] Alphonso the Wise, in his book of laws, entitled *Las Partedas*, says, “ that the despotic monarch tears up the tree, “ and the wise monarch prunes it”.

OF PHILIP the FAIR, and of POPE BONIFACE VIII.

Vol. II. **Y**OU may already have ob-
chap. liii. served, that, after the death of
Charlemagne, there was not one
pontiff who had not some intricate and violent
dispute with the emperors and kings. You will
see likewise, that those disputes, which are the
necessary consequences of the most absurd form
of government, to which mankind ever sub-
mitted, continued till the age of Lewis XIV.
This absurdity consisted in making a foreigner
master at home, and in absolutely permitting
this foreigner to dispose of fiefs in your own
country; in not being able to receive any part
of the revenue of those fiefs, without the per-
mission of this foreigner, and admitting him to
a share

a share in them; in being continually exposed to see those very temples which you yourself built and endowed, shut up by his orders, and in consenting that one part of your subjects should be obliged to go and plead their cause at the distance of three hundred leagues from their own country. These, however, are but slight links of those fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe insensibly, and almost without knowing it, loaded themselves and their subjects. At present, it is well known, that if any one was to propose to a sovereign, or his council to submit to such customs, he would be looked upon as a madman: the yoke which first appeared light, encreased in weight every day. It was found necessary to alleviate it; but mankind had neither wisdom, knowledge, nor resolution enough to throw it off altogether.

Pope Boniface VIII. by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, "that
 " no person in holy orders was to pay any
 " thing to the king his master, without the
 " express commission of the sovereign pontiff." Philip, king of France, did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burnt; and therefore contented himself with issuing an ordinance, prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negotiations were set on foot upon this occasion; the pope to gain time canonized St. Lewis; and from thence the monks concluded, that the man, who could thus dispose of a place in heaven, might equally well dispose of the riches of the earth.

The

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The king pleaded before the archbishop of Narbonne at Senlis, against the bishop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in person to Rome, to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Capadocia and Bythinia were used to act in the same manner towards the Roman republic; but Flotta did more than them, for he spoke to the pope as the minister of a real sovereign to an imaginary one; expressing himself in these very words, "That the kingdom of France was of this world, but that of the popes was not."

Nevertheless, the pope had the presumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expresses himself, "Know that you are in subjection to us, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal matters." A judicious and learned historian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preserved in an antient MS. in the library of St. Germain des Prés, in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; but there is still a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preserves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an answer, which was as follows. "To Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health; Be it known to your most supreme vanity, that we are in subjection to no one in temporal matters." The historian above-mentioned observes, that this answer of the king's is preserved in the Vatican. This shews, that the modern Romans have been more careful in preserving curious things, than

the Benedictines of Paris. Some have vainly disputed the authenticity of these letters ; I do not suppose that they were ever sent with the customary formalities, or presented in form, but there is not the least doubt of their having been written.

The pontiff threw out bulls upon bulls, all asserting the pope to be master of all kingdoms ; and that the king of France, if he did not forthwith yield obedience to him, should be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, that is to say, a total stop put to all religious duties, even to baptism and the burial of the dead. It appears the height of contradiction the mind of man can be capable of, that a Christian bishop, who pretends that all of the same faith are his subjects, should want to hinder these pretended subjects from being Christians, and thus deprive himself, at once, of what he looks upon as his own property. But you will easily judge, that the pope depended on the weakness of mankind in general, and flattered himself that the French would be ready enough to sacrifice their king, to the dread of being deprived of the sacraments ; but here he was for once mistaken. They burnt his bull, and the kingdom of France took arms against the pope, but without rejecting the papal authority.

* * *

You have seen the popes give away the empire, Arragon, England, Sicily, and almost every other kingdom. That of France had not as yet been transferred by a bull. But now Boniface put it on a footing with other states, and made a donation of it to the emperor Albert of Austria, whom he had some time before excommunicated,

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communicated, and who was now his dearly beloved son, and a prop of the church. Observe only these words of his bull, "We bestow on you by the plenitude of our power, "----- the kingdom of France, which "belongs of right to the emperors of the west." Here Boniface and his Datary did not certainly give themselves time to think, for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, some shadow of reason in this absurdity; it flattered the pretensions of the empire in all the dominions of the east, for you will always find that the German civilians were of opinion, or at least pretended to be so, that the Roman state having delivered up itself, together with its bishop, to Charlemagne, all the west, of consequence, belonged to his successors, and that the other states were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Austria had an army of 200,000 men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well settled on his throne, he left his holiness to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

* * *

Id. page 193.] The king of France joined the house of Colonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himself; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was so formidable in other places.

* * *

Ibidem.] The popes who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you see, constantly giving
G 2
away

away kingdoms, and persecuted themselves at home.

* * *

Id. page 194.] Philip the Fair was so far from persecuting the memory of Pope Boniface, that he contented himself with barely warding off the stroke of excommunication, levelled by this Boniface, against him and his subjects; and even suffered Nogaret, who had so well served him, who had acted wholly in his name, and had avenged him upon Boniface, to be condemned by the successor of that pontiff, to perpetual exile, in Palestine, so that all the noble beginnings of Philip the Fair terminated only in disgrace. In this great portrait of the world, you will never find a king of France, who in the long-run has got the better of a pope. They may compromise matters indeed, but Rome will always be a gainer by the bargain, and France out of pocket. You will find only the parliaments of the kingdom opposing with steadiness the artifices of the holy see; and that frequently, the policy or weakness of the cabinet, the exigence of circumstances, and the intrigues of the monks, will render this steadiness of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent to his displeasure, drove all the Jews out of his kingdom, seized upon their wealth, and forbade them ever to return again under pain of death. This arret was not issued by the parliament; it was in virtue of a secret ordinance, passed by his privy council, that Philip punished the usury of the Jews by an act of injustice, by which the people thought themselves revenged, and the king found himself enriched.

Of

Of the KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

Vol. II. chap. I Do not know what share ac-
liv. page 202. crued to the pope, from the
confiscated estates of the Tem-
plars; but it is evident, that the expences of
the cardinals and inquisitors, delegated to carry
on this shocking process, amounted to immense
sums. I was perhaps mistaken, when I read,
together with you, the circular letter of Philip
the Fair, in which he commands his subjects to
restore the moveables, and other effects of the
templars, to the pope's commissioners. This
ordinance of Philip is related by Peter Dupui.
We thought that the pope had profited by this
pretended restitution; for to whom can a resti-
tution be made, but to those who had been pro-
prietors? Now, in those days the popes were
thought to be the masters of all church-posses-
sions; however, I have not been able to disco-
ver that the pope actually received the profits
arising from the spoils of these unhappy victims.

OF SWISSERLAND.

Vol. II. chap. EQUALITY, the natural
lv. page 206. inheritance of mankind,
still subsists as much as possible
in Swisserland; you are not, by this term, to un-
derstand, that absurd and impossible equality, by
which the master and the servant, the magistrate
and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge, are
confounded together; but that equality, by

which the subject depends only on the laws ; and which is the defence of the weak, against the ambition of the powerful.

* * *

Id. page 207.] There are very few republican states in the world, and these are indebted for their liberty to the rocks and seas, that serve them as bulwarks. Men in general are very seldom worthy to have the government of themselves.

Of the GOLDEN BULL.

Vol. II. chap. lviii. page 226, 227, 228. **I**T is said in this bull, which was drawn up by Bartolus, that the seven electors were

already established, therefore they must have been so, but it must have been a very short time before, for all the prior testimonies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shew us, that till the reign of Frederick II. the emperor was elected by the lords and prelates, possessed of fiefs, and this verse of Hoved is a convincing proof of it :

Eligit unanimis cleri procerumque voluntas.

“ Emperors are elected by the unanimous consent of the lords and clergy.” But as the principal officers of the household were powerful princes, and as these officers had the declaring of the person who was elected by the plurality of suffrages ; and lastly, as they were seven in number, they on the death of Frederick II. assumed a right of nominating him, who was

to

to be their master, and this was the real origin of the seven electors.

Originally the title of steward, master of the horse, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head servants in the royal and other great families. In process of time, these officers assumed the titles of stewards and cup-bearers of the empire. Thus, in France, the person who had the furnishing the king's household with wine, was called the chief butler of France, his master of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and grand cup-bearers of France, though undoubtedly these officers neither served the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine or meat. Europe was over-run with these hereditary dignities, and those of marshals, and *grands veneurs*, or great huntsmen and chamberlains of a province, even the title of grand master of the beggars in Champagne, was hereditary in certain families.

* * *

The emperor was stiled in the golden bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis*. The dauphin of France, son to the unfortunate king John, assisted at this ceremony, and cardinal Alba took the upper hand of him; so true is it, that at that time Europe was considered as a body which had two heads, and these two heads were the emperor and the pope; the other princes were regarded both in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that ought to be vassals. But remark how customs have changed; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken the upper hands of those, who dared to sit above the

dauphin of France; and then judge, after this, if any thing can be called fixed in the empire.



These various changes in customs and privileges, and this obstinacy in maintaining a title, with so little power to support it, forms the history of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterwards the Otho's, in Italy, when in a weak state. All the popes destroyed it as much as they were able; and this body, which was, and still is, called the Holy Roman empire, was in no manner a holy Roman empire.

Of JOHN HUS, &c.

Vol. II. chap.
lxi. page 253.

A Father of the council of Constance, said to John Hus, "If the sacred council should pronounce you blind, it would not signify that you had two eyes in your head; you must acknowledge yourself blind."

STATE of EUROPE.

Vol. II. chap.
lxii.

READ the life of Ezzelino d'Aromano, tyrant of Padua, so naturally, and so well wrote by Pietro Gerardo, his cotemporary. You will find that this tyrant put to death upwards of 12,000 citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought against him, put to death, at least, as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona and Ferrara.

Ezzelino,

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Ezzelino was at length taken prisoner; and himself, with all his family, perished by the most cruel torments.

OF FRANCE and ENGLAND, in the Year 1326.

Vol. II. chap. lxiii. page 268. **I**SABELLA, queen of Edward II. caused it to be inserted in the sentence pronounced against the younger Spenser, that he should have those parts cut off, of which he had made a criminal use with the king. This part of the sentence was executed upon him at the gallows, and she had the courage to be present while it was performing. Froissard makes no difficulty of calling these parts by their proper names. What a difference between those days and the present civilized times !

* * *

[Id. page 269.] One Tressel made known to Edward III. his deposition in these words, which are still preserved in the public acts: “ I
“ William Tressel, in behalf of the parliament and people of England, declare to you,
“ in their name, and by their authority, that I
“ renounce, revoke, and withdraw, the homage I have done to you, and deprive you of
“ the kingly power.”

Of the SALIQUE LAW.

Idem, page 271, &c. **I**T has always been a custom to strengthen opinions of whatsoever kind, by the authority of the sacred writings. The followers of the Salique law, quoted this passage in St. Matthew, *The lillies toil not, neither do they spin*; and from hence concluded, that as it was the business of the females to spin, they ought not to reign in the kingdom of lillies; and yet the lillies do not toil, and a sovereign must. The lions of England, and the towers of Castille †, do not spin any more than the lillies of France; and yet women may succeed to the crowns of those two kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearings of the kings of France bear no resemblance to lillies; they appear plainly to be the heads of the old fashioned pikes or halberds, as we find them described in the following bad verse of William the Breton. *Cuspidis in medio uncum emittit acutum*, The shield of France has an iron spike in the midst of the halberd.

* * *

Not only the daughters were excluded from the succession, but the representative of a daughter's family. It was pretended that king Edward could not possess a right by his mother, which she herself had not. But there was a more cogent reason for preferring a prince of

† This alludes to the armorial bearings of England and Spain, the former of which is Gules, three lions passant guardant, or; and the latter, quarterly, a lion and a castle, for the two provinces of Leon and Castille,

the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

OF EDWARD III. in the Year 1338.

Id. page 274.] **T**HE emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with less advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman empire. This Lewis the emperor, who was only in possession of Bavaria, invested king Edward III. in the city of Cologne, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the presence of almost all the English and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be disloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act secretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vassals.

The English monarch soon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itself as that of emperor, when not supported by the Germanic body; and he conceived such a dislike to the German anarchy, that when he was afterwards offered the empire, he rejected it with disdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that superiority which the English nation might one day have on the sea. Edward was at first to endeavour to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very short time a fleet of one hundred ships each. These ships, howe-

ver, were nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, sufficiently rich to build them at his own expence. Of the hundred English ships, twenty only belonged to him, the rest were furnished by the sea-port towns in England. That nation then was so poor in specie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty shillings per day; that of the bishop of Durham, one of the admirals, only six, and the barons had but four each; however, the poorest side conquered the richest, as is almost always the case.

Sea-fights, in those days, were more bloody than they are at present. They did not indeed use cannon, which makes so much noise, but there were many more killed on all sides. The ships boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of draw-bridge which was fastened to the shrouds, ready for the occasion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals lost seventy ships, and near 20,000 men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his son, the black prince, who gained this battle in their own persons.

Of the taking of C A L A I S.

Idem, page 276. **I**T is said that, during the siege of this town, Philip of Valois, finding he could not force the besiegers lines, in a fit of rage proposed to king Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of six men on a side. Edward, who was not

not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refused Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his*. We never see princes terminating their differences between themselves, the blood of the people has always flowed on these occasions.

The most memorable thing that happened in this siege, is the right which king Edward reserved to himself by the capitulation, to hang up any six of the chief citizens of the place he should pitch upon, and for which there appears to be no reason, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but, in fact, they might suppose, that if Edward really wanted to put an halter about their neck, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a present to each of six gold crowns, known by the name of rose nobles.

If it had been his intention to hang any one, he had perhaps a right to revenge himself in this manner on Geofry de Charni, who, after the surrender of the town, endeavoured to corrupt the English governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Eustace de Ribau mont. This Ribau mont, in the fight, struck king Edward to the ground. The same day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and presented Ribau mont with a coronet of pearls, which he himself placed on his head. It is therefore unjust to suppose that he had ever an intention to hang six citizens, who had fought courageously in the defence of their country.

* See vol. ii. p. 274.

Death of EDWARD III. in 1377.

Vol. II. ch. lxvi.
page 30.

EDWARD, after his victories and conquests, spent his time in nothing but tournaments : enamoured of a woman unworthy of his affection, he sacrificed to her his interest and his glory, and at length lost all the fruits of his toils and achievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diversions, tournaments, and instituting his order of the garter. The famous round table set up by him at Windsor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the first rise to all the fabulous stories of the knights of the round table, which romance writers fictitiously attribute to king Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his mistress, Alice Pierce, who, while she was closing his eyes, stole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to say which died most miserable, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Of RICHARD II. King of England in the year 1399.

Idem, page 307.

RICHARD II. was deposed according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward II. had been. The charge brought in form against him has been preserved : among other

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other things, he was accused of having borrowed money without repaying it ; of having kept spies, and of having said that he was master of the estates of his subjects. He was condemned as an enemy to the liberties of mankind, and a traitor.

The SALIQUE LAW abolished.

Vol. III. ch. lxvii.* **H** E R E, then, we see the Salique law abo-

lished, the lawful heir to the crown disinherited and proscribed, and the son-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law, in like manner as we have since seen William prince of Orange, a foreigner, dispossessing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as some others, and had the successors of Henry V. supported the edifice which had been raised by their father, and continued in possession of the throne of France, where is the historian who would have thought of disputing the justice of their cause ? Mezeray, in this case, would not have asserted that Henry V. died of the piles, with which he had been afflicted as a punishment for having seated himself on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have sent bulls upon bulls to the successful usurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the salique law would have been treated as an

* After the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and the accession of Henry V. to the crown of France,

idle chimera. What crouds of Benedictines would have been ready to have presented the descendants of Henry V. with old vouchers against this law? and how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule? while the most celebrated preachers would have exalted to the skies Henry as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France.

Of CHARLES VII. king of FRANCE.

Vol. III. ch. lxxviii. * **L**ET the inhabitants of an extensive city, where peace, pleasure, and the polite arts, reign in all their lustre, and where reason begins every day to gain ground; let them, I say, compare these with former times, and complain if they dare. It is necessary to make some such reflection at almost every page of this history.

* * *

Id. page 21.] It was not till the year 1437 that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had signalized themselves by so many massacres, went forth to meet him with all the demonstrations of affection and joy that were in use among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, personating the seven sins which are called mortal, and a like number of others to personate the divine and cardinal

† This relates to the punishment of Joan of Arc, marshal of France, &c, &c.

virtues,

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virtues, each carrying a scroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He stopt some time there to see the representation of some religious mysteries, which were played by strollers mounted upon stools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meanest labourers are now, and the people of the provinces were still more so. It required more than twenty years to reform the state.

OF MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Vol. III. ch. lxi. page 25, &c.

THE following circumstance is alone sufficient to show the great scarcity of money at that time *, both in Scotland and England, as well as the rusticity, commonly called simplicity, of those days. We read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the English court, they had thirty shillings per day assigned them for their maintenance, 12 loaves, 12 cakes, and 30 bottles of wine.

* * *

Id. page 29.] The bishops had, for a long time, been accustomed never to go abroad without a great number of servants and horses to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of pope Alexander III. reproaches them, that when they went to visit the monasteries, these latter were fre-

† At the beginning of the 14th century.

quently

quently obliged to sell all their church-plate to defray the expences of their reception. The retinue of the archbishops was contracted by the canons of the councils to 50 horses, that of the bishops to 30, that of the cardinals to 25; for a cardinal, who was not at the same time bishop, and consequently had no church-lands, could not support the pomp of a bishop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does at present, because there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank which at present make the riches of a nation.

Of the ARTS and SCIENCES in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Idem, page 42.

THE dramatic art did not exist in these days. In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain simple representations of some particular stories in the Old and New Testament, and from thence the custom of playing mysteries passed into France. These exhibitions came originally from Constantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in opposition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the chorusses in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a sacred part, Gregory, and his successors, composed sacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the stage of Athens, which the Christian

Christian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are still some remains of these pious farces in the strolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the story of the shepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious festivals, they represented the birth and sufferings of our Saviour. These customs were soon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. These subjects have since been treated in a more suitable manner, of which we have instances in those little operas, which are known by the name of oratorio's, and the French have exhibited the most masterly productions on their stage, taken from stories in the Old Testament.

The brotherhood of the passion in France, towards the end of the 15th century, brought Jesus Christ in person upon the stage. Had the French language been then as majestic and pure, as it was low and grovelling, if among so many dull and illiterate persons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and sufferings of a just and a righteous person, persecuted by Jewish priests, and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furnished matter for a sublime work; but this required an enlightened age, and such an age would not have permitted these kind of representations.

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Du Cange, and his continuers, (very exact compilers) quote a manuscript, upwards of 500 years old, in which is found the following hymn of the as:

*Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus.*

A young damsel, representing the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this ass, and holding a young child in her arms, led the procession ; and at the end of the mass, instead of repeating the words, *Ita missa est*, the priest set a braying as loud as he could stretch his lungs, and the people answered him with the same cry.

This more than savage superstition had nevertheless its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some few Italians began to emerge from darkness, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the ass which carried our Saviour had walked upon the sea, and had come through the gulph of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jesus assigned him a certain field for pasturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterwards died. The bones of this animal were inclosed within a case, made in the shape of an ass, which was deposited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons ; and these reverend relicts were carried about three times a-year.

This ass of Verona was the making of the house of our lady of Loretto. Pope Boniface VIII. seeing that the procession of the ass brought such a concourse of strangers, bethought himself that the Virgin Mary's house must certainly bring still a greater number ; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave his apostolic sanction to this fable. And the people who were capable of believing that the ass walked upon the sea, from Jerusalem to Verona, were

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were easily persuaded that the Virgin Mary's house might have been transported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little house was incased in a magnificent church, and in a short time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the presents of several crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Ephesus. The Italians, at least, found their market in the blind superstition of other nations; but at the same time they gave into this superstition themselves, by following the popular prejudice, and the spirit of the times. You may have had many occasions to observe that enthusiasm, to which mankind have a natural propensity, has served to render them not only more stupid, but also more wicked. Pure religion softens the manners by enlightening the understanding; and, on the contrary, superstition, by blinding the judgment, inspires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wisdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who used to traverse through many towns in a kind of chair, drawn by four horses, with a mitre on his head, and a crozier in his hand, dispensing benedictions, and issuing mandates.

There was also a king of the stewes established at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterwards a court-fool, who used to exact a certain fee from all the pick-pockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a society of artificers, burghers, and even of women, among whom the most extravagant ceremonies were stamped with the title of religious mysteries; and from hence came
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the fraternity of free-masons, an institution which has bid defiance to time, the great leveler of all others.

The most contemptible, though at the same time the most numerous of all these fraternities, was that of the flagellants or floggers; it had its first origin in the insolence of some priests, who took advantage of the weakness of publick penitents, so far as to scourge them. We see the remains of this brutal custom, in the little wands or switches, which the penitentiaries at Rome carry in their hands, on the days of any solemn procession. The monks, at length, came to scourge themselves, on a supposition that nothing could be more pleasing to God, than the welted back of a brawny friar. In the eleventh century, one Peter Damien persuaded several of the laity to exercise this discipline on themselves stark naked. In 1260, there were several fraternities of pilgrims, who came through all Italy armed with rods and disciplines. They at length made the tour of one half of Europe. This association, in time, grew up into a sect, which it was found necessary to suppress.

INFRANCHISEMENTS, PRIVILEGES, &c.

Vol. III. chap. lxx. page 49, 50. **S**T. Lewis ennobled his surgeon La Brosse, by making him his chamberlain.

* * *

In Venice, Genoa, and other republics, though the people had no share in the government,

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ment, yet they were never held in slavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the north; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependents on a lord, a bishop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

Of the PARLIAMENT of PARIS, till the Reign of CHARLES VII.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxii. page 60,
61.

THE parliament did not represent the nation, for to do this, it must be either nominated by the nation, or have an inherent right in its own person. The officers of the parliament (the peers excepted) were named by the king, paid by the king, and removeable by the king.

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The descendants of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relict of antient barbarism to annex a mark of degradation to one of the most noble functions of humanity, that of the distribution of justice.

It may be said, in answer to this, that it is not the function of distributing justice that is deemed derogatory, since the peers of the realm, and even sovereigns themselves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at first introduced into the parliament of Paris, solely to carry on the causes, and not to give their voices, and having afterwards

afterwards assumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to share those honours which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a letter to the French academy, says, that a person to be qualified to write the history of France, should be well versed in the antient customs of the nation, and that he should know that the counsellors of parliament were originally serfs or vassals, who had studied the laws of their country, and who assisted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in respect to some who raised themselves by their merit; but it is still a greater truth, that the major part of the counsellors were not serfs, but the sons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time enfranchised, and lived as freemen under the king, whose burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times, and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profession, than persons born in slavery.

This court was, as you know, the same as that which in England is called the court of King's-Bench. The English kings, who were vassals to those of France, imitated all the customs of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's-Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preside in the French parliament; the chancellor of England may do the same in the King's-Bench.

Bench †. The king, and the house of lords in England, may set aside the decrees of the court of King's-Bench; in like manner as the king of France, with his council of state, sets aside the arrets of the parliament; and as he likewise might with the high barons, and the nobles in the general assembly of the states, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's-Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the parliament of Paris. The very word *Bench* shews the great affinity between these courts; the bench of presidents still retains its name with us, and is now called the *High* or *Upper Bench*.

We have already remarked, that the form of the English government has not changed like ours. The general assembly of the English states has always subsisted; they have shared in the legislation: whereas ours, by being so rarely convoked, are grown out of use. The courts of justice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being considerably encreased, have insensibly acquired, partly by the concession of the kings, and partly by custom, and even the unhappiness of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his sons, or Lewis XI.

The chief distinction of the parliament of Paris, above the other courts of parliament, arises from the custom, which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts registered in the chamber of parlia-

† For a refutation of this mistaken notion of M. de Voltaire, see note to chap. lxiv, page 28. of Vol. II. of the General History.

ment, during its session, as the most authentic depository; in other respects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of state, or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the imposition of taxes, was incontestibly the department of the chamber of accounts. The first remonstrances of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more subject to change in France, than in any other nation: there was an ancient custom, by which no arret, inflicting bodily punishment, could be executed, till such arret was first signed by the king. This custom is still in force in England, and many other states; and nothing can be more just and humane. Fanaticism, party-fury and ignorance, have condemned many innocent citizens to lose their lives. These citizens belong to the king, that is to say, to the state; but by these practices the country is robbed of a subject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the person, who is the representative of that country, knowing any thing of the matter. How many innocent persons have we seen accused of heresy, witchcraft, and a thousand imaginary crimes, whose lives might have been saved by a king of knowledge and understanding.

But Charles VI. was so far from being such a person, that he was in that deplorable situation, which makes a man the sport of his fellow-creatures.

Of the seeming UNION of the GREEK
and LATIN CHURCHES.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxiii. page 70.

THE Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Bezanine history affirms, that the pope bribed them to sign this acknowledgement. This is not improbable. It was the pope's interest to gain this advantage at any price; and the bishops of a country, that had been a prey to the ravages of the Turks, must have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. It was a game played by the emperor John II. surnamed Paleologus. The whole Greek church disowned what had been done; and the bishops who had subscribed at Florence, asked pardon for their proceedings, at Constantinople, and acknowledged that they had betrayed the true faith. They were on this occasion compared to Judas, who betrayed his master, and were not readmitted into the bosom of their church, till they had formally abjured the innovations with which the Latins were accused.

The Latin and Greek churches were, after this, more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boasted antiquity, their first general councils, and their sciences, encreased in their hatred and contempt for the Romish communion. They made all the Latins, who came over to them, to be baptized anew, and

from hence came the custom observed by the Russian priests at Petersbourg and Riga, to oblige a Roman catholic, who embraces the Greek religion, to undergo a second baptism. Several struck extreme unction out of the number of the sacraments, and they were one and all against the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the communicating in one kind only; and in fact, it is certain that they differ as much from the church of Rome, as the protestants do.

Nevertheless, pope Eugenius IV. was thought by the whole west to have extinguished this great schism. He had indeed brought the Greek emperor, and his church, under a seeming subjection.

Of the COUNCIL of BASIL.

Idem, **T**HE council of Basil was the first page 71. that forbade the popes to make more than twenty-four cardinals. They did not consider, that, by lessening the number, they encreased the power; and that the more rare any dignity is, the more it is respected.

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Id. page 72.] Amadæus VIII. duke of Savoy, contented himself with being a cardinal. This was the twenty-seventh, and last considerable schism, that had been raised for the possession of St. Peter's chair. Never was the throne of any kingdom so often disputed.

Æneas Piccolomini, the Florentine poet and orator, who was secretary to this council, had
written

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written very violently in support of the superiority of councils over the popes ; but after he was made pope himself, under the name of Pius II. he condemned, still more violently, his own writings, sacrificing every consideration to that of present interest, which so frequently makes the principles of truth or falshood among them. There were some other writings of his spread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, published under the title of *Amœnitates*, he recommends one of his bastards, whom he had by an English woman. Hence we find, that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his sentiments on the fallability of the popes.

The FALL of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. III.
chap. lxxiv.
page 75.

A Considerable sect of monks, and contemplative devotees, saw the light of mount Tabor at their navels, as the Indian Faquirs saw the heavenly light at the end of their noses.

* * *

Id. page 75.] This duke of Burgundy, who was prisoner to Bajazet, was the same John *Sans peur*, or the *Fearless*, who murdered the duke of Orleans, and was himself afterwards murdered by Charles VII. and yet we boast ourselves more humane and civilized than the Turks !

Of the TAKING of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Vol. III. chap. lxxviii. page 97. **T**HIS conquest forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkish empire, in the midst of Christendom; and at this time some of the arts of Greece were first transported amongst them.

* * *

Id. page 103.] The Turkish annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the sieges of Constantinople. Ducas himself, who is thought to have been of the Imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the besieged city, acknowledges in his history, that the sultan offered the emperor Constantine, to give him Peleponesus for himself, and to grant him some small provinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have possession of the city, without sacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preserve safe.

Some Particulars concerning CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 104, 105. **N**O Christian nation will suffer the Turks to have a mosque in it, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches amongst them; several of these churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we see canons under the dominion of a basha.

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Id. page 106.] Some authors have had the weakness to relate that Mahomet II. said to the patriarch Gennadius; "The Holy Trinity makes thee, by the authority which I have received, œcumenical patriarch." These writers know very little of the Mussulmans, and are ignorant that our doctrine of the Trinity is held by them in the utmost abhorrence, inso-much that they think themselves defiled by only pronouncing the word, and that they look upon us as idolaters, who worship many gods.

OF MAHOMET II.

Idem, page
110.

HIS fortune failed him before Rhodes. The knights who are now called the knights of Malta, had as well as Scanderberg the honour of repelling the victorious arms of Mahomet II.

It was in the year 1480, that this conqueror attacked that island, formerly so famous, and its city, which was founded a very considerable time before antient Rome, in the most fertile spot, and under the most delicious climate; a city which had been governed by the children of Hercules, by Danaus, and by Cadmus, and was famous throughout the whole world for its brazen Colossus, dedicated to the sun. This immense work was cast in brass by an Indian; it was an hundred feet high, and under its legs (each of which rested on a spacious mole of marble) the loftiest ships could sail in and out of the harbour. Rhodes had fallen under the power of the Saracens about the middle of the

seventeenth century; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand master of the order of Rhodes, took it from them again in 1310; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubuffon, defended it against the Turks.

It is something very remarkable, that Mahomet II, employed a great number of renegade Christians in this expedition. The grand visir himself, who laid siege to the place, was a Christian; and what is more strange, of the imperial house of the Paleologi. One George Frupan, another Christian, had the direction of the works under the grand visir's orders: we never find an instance of Mussulmans changing their religion, and serving in the Christian armies. But whence this difference? Is it, that a religion, for whose sake they have parted with a portion of their own flesh, and which they have sealed with their own blood, in a most painful operation, is for that reason more dear to them? Is it that the Asiatick conquerors had more respect shewn them, than the European powers? Or lastly, is it that in the times of ignorance, the arms of Mussulmans were thought to be more favoured of God, than those of Christians, and that hence they inferred the successful cause to be the best?

Peter d'Aubuffon at this time crowned his with triumph, by obliging the grand visir Messith Paleologus to raise the siege at the end of three months. Calcondilus tells us, in his history of the Turks, that as the besiegers were mounting the breach, they beheld a golden cross in the air encircled with a glory, and a most beautiful woman robed in white: that, struck with this miraculous appearance, they
threw

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threw down their arms and took to flight. It seems however more probable that the Turks would have been rather stimulated than intimidated with the sight of a beautiful woman, and that in fact the bravery of d'Aubusson and his knights was the only miracle that obliged the Turks to give way. But this is the usual manner of writing among the modern Greeks.

STATE of GREECE under the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Idem, page 111, &c. **M**OST of the stately monuments of Athens, which the antient Romans imitated, without being able to surpass, are either in ruin, or totally lost; a little mosque is now built where the tomb of Themistocles stood; as we see a chapel of the Recollects built upon the ruins of the capitol of Rome. The antient temple of Minerva is also converted into a mosque. The Piream haven is no more, an antique lion of marble is still left standing near it, and gives its name to the harbour of Porto Leone, which is little better than a heap of rubbish. The spot where formerly stood the academy, is now covered with some gardeners hovels. The beautiful remains of the Stadion still inspire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has escaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpse of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Persian monarch Xerxes, contains between 16 and 17,000 inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of 1200 Janizaries, who carry nothing

thing but a white wand in their hands. The Spartans, the ancient rivals and conquerors of Athens, are confounded in the general subjection. They long struggled for their liberty, and still seem to retain somewhat of that ferocity and haughtiness of manners, which Lycurgus taught them.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

Idem, page 113. **T**HE Alcoran, which is their civil as well as religious law, does in the very beginning, (namely in the fourth chapter) provide for the inheritance of the sons and daughters, and the traditional law and established custom supplies whatever is not expressed in the Alcoran.

DEATH of LEWIS XI. in 1483.

Vol. III. chap. lxxx. page 131. **I**T was one of the abuses of the ignorant practice of physick in those times, which had been introduced by the Jews, to prescribe the drinking the blood of young children, to old persons troubled with the apoplexy, leprosy or convulsions.

OF CHIVALRY or KNIGHTHOOD.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxxii. page 144.

THE professors of the law erected themselves into an order, like the true knights at arms: this was a proof of the decline of antient chivalry. The students took the name of batchelors, after having maintained a Thesis, and the doctors of law called themselves knights, a title ridiculous in itself, for originally the knight (*Chevalier* or *Cavalier*) was a person who fought armed on horseback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

OF NOBILITY.

Vol. III. chap.
lxxxiii. page
146, 151.

AFTER what we have said in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as possible, what relates to the nobles, who were a long time the sole possessors of fiefs.

The term *noble* at first was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas*, among the Romans, signified any thing eminent or worthy of notice *, and not an order of citizens. The senate was instituted to

* Hence the line in Horace, *Virtus sola Nobilitas*, may be properly rendered, "Virtue is the only true distinction," and not "the only true nobility."

judge the knights †, to fight on horseback when they were rich enough to keep a horse; and the Plebeians were frequently knights, and sometimes senators.

Among the Gauls, the government was in the hands of the principal officers of towns, and the Druids, to whom the people paid obedience. Every country has something different in its form of government. Those who say that all men are equal, speak the strictest truth, if they mean that all men have an equal right to liberty, to the enjoyment of their own property, and to the protection of the laws. But they would be guilty of a great error, if they thought that all men ought to be upon an equality in regard to rank and employments, when they are not so in regard to their talents or capacities. In this necessary inequality of conditions, neither the antients, nor indeed nine parts out of ten of the habitable globe, were acquainted with any thing that bore the least resemblance to what we call nobility, as it is now established in Europe.

The laws and customs of this order have varied like all other things: we have already shewn you that the most antient hereditary nobility, was that of the Patricians of Venice; who had seats in the council, as early as the fifth century, before there was a doge; and if there are any descendants of these first magistrates, as it is said, they are undoubtedly the first nobles in Europe. It was the same in the antient repub-

† Called by the Romans *Equites*, from *Equus*, an horse, as the French *Chevalier*, and the Spanish *Cavaliere*, from *Cheval* and *Cavallo*.

lies of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country, nobility became the portion of those who were possessed of lands. The Herren of Germany, the Ricos Hombres of Spain, and the barons of France and England, enjoyed an hereditary nobility, merely because their feudal or non-feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viscount, marquis, were at first dignities or offices for life, which afterwards passed from father to son, some sooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne, almost all the states of Europe, the republicks excepted, were governed as Germany is at present; and we have seen that every possessor of a fief exercised sovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that sovereigns owed no service to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themselves to pay to the great. Thus a Castellan or sovereign lord of a castle, paid a pair of spurs to a viscount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this last some other mark of vassalage to a duke. These all acknowledged the king of the country for their lord paramount, though he could not impose a tax upon any one of them. They owed the service of their persons, because they fought for their lands and for themselves, in fighting for the state, and the chief of the state; and hence it comes that, at present, the new nobles, or those who have been ennobled, without being possessors of lands, do not pay the tax laid upon landholders, and known by the name of *Taille*.

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The masters of castles and lands, who composed the body of nobles in all countries, except in the republics, endeavoured as much as possible to enslave the inhabitants of their lands; but the great towns always opposed them in this, as the magistrates of these towns would upon no account be the serfs or vassals of a count, a baron, or a bishop, and much less of an abbot, who arrogated to himself the same honours as a baron, or a count. The cities on the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of greater antiquity, such as Autun, Arles, and particularly Marseilles, flourished long before there was either lords or prelates. Their magistracy was several centuries prior to the existence of fiefs; but the barons and castellans got the better, almost every where, of the citizens; and although the magistrates were not serfs of the lord, they were at least his burghers; and hence it comes that in many ancient charters we find sheriffs (*eschewins*) and mayors, entitle themselves burghers of a count, or a bishop, and king's burghers. These burghers could not change their habitation without the permission of their lord, and paying a considerable fine. This kind of servitude is still in force in Germany.

In like manner as the fiefs were distinguished into frank fiefs, which owed no service to the lord paramount, and into great and little fiefs, which did owe service; so there were also *French burghers*, that is to say, those who purchased the right of exemption from all service to their lord; *grand burghers*, who were possessed of civil employs, and *petty burghers*, who in many respects were slaves.

This

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This form of government, which had been raised by insensible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in several countries, and in others were entirely abolished.

The kings of France, for example, at first ennobled the burghers, by conferring on them titles without lands. It is said there was found among the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility, granted by Philip I. in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Lewis undoubtedly made his barber, La Brosse, noble, in creating him his chamberlain. Philip III. who ennobled his banker Raoul, was not, as some say, the first king who assumed the privilege of changing the condition of his subjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, bestow the title of noble and esquire, *miles*, on the burgher Bertrand, and some others. This example was followed by all other crowned heads. In the year 1339, Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, president of the parliament, and his wife Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, king John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor; for, at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithstanding that the clerks assumed the title of knights of the law, and batchelors of law. Thus we find John Pastourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife Sédille, by Charles V. in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exercised the same privilege in Italy; and after their example, the possessors of great fiefs took the same

same liberty. We have even an instance of a count de Foix, who assumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one master Bertrand, his chancellor, and the descendants of this Bertram called themselves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the rest of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluces, and many others, assumed the same licence.

The military body of Frank-archers and *Taupins*, in the reign of Charles VII. being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon assumed the titles of noble, and esquire, without any permission, and these titles were afterwards confirmed by time, which establishes and overturns all customs and privileges; and several great families in France are descendants of these *Taupins*, who made themselves noble, and who merited that title on having served their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine also. This title was given to the doctors of the universities. The emperor, Charles IV. first introduced this custom, and Bartolus was the first on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, did no more entitle the descendants of this Bartolus to a seat in the chapters, than it would those of the *Taupins*.

The popes, who pretended to be superior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquisses also; and the legate, who governed the provinces belonging to the holy see, were very lavish in conferring

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ring these titles ; hence it comes that there are so many more counts and marquisses in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had established the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had seats in that court, were obliged to avail themselves of the assistance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of frank, grand, or petty burghers. These clerks quickly assumed the title of knights and batchelors, in imitation of the nobility ; but it is plain that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, since the attorney-general Pastourel, and the chancellor Dormans, were obliged to take letters (patents) of nobility for themselves. The students of the universities took the title of batchelor, after passing one examination, and that of licentiate after the second, not daring to assume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction, that the professors of the law, who had a right to sit in judgment on the nobles, should not themselves enjoy the right of nobility. This however was really the case in all countries ; but in France indeed, they enjoyed the same privilege of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true, that their rights did not entitle them to sit in the general assembly of the states, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to serve in person in the field, but only consisted in not paying the *taille*, and in being called *Messire* *.

* A complimentary term, much like that of *Your Worship*, given to our justices of the peace,

France has been always remarkable for the mutability of its laws and customs, the former of which have never been sufficiently clear and well understood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating state. The courts of justice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretensions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540, the parliament of Paris decreed that the children of the king's attorney, Jean le Maître, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterwards, namely in 1578, it gave a like decree in favour of a chancellor, named Menager: but the civilians were divided in their opinion concerning these rights, which had been insensibly annexed to the long robe by custom. Louet, a counsellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magistrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grand-children were entitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians; for, in the year 1582, Henry III. declared, by an edict, "that no one, except those of a noble house and family, should presume thenceforth to take the title of noble, or name of esquire."

Henry IV. shewed himself less strict and more just, when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes issued in the year 1600, he declared (though in very vague terms) "that those who had served the nation in honourable posts, might begin to give a right of nobility to their posterity."

This dispute, of so many ages standing, seemed happily terminated by Lewis XIV. in the month

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month of July 1644; but the event proved otherwise. We must here step a little aside from the order of time, in order to throw as much light upon this matter as possible. You will find in the age of Lewis XIV.* the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in the year 1644, that the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained "the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen and barons of the kingdom," to descend to the children of counsellors and presidents, who should have served twenty years, or have died in the exercise of their offices. By this edict their rank seemed ascertained.

Could any one then think that Lewis XIV. would, in 1669, himself sitting in parliament, resume these privileges, and only maintain all these officers of justice in the employment of *their ancient privileges*, revoking all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterwards till this very year 1669?

Lewis XIV. with all his power, has not been able to deprive such a number of citizens of a right which he bestowed on them under his own hand. It is not very easy for one man to oblige so many others to strip themselves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility; the nation not chusing to contest this point with those whose office it is to judge the nation.

* See vol. vi. of this work.

While the magistrates of the superior courts were thus disputing about their rank, from the year 1300, the burgher and officers of the towns were in a still more uncertain state. Charles V. called *the wise*, for having gained the affections of the citizens of Paris, granted them several of the privileges of nobility, such as bearing coat-armour, and holding fiefs without paying the fine, which is called the tax of frank-fiefs; but Henry continued this privilege to the provost of the merchants, and four echevins (or sheriffs.) The mayors and sheriffs of several towns in France enjoy the same rights, some by ancient customs, others by grant.

The most ancient grant of nobility given to the office of the pen in France, was that of the king's secretaries. These were originally what the secretaries of state are at present, and were called (*clercs du secret*) clerks of the privy-council: now, as they wrote immediately under the kings, and forwarded all their orders, it appeared but just that they should enjoy some mark of distinction; and the privilege of nobility which were entitled to after 20 years service, served as a model to the officers of the courts of judicature.

And here we principally perceive the extreme mutability of customs in France. The secretaries of state, who had originally no other right than that of signing the dispatches, and who could not give any authenticity to these, but in virtue of their offices of clerks of the privy-council, or the king's private notaries, are even become ministers of state, and the powerful instruments of the will of an all-powerful monarch. They have assumed the
title

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title of *monsigneur*, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the same time the king's secretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office consists in signing patents. The number of these useful members have been augmented to three hundred, solely for the sake of raising money; and this shameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in upwards of six thousand families, whose chiefs successively bought their offices for a stipulated sum.

A prodigious number of subjects, of other denominations, such as bankers, surgeons, merchants, household-servants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and in the course of a few generations wrote themselves, in any public proceedings, most high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debased the ancient nobility, and have done no great honour to the new.

The personal service of the ancient knights and esquires being at length wholly laid aside, and the general assembly of the states being no longer assembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the capitation (poll tax) instead of the *taille*. Those, whose fathers were neither sheriffs nor counsellors, nor ennobled persons, have been distinguished by appellations which are now become offensive, such as *villains* and *roturiers*, (i. e. peasants.)

The term *villain* comes from *villa*, a town or city, because formerly only nobles were lords of castles, and *roturier* from *ruptura terre*, the breaking up of the land, husbandry; hence it has fallen out more than once, that a lieutenant-

nant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with scars, has been obliged to pay the *taille*, while the son of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the same privileges as the first officers of the crown. This shameful abuse was not remedied till the year 1752, by Mr. d'Argenson, secretary at war, who has served the army more than any other minister, and to whose merit I the more readily do justice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debasing distinction between the useless noble, who pays nothing to the state, and the useful plebeian, who contributes his share to the taxes; those posts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of esquire, are abuses which we don't meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic desire in a government, to stamp a mark of depredation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is possessed of an estate of forty shillings per annum, in land, is a freeholder, a free-born Englishman, and has a right to the nomination of his representatives in parliament. Every one who is not a handicraft trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles in the strictness of the term, but those who represent the ancient barons and peers of the realm, in the upper house, (or house of lords.)

There are many free states in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only those of citizen; and even in the city of Basil, no gentleman can hold any office in the republic, unless he relinquishes his privileges of a gentleman; and yet in every free
state

state the magistrates only take the title of *nobilis*, noble. It is without dispute the most eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to son ; but such is the force of custom and prejudice, that four hundred years possession of so refined a dignity, would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the *taille*, nor gain him admittance into [the most inconsiderable chapter in Germany.

These customs form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconstancy ; but happily it is the least melancholy part of the history of human kind.

OF TOURNAMENTS or JOUSTS.

THE tournaments, so long time famous throughout christendom, and so often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wrestling, the throwing of the disque, or the races of the Greeks, and not near so barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no resemblance to these ancient diversions, but were much of the same kind with the military exercises so common in old times, and the games which we find described in Homer. These warlike games first took their rise in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who suppressed the gladiators of the 5th century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous custom, in order that they might learn politeness of a Goth. After this there were frequently military games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as also petty combats, called *battaglie*, which are still kept up in the cities of Venice and Pisa.

This

This custom was soon adopted by other nations, Nithard tells us, that in the year 870, the sons of Lewis the Feeble, celebrated their reconciliation by solemn tilts, which were afterwards called tournaments; and in which, says he, *Ex utraque parte, alter in alterum veloci cursu ruebant* *.

The emperor Henry, the Fowler, celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of these military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horseback. The preparations were as splendid as could be in a country so poor, that it had not one fortified town but what had been built by the Romans along the banks of the Rhine.

This custom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Moorish nations. We know that Geofroi de Precielli, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain laws to be observed in the celebration of these games towards the end of the 11th century. Some pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours, for the combatants did not turn in these exercises as they did in the chariot races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the sword with a turned point, *ensis torneaticus*, in law-latin, it not being permitted in these games to strike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. These games were, at their first institution, called by the French, *emprises*, *feats of arms*, the word *feat* shewed that the combat was not to be mortal. These games were also called *Behourdis*, from the name of an armour, or breast-plate, with which their horses were co-

† Either party ran at each other full speed,

vered.

vered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Lorrain, though not in possession of a foot of either of these dominions, who was very fond of making verses and tournaments, made also several new rules and orders to be observed in those pastimes.

“Whosoever, says he, in his laws, will hold
“a tournament or joust (behourdi) must be a
“prince, or at least a high baron.” The person who held the tournament sent an herald with a sword to the prince whom he invited, desiring him to appoint judges of the field.

“Tournaments, says good king René, may
“be of abundant utility, inasmuch as it may hap-
“pen that some young knight or esquire, by
“his achievements therein, may acquire the
“good graces or greater affection of the lady
“whom he serveth.”

Then follow the several ceremonies to be observed in these exercises, such as the hanging the armorial ensigns or banners of the contending knights or esquires at the windows, or on the galleries round the list.

Every thing was done in honour of the ladies. According to the laws of good king René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the prizes to the victors, and if any knight or esquire, who was a candidate at these tournaments had spoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their swords till the ladies cried out *grace*, (or enough!) or else he was placed astride on the rails that went round the list, as a soldier is now set upon the wooden horse.

Besides these tournaments, there were likewise *pas d'armes*, and of these amusements king René was likewise the law-giver. The *pas d'armes*

of the dragon's throat held near Chinon in 1446 was very famous. Some time after that of the *chateau de la joyeuse garde*, or the castle of Merry Men, acquired still greater reputation. In these combats the trial of skill was to defend the entrance of a castle, or the passage of a high road. René had much better have tried his skill to enter into Sicily or Lorrain. The devise of this gallant prince was a chaffing-dish full of live coals, with these words, "full of ardent desire:" this ardent desire was not for the recovery of the dominions which he had lost, but for the charms of mademoiselle Gui de Laval, with whom he was in love, and whom he married after the death of his wife Isabella of Lorrain.

These antient tournaments first gave rise to armorial bearings, about the beginning of the 12th century: and whatever of that nature is supposed to have existed before that time is evidently fictitious, as are likewise the pretended laws of the knights of the round table so much talked of in romance. Every knight who presented himself at the list with his beaver or helmet closed for combat, had some arbitrary figures or symbols painted on his shield, or coat of arms. Hence came the knights of the eagle, of the lion, &c. names so famous in the writings of the old novelists. The terms of blazonry, which at present seem such an absurd and barbarous jargon, were then words in common use. Flame colour was called *gules*; blue, *sinople* or *azure*; a flake, was called a *pale*, and a band or belt, a *fess*, *fascia*.

If there was ever any reason for encouraging these warlike sports, it was in the times of the crusades, when the exercise of arms were consecrated

crated by necessity ; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themselves were perpetually stirring up real ones. Among others Nicholas III. that pontiff who had advised the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, excommunicated all those who had engaged in, or were even present at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of these combats; and king John of France entertained pope Urban V. with one of these shews, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the cross at Avignon on the mad project of fighting against the Turks, instead of setting himself to repair the disasters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the customs of the west in contempt ; they despised the badge of coat-armour, and treated the science of heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor Andronicus, having espoused a princess of the house of Savoy, some young gentlemen of that country gave the diversion of a tournament at Constantinople, and the Greeks from thence became accustomed to these military exercises. But the Turks were not to be resisted by tournaments ; it required well disciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks were scarcely now masters of.

The custom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the most solemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-sur-mer in the year 1309, on

the occasion of the marriage of Isabella of France with king Edward II. of England. Edward III. held two very fine ones afterwards in London. There was even one held at Paris in the year 1415, during the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After this came those of René of Anjou, of which we have already spoken. They continued to be very frequent till the death of Henry II. of France, who, as we all know, was killed at one of these diversions in the palace of the Tournelles in the year 1559. This accident one would imagine should have put a final stop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to habit and a natural inclination, revived these bloody amusements at Orleans in less than a year after the tragical end of Henry II. Here prince Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was the victim by a fall from his horse, which cost him his life. This put a total stop to tournaments. But there still remained a faint image of them in the *pas d'armes* held by Charles IX. and Henry III. a year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in those days festivals and proscriptions always went hand in hand. These *pas d'armes* were not attended with any danger, as the combatants fought only with blunt weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse in 1581; the word tournament is therefore improperly applied by L'Etoile in the account he gives us of these diversions in his journal. The *grandees* did not fight at all; and what he calls a tournament was only a kind of warlike ballet, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre by hired performers, and was a shew given to the court, and not given by the court itself.

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itself. The games which afterwards went by the name of tournaments were only carousals *.

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from the year 1560. With them expired the spirit of chivalry, which appeared no more afterwards but in romance. This spirit prevailed greatly in the reign of Francis I. and the emperor Charles V. Philip II. who seldom stirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind submission to his will. After the death of Henry II. France was plunged in fanaticism, and desolated by religious wars. Germany divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist factions, forgot the ancient customs of chivalry; and in Italy they were lost in the spirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes*, the combats of the lists, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, every where abolished, were succeeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and carousals in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be superfluous to give a description of these games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Lewis XIV. in the age of that monarch †. The last carousal which was held was that at Berlin in the year 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Prussia distinguished themselves greatly by their skill and address. All these military games begin now to be entirely out of use; and of the many exercises which formerly rendered the body so robust and agile, none now remain, but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crown-

* Vol. III. chap. C. pag. 296.

† Vol. VI.

ed heads of Europe. Pleasures have had their revolutions as well as every other thing.

OF D U E L S.

THE manner of educating our nobility greatly encouraged the practice of duelling, which has been of so long continuance, and had its beginning with our modern monarchies. The custom of deciding the merits of a cause by a legal combat was known only to the Christians of the West. We hear of no duels among those of the eastern church: and the ancients were utter strangers to this barbarous practice. Cæsar indeed tells us in his Commentaries, that two of his centurions, who had been always jealous of, and at enmity with each other, decided their quarrel by a challenge, but this challenge was to shew which of them should perform the most valiant feats in battle. One of them, after having slain a great number of the enemy with his own hand, being at length wounded and thrown to the ground himself, his competitor slept in and rescued him. Such were the duels of the Romans.

The most ancient example of duels commanded by the sovereign, is in the law of Gondebaut the Burgundian, a German by family, who had usurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This method of judgment was established throughout all the West. The old Catalan law quoted by the learned du Cange, and the German and Bavarian laws, mention several cases in which the parties were ordered to determine the dispute by single combat.

In

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In the assizes held by the crusards at Jerusalem, we find the law run thus, "Le garant que
" l'on lieve, si come es par pu doit répondre a
" qui li lieve, Tu ments et te rendrai mort o
" recréan et vessi mon gage *."

The ancient Normand customary says, "Plain-
" te de meurtre doit être faite; et si l'accusé nie,
" il en offre gage——et bataille li doit être ot-
" troyée par justice †."

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right; and differences between fellow citizens were decided like those between nations by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Lewis enacted that an esquire, if accused by a villain (i. e. a peasant) might fight on horseback, and that a villain accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of the champions who were to cut each other's throats in their name; and the success and honour of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened, that churchmen themselves offered

* The meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, thou liest, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand, and here is my gage (or token of defiance.)

† That is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the constitutions of William the Conqueror, it appears that no clerk or abbot could engage in single combat without permission first had of their bishops, "Si clericus duellum sine
" episcopi licentia susceperit, &c."

By the laws of St. Lewis, and other precedents quoted by du Cange, it seems that those who were defeated were sometimes hanged, and sometimes beheaded or dismembered. These were called laws of honour, and authorized under the seal of this kingly saint, who is said to have wanted to abolish this custom worthy only of savages.

Justice was so far improved in the reign of Lewis the Young, that he issued an order in 1168, that single combat should be ordered only in cases where the sum exceeded five crowns, "quinque
" solidos."

Philip the Fair published a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and name a champion to defend his cause, he was to say, "Our sovereign lord the king, by legal essoin of my body (i. e. through bodily
" weakness or disease) I claim and demand to
" have such a gentleman for my champion,
" who may in my presence, if so I can, or in
" my absence with the help of God, of our
" holy lady, and monseigneur St. George, do
" true and loyal service in my name, and at
" my hazard, &c."

The two adversaries, 'or their champions in their stead, appeared on a day appointed within a list eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the serjeants at arms. They were to come "mounted on horseback with their vizers
" down, their shields slung across their shoulders,
their

“ their faulcheons in their hands, and their swords
 “ and daggers girt to their sides.” They were
 enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the
 virgin Mary, or of some saint in their banners.
 The heralds at arms made the spectators range
 themselves on the outside of the lifts on foot. No
 one being permitted to be present on horseback,
 under pain of losing his horse if a nobleman, and
 if a commoner, of losing one ear.

The marshal of the field, assisted by a priest,
 swore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their
 right was good, and that they made use of no
 enchanted arms, taking monseigneur St. George
 to witness, and renouncing heaven, if they spoke
 false. These blasphemous ceremonies over, the
 marshal cried out with a loud voice, “ Let them
 “ go on ; ” and then, throwing down a glove,
 the combatants went to work, and the arms of
 the vanquished was the marshal’s fee.

Much the same kind of forms were observed
 in England. But in Germany they differed
 considerably. We read in the Theatre of Ho-
 nour, and in several other antient chronicles,
 that, in general the village of Hall in Suabia
 was the place for these combats. The two par-
 ties applied to the assembly of the Notables, who
 are the chief magistrates of Suabia, for per-
 mission to enter the lifts. On these occasions,
 they assigned to each combatant a godfather
 and a confessor; the people chanted a *libe-
 ra* *; a bier surrounded by torches, and designed
 to receive the lifeless corpse of the vanquished

* *Libera nos, Domine*, A kind of hymn in the Romish
 mass book.

person, was placed at one end of the lists. The same ceremonies were observed at Warbourg.

There were a great number of these close combats all over Europe till the 13th century. From the laws for these combats came the proverbial sayings, *Les morts ont tort; Les battus payent l'amende.*—i. e. The dead are always in the wrong; and he that is beaten must pay all costs.

The parliament of France sometimes ordered these combats; in the same manner as they now order proofs to be produced in writing, or by verbal evidence. In the year 1343, during the reign of Philip of Valois, the parliament came to a resolution that there was a lawful challenge, and a necessity of mortal combat, between the chevalier Dubois and the chevalier de Vervins, because the latter had endeavoured to persuade Philip, that “Dubois had bewitched his highness the king of France.”

The duel between Legris and Carrouge, ordered by parliament in the reign of Charles VI. is famous even to this day. The dispute was whether Legris had lain with Carrouge's wife against her consent, or not?

Long time afterwards, namely in 1442, in a solemn cause between the chevalier Patarin and the esquire Tachon, the parliament declared the affair in question did not require trial by combat; inasmuch as it required a peremptory accusation or charge, independent of all witnesses to warrant a legal order for a duel.

A charge of this kind happened in the year 1454, in the person of one John Picard, who was accused of having defiled his own daughter,
and

and was held by a decree to fight against his son-in-law, who was his accuser. The Theatre of Honour and Chivalry does not tell us the issue of this affair; but, be it as it might, the parliament ordered a charge of incest to be made good by parricide.

The bishops, and abbots likewise, in imitation of the parliaments and king's council, ordered close combats within their jurisdictions. Ives de Chartres reproaches the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Orleans, with having ordered too great a number of duels of this kind in civil matters. In the year 1100, Geofroi du Maine, bishop of Angers, obliged the monks of St. Serga to prove by combat their right to certain tithes, to which they laid claim; and the champion for the monks got the cause for them by soundly cudgelling his adversary.

Under the last race of the dukes of Burgundy, the burghers of the towns of Flanders enjoyed the privilege of proving their claims with a buckler, and club. They rubbed themselves all over with tallow or grease, because they had heard the *athletæ* of old anointed themselves with oil; they next dipped their hands into a tub or bucket of ashes, and then putting some sugar or honey in their mouths, they fought till one of them dropt, and he that was overcome was hanged.

The list of these single combats, ordered by sovereigns, would swell this work to too great a size. King Francis I. issued a solemn order for two; and his son Henry II. for other two. The first of those which Henry ordered was that between Jarnac and la Chataigneraye, in the
 I 6 year

year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accused Jarnac with laying with his mother-in-law ; but was this a reason for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his subjects to butcher one another in his presence ? but such were the manners of the times. The two champions swore each upon the holy gospels, that he fought in the cause of truth, and that " he cared about him neither charms, spells, nor incantations." La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels ; and the next year, he, in council, issued letters patent, injoining two young gentlemen to fight within the lists at Sedan, under the inspection of the marshal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broke his oath, because he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine opposed in form this honour conferred on the marshal de la Marck, and sent a protest to Sedan, alledging that all duels between the Rhine and the Maese were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the presence, of the sovereign of Lorraine. Notwithstanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of these gentlemen, named D'Ageures, had put his hand into the breeches of a young man, named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confessed the accusation to have been false ; upon which he was thrown out of the lists by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken : this was one of the punishments inflicted on the vanquished party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how so ridiculous an affair could

could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We must not confound these duels, which may be looked upon as judgments of the almighty, with the single combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverse parties. These latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have ever been in use among all nations.

It is hard to determine, whether we ought to rank several cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry : there have been instances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, and Peter of Arragon, defied each other to combat, after the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, they agreed to stake the justice of their cause upon a single combat, with the permission of pope Martin IV. as says John Baptist Caraffa, in his history of Naples. King Philip the Bald appointed Bourdeaux for the place of combat. Nothing could more resemble the old legal duels. Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day appointed, and took out an action of default against his adversary, who did not arrive till the same evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default against Charles, for not having waited for him. This singular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if these two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave, each other. The duel which Edward III. proposed to Philip of Valois comes within

within the rules of chivalry. Philip refused his challenge, alledging that a vassal could not challenge his lord-paramount; but afterwards, when the vassal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered him combat; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refused it, saying that he was too wise to put to the hazard of a single combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, sent mutual challenges, gave each other the *lie in the throat*, but never fought. There is not a single instance of one king fighting against another within lists; but incredible is the number of knights who lavished their blood in these exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himself from idleness, proposed a combat to extremity in honour of the ladies.

One of the most famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and seneschal (or grand bailiff) of Hainault, who caused to be fixed up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *à outrance*, to extremity, either single, or himself with other five persons, with sword, lance, and battle-axe, "with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, "and monseigneur St. George and his lady." The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy; but no person appearing to enter the lists, with this Flemish hero, he made a vow to go in search of adventures throughout France and Spain, constantly armed cap-a-pie; after which he went and made an offering of his
bourden,

bourdon, or staff, at the shrine of monseigneur St. James in Galicia. By this you may see that the original of Quixotism was in Flanders.

The most horrible duel that was ever proposed, and which nevertheless was the most excusable, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the last duke of Gueldres, whose territories fell to the Burgundy branch of the house of France, afterwards belonged to the Austro-Spanish branch, and one part of which is still free.

Adolphus, son to this duke Arnaud, took up arms against his father in the year 1470, in the time of Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy; and this Adolphus declared publicly, in the presence of Charles, that his father had been in possession of the dukedom long enough, and that he was determined to enjoy it in his turn, and that, if his father would accept of a small pension of 3000 florins, he would give it him willingly. Charles, who before his misfortunes was very powerful, cited both father and son to appear before him; the father, though old and infirm, threw down his pledge of combat, and demanded permission of the duke of Burgundy to fight his son in his court. The son accepted the challenge, but duke Charles would not permit the combat; and the father, having with great justice disinherited his unnatural and rebellious son, and given his dominions to Charles, that unfortunate prince lost them all, together with his own and his life, in a war still more unjust than any of the duels we have been relating.

The chief thing which contributed to the suppressing this custom, was the new method of fighting introduced into the armies. King
Henry

Henry IV. decried the use of lances at the battle of Ivry ; and, at present, where the superiority of fire determines the fate of the day, a knight would have but an indifferent chance to present himself, with his lance couched in the rest, before the front of a battalion. Military courage consisted formerly in keeping firm, and armed at all points, on an horse, who was also in a manner cased with steel. In our days, it consists in marching slowly up to the mouth of the cannon that sometimes sweep away whole ranks at a discharge.

When the legal duels became out of use, and the cartels of chivalry still more so, duels between private persons began to rage with great fury ; and every one took to himself, upon the most trivial occasions, that licence which was formerly wont to be demanded of parliaments, bishops, and kings.

Duels were much less frequent when courts of justice ordered them in a solemn manner ; but when they came to be forbidden, they encreased out of number. They soon came to have seconds in these combats, in like manner as in those in the times of chivalry.

One of the most famous we meet with in history, is that of Cailus, Maugiron, and Livarot, against Antragnet, Riberac, and Schomberg, in the reign of Henry III. at a place now called *Place Royale*, (or the king's square) and where formerly stood the palace of Tournelles. After that, hardly a day passed without some duel happening ; and this madness was carried so far, that there were companies of gendarmes, into which no person was admitted who had not fought at least one duel, or would not take

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an oath to fight one before the expiration of the year. This horrid custom continued till the reign of Lewis XIV.

Of EUROPE, in the Fifteenth Century.

SPAIN.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxv. **T**HE bastard Trafta-
page 159. mare, a rebel against

his lawful king, had been formerly acknowledged king himself, and now they dethrone their lawful sovereign, and decared his daughter * illegitimate, though publickly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her father as his own child.



Id. page 161.] Never was injustice better coloured, succeeded more fortunately, or was justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain, as had never been known since the restoration of the christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near to their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual discords and divisions ; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

* Joan, daughter to Henry IV. king of Castile.

Of the STATE of the JEWS in EUROPE.

Idem, page 164-166. **A**FTER having seen how the Jews were treated in Spain, let us now examine what was their situation in the other nations of Europe. You know, that they every where exercised the business of brokers, and itinerant traders; as they did in antient times at Babylon, Rome, and Alexandria. In France, their moveable possessions belonged to the baron or lord, in whose lands they dwelt. "The moveables of Jews" say the regulations of St. Lewis, "belong to the baron."

A Jew could no more be taken from a baron, than his horse or his mule. The same law prevailed in Germany. The Jews are declared serfs by a constitution of Frederick II. A Jew was at first part of the domains, or property of the emperor; afterwards every lord had his Jews.

Till the end of the 14th century, it was established by the feudal laws in most parts of Europe, that when a Jew embraced christianity his effects were confiscated for the use of his lord. This, you will say, was no efficacious method to promote their conversion; but, at all events, the baron was to be indemnified for the loss of his Jew.

In great towns, and especially in the imperial cities, they had their synagogues, and enjoyed some of the privilege of citizens: but then you may be sure they paid handsomely for them; and when they became very rich, especial care

was

was taken to accuse them of having crucified a young child on a Good-Friday. On this accusation, which never failed to please the populace, a law was made in several of the towns of Languedoc and Provence, permitting any one to beat or ill use a Jew, if he was found in the streets from Good-Friday to Easter Day.

Their chief avocation having been from time immemorial the lending of money on pledges, they were forbidden to lend upon any church ornaments, or on bloody or wet linen or cloaths. In the year 1215, the council of Lateran ordered that they should carry the figure of a small wheel on their breast, to distinguish them from Christians. These badges were changed at different times; but they were always obliged to wear some one, by which they might be known. They were expressly forbidden to take any maid servants or nurses, who were Christians, or even concubines of that religion, and there were some countries, in which they burnt those women, who had lain with a Jew man, or the man who had lain with a Jew woman, for this unanswerable reason, which we find given by the great civilian Gallus, "That it is the same thing to lie with a Jew, as with a dog."

Whenever they had any law-suit against a Christian, they were obliged to swear by Sabaoth, Eloï, and Adonai, and the ten names of God, and they were threatened with the *tertian*, *quartan*, and *quotidian* ague, if they did not speak the truth; and, if they were cast, they were sure to be hanged between two dogs.

In England they were permitted to take mortgages upon estates in the country, for monies lent thereon; and, in the *Monasticum Anglicanum*,

we

we find, that it cost six marks sterling to redeem any estate out of the hands of a Jewish mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almost all the towns in Christendom, and almost as continually recalled. Rome alone has constantly kept them within her bosom. They were totally driven out of France, in the year 1394, by Charles VI. and could never afterwards obtain permission to reside in Paris, where they had formerly occupied several whole streets. In Metz and Bourdeaux, they are permitted the use of synagogues, only because they were found in possession of that privilege at the time these towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have constantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon, which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were every where usurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and every where held in detestation on that very account.

Their famous rabbins, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the christians, in all their writings, We are your fathers, our scripture is yours, our books are read in your chuches, and our hymns are sung there; they were answered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal, it became a fashion to burn these unhappy people. Late times have been more favourable to them, especially in Holland and England; where they are suffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of society, of which no one is deprived in those countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England,

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land, in the year 1750, nay the act had actually passed for that purpose; but, at length, the universal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was cast upon the scheme, caused it to be repealed. Numberless were the burlesque prints and satirical writings, published on this occasion, in some of which my lord Aaron and viscount Judah were represented sitting in the house of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themselves with being rich and free.

It is no slight proof of the capriciousness of the human mind, to see the descendants of Jacob carried in procession to be burnt at Lisbon, and, at the same time, candidates for the most distinguished privileges of a British subject. In Turkey, they are neither burnt nor admitted to honours; but they have made themselves the sole master of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the English, nor the Dutch, can either buy or sell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable consequence of the legislation of this people, that they were to be conquerors or slaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themselves as defiled, if they only eat out of the same dish with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of *the Nations* to about twenty or thirty small villages round about them, whom they were determined to destroy, and with whom they thought it a crime to have any thing in common. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them to their cost, that the world was larger than they imagined; their very law made them enemies

mies to these nations, and, in short, to all mankind. They obstinately persevered in their absurd policy, when it was their interest to have changed it; their superstition encreased with their misfortunes; and their conquerors were an uncircumcised people. A Jew thought himself as much forbidden to eat out of the same dish with a Roman, as with an Amalekite. They retained all their customs, which were diametrically opposite to those of society in general; and accordingly they were deservedly treated as a people who set themselves up against all others.

Of the people called **BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS,**
or **GYPSIES.**

THERE was at this time another petty nation as unsettled, and as much dispersed, as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. These were a collection of strange people, known in France by the name of *Bohemians*, in other countries they were called *Egyptians*, *Gypsies*, or *Syrians*, and in Italy *Zingani*, or *Zingari*. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and castenets, dancing, singing, telling fortunes, shewing tricks of legerdemain, curing diseases with certain cant words, and stealing every thing that came in their way; they observed certain religious ceremonies amongst themselves, of which neither they nor any one else knew the meaning, or the origin. These people have dwindled away considerably of late years, since mankind have begun to throw

throw off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, talismans, predictions, and possessions by evil spirits. There are still some few of them to be met with, but they become very scarce. Nothing appears more probable, than that those wretches were a remnant of the antient priests and priestesses of Isis, intermixed with those of the goddesses of the Assyrians. These wandering tribes, as much despised by the Romans as their ancestors had formerly been revered, carried their ceremonies, and their mercenary superstitions with them all over the world. True missionaries-errant of the faith they professed, they ran from province to province to make converts of those, upon whom mere chance had confirmed their predictions, or who, having recovered by the course of nature from some slight disorders, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words and signs of these false prophets. The description which Apuleius gives us of these vagabond prophets and prophetesses, is the very picture of what those wandering tribes, called Bohemians or Gypsies, have for a long time been in every country in Europe. Their castenetts and tabor and pipe are the cymbels and crotals of the Isean and Syrian priests. Apuleius, who spent most his life in searching after religious and magic secrets, speaks of the predictions, talismans, ceremonies, dances, and songs of these pilgrim priests, and, in particular, remarks their great skill in stealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards, or houses, where they were admitted.

When christianity took place of the religion of Numa, and that Theodosius had destroyed the
the

the famous temple of Serapis in Egypt, some of the Egyptian priests joined themselves to those of the goddess Cybele, and the goddess of the Assyrians, and went about begging alms, in the same manner as hath been since practised by our mendicant friars ; but as they could not expect any assistance from the Christians, they found it necessary to add the trade of quack-doctors to that of pilgrim, and practiced chiromancy or palmistry, and formed several singular dances. Mankind love to be amused and deceived, and therefore these offsprings of the antient priests have continued even to the present time. Such has been the end of the antient religion of Isis and Osiris, whose very names still impress respect. This religion, altogether emblematical and highly venerable, in its origin as early as the days of Cyrus, degenerated into a medley of ridiculous and superstitious customs. It fell into still greater contempt under the Ptolemies, and, in the time of the Romans, was in a state of the utmost abjection ; and, at length, has been wholly left to a band of thieves and pickpockets. The same fate perhaps will attend the Jews, when civil society becomes more improved, and every nation carries on its own trade, without any longer sharing the fruits of their labour and industry with those wandering brokers ; then I say, the Jewish race must naturally diminish. The more wealthy amongst them begin already to despise the superstitions of their own sect, and, in a short time, they will be left wholly to themselves ; a people destitute of arts and laws, and when they are no longer permitted to fatten upon our indolence, they will be unable to keep up a separate society : for want of practice, they will

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will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley of Hebrew and Syriac; and, lost even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

Of ITALY in the fifteenth Century.

Idem, page 168--171. **F**ROM the affair of the assassination of the Medicis family, we may form a clear idea of the spirit and manner of these times; Sixtus IV. (La Roverre) was then sovereign pontiff. I shall not here enter into an enquiry, as Machiavel has done, whether the Riario, whom he caused to pass for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a cordelier friar? it is sufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts, that we are certain that he sacrificed one of these supposed nephews to the interests of Jerome Riario. We have elsewhere observed, that the jurisdiction of the Holy See was not by a great deal so extensive as it is at present. Sixtus IV. wanted to strip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their possessions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medicis supported these princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not secure his authority in Italy, but by the ruin of the Medicis family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzi, who had settled at Rome, and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his service to the pope to get them assassinated. Cardinal Raphael Riario, Jerome's brother, was sent to Florence to manage the plot, of which Sal-

K

viati

viati, archbishop of that city, had already formed the plan ; and Stephano, a dependant on the archbishop, took upon himself the executing of it. The conspirators pitched upon a day that a grand festival was to be held in the church of Santa Reparata, for the massacre of the Medicis and their friends, in the manner that the assassins of Galeas Sforza had made choice of the cathedral of Milan, and the festival of St. Stephen, to murder that prince at the foot of the altar. The instant of the elevation of the host was the time pitched upon to strike the blow, as then, the people being prostrate, and attentive to the appearance of their God, were not in a condition to obstruct the execution. Accordingly, at that very moment, Julian de Medicis was stabbed by a brother of Piazzzi, and other of the conspirators. Laurence de Medicis was wounded by Stephano, but not so mortally but that he had strength enough to take refuge in the sacristy or vestry.

When we see a pope, an archbishop, and a priest, meditating such a crime, and chusing for the perpetration of it the very instant when their God shews himself to them in his temple, we cannot doubt of the atheism of those times. Certainly, if they had thought that their Creator did really appear to them under the form of the consecrated bread, they would not have dared to offer such an insult to him : but history shews us, that though the common people adored this mystery, the grandes and statesmen laughed at it. They thought, like the ancient Romans in the time of Cæsar, and from the force of their own passions, concluded there was no religion. They all made use of this horrible argument.

argument. Men have taught us nothing but falsehoods, therefore there cannot be a God. Thus the religion of nature was stifled in the hearts of almost all those who governed in those days ; and no age ever produced so many murders, poisonings, treasons, and debauchery of all kind.

Id. page 172.] The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medicis, revenged their deaths, with interest, on the bloody perpetrators. The bishop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence had the generosity, or prudence, to save the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himself stained with blood, and whither he now fled for safety.

One extraordinary circumstance attending this conspiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the assassins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterwards delivered up to Laurence de Medicis, by order of the sultan Bajazet ; who thus became an instrument of punishing a crime of which pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was less extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines for having punished a bloody conspiracy, and even began war against them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medicis. You may see by this, what sort of purposes religion and the papal censure were made to serve in those days ; days that teemed with crimes whose heinousness exceeded the utmost stretch of imagination.

* * *

Ibid.] Laurence de Medicis equalled the great Cosmo in liberality, and surpassed him in

magnificence. Florence might then be said to resemble ancient Athens. There were, at one and the same time, the prince Pico of Mirandola, Politiano, Marcillo Ficino, Landino, Lascaris, Calcondillo, Marcillo, whom Laurence had gathered about him, and who were perhaps superior to the seven sages of Greece, so much boasted of in history.

His son Peter, like him, held the supreme authority in Florence, and was almost sovereign of Tuscany, at the time the French made their expedition to Naples; but he was in much less credit than either of his predecessors or descendants.

Conclusion of the ARTICLE SAVONE- ROLA.

Vol. III. **M**Ethinks I see you look
chap. lxxxvii. with an eye of commi-
page 188. seration on these scenes of ab-
surdity and wickedness. These
were the effects of the most infamous super-
stition which ever debased the soul of man,
and the worst of all possible governments. But,
consider, that it is not long since we have emer-
ged from this darkness, and that we are not as
yet altogether enlightened.

OF P I C O de la MIRANDOLA.

Vol. I. **T**HE history of this prince
chap. lxxxviii. is merely that of a scholar
of prodigious genius, who ran
through

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through a vast career of errors, and, being blind himself, followed the steps of others as blind as himself.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxix. & xc. **G**Uicciardino believes that the lord of Farneza, named Astor, a young man of remarkable beauty, being delivered up to the pope's bastard, was obliged to serve his beastly pleasures, and was afterwards sent, together with his natural brother, to the pope, who caused them both to be strangled.

LEAGUE of CAMBRAY, in 1508.

Vol. III. chap. xcii. page 212. **A**LMOST all the powers who were at enmity with each other suspended their disputes, to join in the general league, set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this resource she trusted, and to that dissension which she rightly judged would speedily happen among so many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league; but she disdained to make any concession, and boldly

waited the coming of the storm. This was perhaps the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. against LEWIS XIV.
in 1510.

Idem, page 217. **T**HE operations were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglio, and he wanted to make himself master of Ferrara. By these invasions, he destroyed the design he had formed of driving all strangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon seeing themselves attacked, naturally had recourse to the French for assistance against him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, was now become its oppressor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other considerations, plunged Italy into those calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and suffered his interest, so far to get the better of prudence and decency, as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither against the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboise. We are indebted for the knowledge of this singular fact to Paul Jove, bishop of Nocera, who was an eye-witness thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms against the Turks. Julius was the first who made use of their assistance.

CUSTOMS of the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. III. chap. c. **T**HE Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as

early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the former by cardinal Bibiena, and the latter by Trissino, archbishop of Beneventum. Rucelai soon followed the archbishop. Some of the best pieces of Plautus were translated at Venice, and into verse, which they ought to be, since it was in verse that Plautus wrote them. They were performed with success on the Venetian stage, and in those monasteries where polite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians, and Latin comedians; but could not equal them. However, they invented a new kind of pastoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been surpassed. The *Aminta* of Tasso, and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, still continue to be the delight of all who understand the Italian tongue.

Almost all the civilised nations of Europe began at that time to see the necessity of encouraging the theatrical art, which promotes society, softens the manners, and inculcates morality under the veil of pleasure. The Spaniards came somewhat near to the Italians, but they could not produce any thing regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was still more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shakespeare indeed brought it into some degree of credit towards the end of the sixteenth century. His genius pierced thro' the barbarous darkness of

the times, as that of Lopez de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented, that we find so much more barbarism than real genius in the works of Shakespeare: whence comes it, that almost every one in Stockholm and Petersburg know whole scenes of the *Pastor Fido* by heart? while those of Shakespeare have never passed the limits of their sea-girt island? The reason is obvious; real merit will be sought after by all nations: a people whose drama, music and painting, were adapted only to their own taste, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not justly flatter themselves with having the gift of good taste.

The Italians were particularly successful in those poetical productions which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the most difficult of all others, on account of the constant sameness of the verse, and stanzas, which seems to be a cramp to their genius.

POLITE ARTS in the Sixteenth Century. The Invention of PRINTING.

Idem, page 305. **T**HE parliament in 1474 ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be seized.

Certainly a step of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times; but such has always been the fate of public bodies, the most learned for their wisdom, who have acted upon no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs. Every thing that has the appearance of an innovation startles them. They stand

stand up in opposition to the rising arts, withstand every truth that seems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained up from their youth, and combat every thing that does not fall in with the taste and manners of old times. It was this very kind of spirit that influenced the same parliament so long, and so vehemently, to oppose the reformation of the calendar, to forbid the teaching any other tenets than those of Aristotle, to prohibit the administration of Venato, that obliged the court to issue several letters of Jussien, to make them register the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppose, for a considerable time, the establishment of the French academy. As no one single member of a public body is responsible for the proceedings of that body, the most irrational councils sometimes pass uncontradicted. This made the duke of Sully say, in his memoirs, "That if Wisdom was to descend upon earth, she would rather fix her residence in the head, than in those of a collective body."

Lewis XI. who never acted badly, where his interest was not concerned, and who was always governed by reason, when not blinded by his passions, took the cognizance of this affair from the parliament; he would not suffer the French nation to be for ever dishonoured by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artists of Mentz to be paid the full price of their books.

* * *

Ibid.] About an hundred artists of every kind formed that age, which the Italians distinguished by the name of the *Seicento*. Several of these great geniuses were unfortunate, and per-

secuted ; but posterity has revenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities, but had that advantage over other ages which superiority of genius always bestows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demosthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. These men who, in their respective spheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Augustus from signing prescriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Lewis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and disasters have been the produce of every age ; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. set at Liberty in 1526.

Vol. III. chap. ciii. page 22. **H**ENRY d'Albert, who was kept a prisoner in Pavia, found means to escape, and returned to France. Francis I. by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchase his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of the Franche Compté, all the places he laid claim to on the other side of the Alps, the lordships of Flanders and Ortois, the towns of Arras, Lisle, Tournay, Mortagne, Hedin, St. Arment, and Ochie ; and, to complete his humiliation, he marries, while in prison, the sister of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor's generals, who had taken him prisoner, enters his apartment, booted, to oblige him to sign this forced contract of marriage. The treaty

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treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bre-
tigni had been; but Francis I. when at liberty,
did not, like king John, fulfil his engagements.

* * *

Idem.] This unfortunate affair redounded
very little to the glory of Francis I. He had
given his promise to Charles V. to put him in
possession of Burgundy, a promise made with
weakness, and falsified with reason, though with
disgrace. He underwent a severe reproach from
the emperor for his breach of faith; and though
he replied, "You lie in your throat, and every
"time you say so, you lie," the law of policy
was for Francis; but the laws of chivalry was
against him.

Pope CLEMENT VII. Prisoner in 1527.

Id. page 23.] **T**HE German and French
troops lived at discretion
in Rome during nine months. The plunder of
that city is said to have amounted to 15 millions
of crowns.

This seemed the period to become really em-
peror of Rome, and to complete what had been
begun under the Charlemagne's and the Otho's;
but by a singular fatality which has always ari-
sen from the mutual jealousy between nations,
the new Roman empire has never been other
than a phantom.

Conduct of FRANCIS I.

Vol. 4. chap. civ. **I**N the year 1535 he caused a number of poor Lutherans to be burnt at Paris.

Father Daniel puts in the margin of his history, *An Example of Piety*. This example of piety consisted in suspending the poor victims on a high gallows, from whence they were lowered several times into the fire, till they were thus gradually consumed. This was an example indeed, but of the most refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror against the historians who praise it, as against the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover said, that Francis declared publicly that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics; and yet, in the height of these very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melancthon, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his professed enemies, so far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Christians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered, from their captivity in Tunis, 18,000 Christian slaves, Protestants as well as Catholics.

The

The GENEVANS.

Idem, page 31. **T**H E S E people maintain-
ed, that a bishop has no
right to sovereign authority ; that the apostles
were not princes ; and that if, during the times
of anarchy and barbarism, bishops had usurped
the dominion of provinces, the people in more
enlightened times had an undoubted right to take
them from them again.

Interview between CHARLES V. and
FRANCIS I. in 1536.

Idem, page 32. **T**H E R E were many hor-
rible transactions in these
days, and some that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, son to Francis I. died
of a pleurisy. One Montecuculli, an Italian,
his cup-bearer, is accused of having poisoned
him, and Charles V. is universally looked upon
as the author of this murder. But what advan-
tage could the emperor have reaped by procuring
the death of a prince of only 18 years of age,
who had never made any noise in the world, and
who moreover had a brother ? However, Mon-
tecuculli was drawn in pieces by horses. This
is the horrible part of the affair ; now for the
ridiculous :

Francis I. who, by the treaty of Madrid, was
no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who
was set at liberty only on condition of relin-
quishing that title, causes the emperor to be sum-

summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vassal. The attorney-general, Cappel, takes out a decree against Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declares him a rebel.

Of BARBAROSSA in 1543.

Id. page 36. **H**E exercised absolute authority in Toulon. He caused a great house to be converted into a Turkish mosque; thus the same king, who had suffered so many christians of the Lutheran faith to perish in his kingdom by the most cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exercise of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety so praised by father Daniel; and thus it is that historians disgrace their characters. An historian, who was at the same time a good member of society, would have acknowledged, that maxims of state had made it necessary to burn the Lutherans, and shew countenance to the Mahometans.

Death of FRANCIS I.

Idem, page 39. **U**NDER this prince France began to emerge from barbarism, and its language became more refined. There are still extant some of the productions of those times, which, if they have not all the regularity requisite, have at least the merit of a sprightly simplicity; such are the epigrams

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grams of the bishop St. Gelais, Clement Marrot, and Francis I. himself. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel :

Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrir
Close nonnain ou bien dèvoit hermite.

He likewise composed memoirs on military discipline, at the time he was endeavouring to establish in France the Roman legions ; but he was obliged to fetch painters, sculptors, and architects, from Italy.

He proposed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had scarce time to lay the first stone. His magnificent design of a royal college could not be executed, but however his bounty established schools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages, and geometry, which the universities were not able to teach. There was not a single person in France, before his time, who could so much as read the Greek character.

In the schools, in the courts of justice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made use of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombards, Germans, Goths and English, who neither knew how to form a regular language, nor to speak good Latin.

Rodolphus of Habsbourg had ordered, in Germany, that all pleadings and decrees should be in the language of the country. The same custom was established in Castille, by Alphonfus the Wise, and by Edward III. in England. At length,

length, Francis I. also ordered, that those who had the misfortune to be engaged in law-suits, should at least have the satisfaction of reading their ruin in their own mother-tongue. But the refinement of the French tongue was not owing to this order; it is to the spirit of the king and his court that we are indebted for this improvement.

Abdication of CHARLES V. in 1558.

Vol. IV. chap. cv. **I**T has been said that page 43. his brain was hurt by his retirement in the monastery of St. Justin; and indeed his passing his time in hanging and unhangings pendulums, and in teasing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himself up in a winding-sheet, and in chaunting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a sound mind. The man who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulsed the conqueror of Persia, died mad. His whole family were instances of the excess of human weakness.

His grand-father, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother Joan went mad, and was confined, and he shut himself up amongst a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget that pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge, as emperor, Ferdinand I. in whose favour his brother Charles had resigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended that Charles had no power to abdicate without his permission. The archbishop, elec-
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tor of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, issued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V. to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretensions which the popes had so long set up to the disposal of the empire. Had we not already seen so many examples of these pretensions, we should be apt to imagine that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V.

OF L E O X.

Vol. IV. chap cvi.
page 49.

IN the hundred articles of complaint sometime before exhibited by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I. against the abuses of the church, there is one that charges the bishops with selling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the right of keeping a mistress, which sum was to be paid whether they made use of this indulgence or not.



The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterwards in Paris, in consequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the ecclesiastical monarchy. Certain natives of Lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the first who accustomed the minds of people to diffuse what had once been the object of their veneration. Erasmus, notwithstanding he had himself been for a considerable time a monk, rather for that very reason, exposed these gentry in so ridiculous a light
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in most of his writings, that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of *Letters of obscure Men* diverted all Germany at the expence of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being even good jokers ; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleaster prepared the way for a revolution that proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

OF LUTHER, &c.

Vol. IV. chap. cvii. and cviii. page 54,---65.

YOU may have observed that all the disputes about religion came hitherto from the priest, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who passes for the author of the sect of the Vaudois, was not so, but only assembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to persist in what they had begun. He himself was the follower of the doctrine of Berenger, of Charles bishop of Turin, and of several others of the same opinion ; and it was not till after Luther's time that such crowds of laymen began to take up the business of teachers, in consequence of the various translations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations, gave rise to as many different opinions as there were different passages to explain.



The Lutherans were for having new versions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that these versions should be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate is

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is charged. In fact, when the council set about printing the common version, the six persons appointed to superintend the work, discovered no less than 8000 faults in the old version, and several learned men pretended there were many more; so that at length the council declared the Vulgate version to be authentic, without being at the pains of the proposed correction. The present German Bible was translated by Luther from the original Hebrew; but it is said he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his translation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.



Luther insisted that all monastic vows should be set aside, because not of primitive institution; that priests should be allowed to marry, because some of the apostles had wives married; that the laity should partake of the cup, because Jesus said, *Drink all of ye*; that no worship should be paid to images, because Christ worshipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the church of Rome in no one point but that of the trinity, baptism, the incarnation, and the resurrection; points which, nevertheless, had been formerly subjects of the sharpest disputes, and some of them had been actually controverted in late days, so that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.



Id. page 59.] Had both sides confined themselves to invectives and abuse, Luther would have done less hurt to the church of Rome than Erasmus; but some bold doctors having joined Luther, raised their voices, and began to exclaim not only against the dogma's of schools,
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but also against the right which the popes, ever since the time of Gregory VII. had assumed to themselves, of disposing of kingdoms. They likewise inveighed against the shameful traffick made of every thing belonging to religion, against publick and private oppression, and both in their writings, and from their pulpits, drew a moving picture of five hundred years of persecution. They represented Germany bathed in blood, through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beasts, and heaven opened or shut for money, by wretches guilty of incest, murder, and poisoning. With what face, said they, could Alexander VI. the horror and scandal of human kind, dare to call himself the vicar of God? or how could Leo X. sunk in the most shameful pleasure, presume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by these repeated cries, and the German doctors stirred up a greater hatred against new Rome than ever Varus had done against the old in the same country.

OF ZUINGLIUS.

Idem, page lxv. **W**HEN we see a people, of all others in Europe the least restless and changeable, quit on a sudden one religion to embrace another, there must infallibly have been some particular cause to make so violent an impression on all minds. That which brought about so sudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Swisserland, was as follows.

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The two orders of Franciscans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever since the thirteenth century. The latter had lost a great part of their credit with the people, on account of their not paying so much honour to the Virgin Mary, as their antagonists the Cordeliers or Franciscans, and that they denied her, with St. Thomas † the monk, of having been borne without sin. The Franciscans, on the other hand, gained ground daily, by preaching up on all occasions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventure. The mutual hatred and animosity between these two orders was so great, that, in the year 1503, a Franciscan being one day preaching at Frankfort, on the subject of the blessed Virgin, and seeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midst of his sermon, that he blessed God he was not of that order, which depreciated the mother of God herself, and who poisoned kings and emperors with the consecrated elements. The Dominican, whose name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice, that he was a liar and an heretic. Upon this the Franciscan quits his pulpit, gathers the people together, and drives his enemy out of the church, after beating him in such a manner with a crucifix, that he is left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpfen, in which it is resolved to take vengeance of the Franciscans, and to destroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herself into

† St. Thomas d'Aquines. See note to chap. cxviii, page 231. Vol. IV.

the field against them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this scene. They began by spreading reports for three years together, of the mother of God having appeared several times to different persons, reproaching the Franciscans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which she said was horrible blasphemy, and tended to rob her son of the glory of having cleansed her from original sin, and the power of hell. The Franciscans, on their parts, were not behind hand in opposing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay-brother, called Yetser, made him their instrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an established opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profession, his soul remained in purgatory till the last judgment, unless it was released by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Yetser's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and casting flames out of his mouth, by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and set on fire. This horrible figure told the half-scared Yetser, that he was a monk, who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his soul was thrown into purgatory, but that it might be delivered from thence, if Yetser would consent to suffer himself to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Yetser complied without hesitating, and delivered the monk's soul from purgatory, who appeared to him a second time, clad in a white robe, and surrounded

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ed with glory, to shew him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cause of the blessed virgin, whom the Franciscans reviled.

Some few nights after, St. Barba, for whom brother Yetser had a great veneration (that is, another monk dressed up for the purpose) and told him that he was a saint, and that the holy virgin had chosen him to avenge her cause against the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the virgin herself descended into his cell through the ceiling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that she was born in original sin, and that the Cordeliers were the greatest enemies of her son; and then she concluded with telling him, that she would honour him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catherine had been honoured.

The next night, the monk having made the lay-brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infused a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his side, while he was asleep. When he awoke, he found himself all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy virgin had imprinted the stigma on him, and in this condition they exposed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Yetser was, he imagined he had distinguished the voice of the sub-prior in that of the blessed virgin, and began to think the whole an imposture; upon which, the monks, without further ceremony, resolved to poison him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the sacrament, they gave him a consecrated wafer, which they had previously sprinkled thick with the powder of corrosive sublimate.

sublimate; the sharpness of which upon his tongue obliged him to spit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks instantly cried out sacrilege, and loaded him with chains. To save his life, he promised upon another host, that he would never reveal the secret: however, having found means, sometime afterwards, to make his escape out of the convent, he went and made a discovery of the whole affair to a magistrate. The cause was two years depending; at the end of which time, four Dominicans were burnt before the gate of Rome, the last day of May 1509, O. S. in consequence of the sentence pronounced upon him by a bishop sent from Rome for that purpose.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhorrence which they justly deserved; and those who began the reformation, did not fail to revive the story with all the aggravations they could devise, never once reflecting, that the author of this sacrilegious act had been punished by the see of Rome itself, in the most exemplary manner. In short, every thing was forgot but the action: the people who had been witnesses to this shocking affair were ready to believe every title of the charge of profanation and sacrilege brought against the monks, especially those of the mendicant order, and in which the whole church was included. If those who still adhered to the worship of the church of Rome objected, that the holy see was not answerable for the crimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions of several popes, who had been a disgrace to their sacred character and function. Nothing is more easy than to
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render a whole body odious by a detail of the crimes of some of its members.



Id. page 67.] The opinion that it is sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness has been adopted by a great number of the learned men of our modern times; they have thought it abominable to look upon the father of all nature as a merciless tyrant to the greatest part of human kind, and a loving father only to a particular set of men in a few small countries. These learned men have doubtless been mistaken; but how humane is their error!

The Progress of LUTHERANISM.

Vol. IV. chap. A Power that had the right of
cix. page 67-69. always governing men in the
name of God, would soon make an ill use of
that power. Mankind have often found themselves
in religion as well as in government between a
state of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into
one or other of the gulphs.



Id. page 70.] The law by which a man is allowed only one wife, is sometimes attended with fatal consequences, and may require certain exceptions as well as many other laws. There are some cases in which the interest of families and even of the state seems to require a person to take a second wife during the life-time of the first, where an heir is absolutely necessary and cannot be had by the first. The law of nature then acts in concert with the public good; and as

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the end of marriage is to have children, it seems a contradiction to prohibit the only means for attaining that end.

There was but one of all the popes who properly attended to this law of nature, viz. Gregory II. who in his famous Decretal, published in the year 726, declared, that "when a man had
" an infirm wife, who was incapable of performing
" the conjugal functions, he might marry a second, provided he took proper care of the first." Luther went many steps beyond pope Gregory II.

* * *

Ibid.] Trevor, lord-chancellor of England in the reign of Chharies II. was privately married to a second wife, with the consent of the first. He wrote a small treatise in favour of polygamy, and lived perfectly happy with his two wives. But cases of this kind are extremely rare.

Of the ANABAPTISTS.

Vol. IV. chap. cx. **L**UTHER had been successful in stirring up the princes, nobles, and magistrates of Germany against the pope and the bishops. Muncer stirred up the peasants against them. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country-villages in Suabia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that all men are born equal; saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It

It must be acknowledged, that the manifesto published by these savages in the name of *the men who till the earth*, might have been signed by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tythes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the support of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fish for their necessary subsistence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labour * might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themselves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they supported their claim like savage beasts.

The cruelties which had been exercised by the common people in France and England in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V. were now renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame, by the breath of fanaticism. Muncer makes himself master of the town of Mulhausen in Thuringia, and while he every where preaches up a general equality of rank and possessions, obliges the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peasants all take up arms from Saxony to Alsace. They murder all the gentlemen that come in their way, and put to death a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One very remarkable circumstance is, that like the slaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king one of their masters, who had escaped the general

* The French word is *corvée*, which signifies a day's work due from a vassal or tenant, to his landlord.

slaughter, so these peasants put a gentleman at their head.

OF ANABAPTISM.

Vol. IV. chap. cxi. **S**UCH of the conspirators page 769.

who could be found were put to death, without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptists throughout the United Provinces were treated as the Dutch had been by the Spaniards; they were drowned, strangled, or burnt; and, whether concerned in the conspiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries, as monsters, of whom it was necessary to rid the earth.

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Id. p. 77.] The change in the manners of the Anabaptists is owing to their having joined the party of the Unitarians, a sect that hold only one God; but profess great reverence for Jesus Christ. They have neither dogmas nor controversies, and though held as reprobate by other communions, live in peace with them all.

Of the religion in France during the reign of FRANCIS I.

Vol. IV. chap. cxvii. page III. **T**HEIR chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had stipulated with pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy should remain in full force through the whole German empire;

pire; that they should pay no annates to Rome; that the pope should have only the right of nominating to certain canonships during six months in the year; and that those who were in possession should pay to the pope a certain sum then agreed upon. The rich German canonships were still looked upon as a great abuse by the civilians, and this fee paid to the see of Rome as no better than simony. It was according to them a burthenfome and scandalous bargain to pay a sum to an Italian prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic seemed to stamp an infamy upon religion; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the most capital kind for the subjects of France to send to Rome a yearly sum of 400,000 livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in so much as they lost by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute, it was not to be suffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much: but, in short, every thing was done for money. Relics, indulgencies, dispensations, benefices, all were sold to the best bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction it was better, no doubt, to turn this simony to the benefit of the state, than to the profit of a bishop, who was a stranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the first year's profit of a benefice in France than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occasioned so many heart-burnings, was made just before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the see of Rome, which latter, in a short

time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itself was in danger of suffering from the dislike which the church of Rome had brought upon herself.

This was for a long time the cry of all the magistrates, colleges, and universities; and these complaints were still further aggravated by the appearance of a bull issued by the voluptuous Leo X. in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called, *the depravity of the kingdom of France.*

An insult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the same time that money is demanded, still excites the indignation of the public.

OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Vol. IV. chap. cxviii. page 129. **T**HERE reigned a most scandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars, and the new one of the White*. This jealousy resembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman empire; but it did not cause the same seditions.

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Id. page 130.] The Franciscans or Cordeliers were the most numerous and the most busy of any of the other orders. Francis d'Assisi, who first founded this order in the year 1210, was at the same time the most simple and the most enthusiastic man in the world; fanaticism was the spirit of the times, and in some measure that of the lower class of the crusaders of the Vaudois and

* The Franciscans and Dominicans,

of the Albigenſes. Francis therefore found a number of people of the ſame diſpoſition as himſelf; and of theſe he formed a ſect. We have already ſeen examples of his great zeal, and that of his companions in the holy wars, where he propoſed to the ſultan of Egypt to turn Chriſtian, and friar Giles perſiſted ſo obſtinately in preaching his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human mind carried to ſo great a length as in the book of *the Conformity of St. Francis with Chriſt*, which was written during his life-time, and which was afterwards reprinted with conſiderable additions in the beginning by a Franciſcan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Chriſt is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book likewiſe we find the ſtory of the woman of ſnow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf, whom he made to promiſe that he would never devour any more ſheep; and that of a friar of their order, who being made a biſhop, was afterwards depoſed by the pope, and who having died during his depoſition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the ſame pope.

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The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of a weak judgment; one Francisco Martorillo, the ſame whom Lewis XI deſired to prolong his life. This Martorillo having made a rule in Calabria, that his monks ſhould eat every thing with oil, becauſe oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the ſame rule for the monks, whom he eſta-bliſhed in the northern countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of conſequence oil is

sometimes so dear, that the eating it is a luxury rather than a mortification or savingness.

Of the JESUITS.

Idem, page **P** OPE Paul III. in the year 1540,
 133. published their bull of institution, with an express clause that their number should never exceed sixty, notwithstanding which Ignatius before his death saw above a thousand in his order. At length he suffered his enthusiastic zeal to be a little governed by discretion. His book of spiritual exercises, which was to serve as a directory to his disciples, was indeed altogether romantic. He there represents God as the general of an army, and the Jesuits as his captains. But a person may write very badly and yet govern well. He was assisted by one Laines and Salmeron, who having acquired some skill in these matters, assisted him in composing the rules of his order. Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, grandson to pope Alexander VI. and nephew of Cæsar Borgia, one as weak and fanatic as his grandfather and uncle were wicked and deceitful, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and was the first who procured it its riches and credit. Francis Xavier by his mission to the Indies and Japan rendered it famous. The ardour, obstinacy, and mixture of enthusiasm and insinuation, which is the character of every new institution gained the Jesuits a reception in almost all states, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions they had to encounter. They could not, however, establish themselves in France till the year 1561, and then only on condition that they should never take the name of Jesuits, and should
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be subject to the authority of the bishops. The name of Jesuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavouring to arrogate to themselves alone, a title common to all Christians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cause of jealousy.



We ought not certainly to attribute to their institution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, some of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius, that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and several other of the Jesuits, both wrote and caballed against Henry IV. with so much fury, or that those of their order have since been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order, that one of that body poisoned the emperor Henry VII. in giving him the sacrament, and that another assassinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother to Lewis XI. who was poisoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious order whatever was originally founded with criminal nor even political views.

Of NUNS.

Idem, page 139. **P**OPE St. Leo, whose memory is still held in the greatest esteem, ordered in the year 458, conjunctly with other bishops, that no single woman should be permitted to take the veil before she was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this

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wife law of the church, a law of state. An imprudent zeal, however, destroyed in time what wisdom and prudence had established.

Of the INQUISITION.

Vol. IV. chap. cxix. **T**HE inquisition is milder in Rome and Italy, where the Jews enjoy great privileges, and where the inhabitants are more solicitous to make their own fortunes, and those of their relations, than to dispute about mysteries. Pope Paul IV. who granted too extensive a power to the tribunal of the inquisition at Rome, was detested for it by the people. They disturbed his funeral obsequies; threw his statue into the Tyber; demolished the prisons of the inquisition; and stoned the officers of that tribunal. Nevertheless, the Romish inquisition had not put any one to death, during the pontificate of Paul IV. His successor Pius IV. was more cruel; he caused three unhappy scholars to be burnt for not thinking like other people; but the Italian inquisition, in the utmost stretch of its power, never equalled the cruelties of that in Spain. The greatest injury it ever did to Italy was the keeping as much as possible an inquisitive and spirited people in ignorance. Those who will write are obliged to ask permission of a Jacobine to think, and of others to read. Men of learning, of which there are a great number in Italy, complain in secret; the rest live in a round of pleasure and ignorance; and the lower people are sunk in superstition. The greater spirit the Italians have shewn, the greater efforts have been made

made to curb it; and this spirit has only served to bring them under the lash of the monks, whose hands they are obliged to kiss in several provinces, as in former times, it served only to subject them more to the Goths, the Lombards, the Franks, and the Teutonians.

Of the Discoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

Vol. IV. **P** R I N C E Henry of Portugal
chap. cxx. took for his device, *Talent de
bien faire.*

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Id. page 158.] The Negro race is a species of men as different from ours, as the breed of spaniels is from that of greyhounds. The mucous membrane, or net-work, which nature has spread between the muscles and the skin, is white in us, and black or copper-coloured in them. The famous Ruisch was the first in our time, who, in dissecting a Negro at Amsterdam, was so happily skilful as to raise the whole of this mucoreticular membrane. Czar Peter purchased it of him; but Ruisch kept a small piece for himself, which I have seen, and is like a piece of black gauze. If a Negro by accident burns himself, so that this membrane is hurt, his skin turns brown in the place, otherwise it comes black again as before. Their eyes are not formed like ours. The black wool on their heads and other parts, has no resemblance to our hair; and it may be said, that if their understanding is not of a different nature from ours, it is at least greatly inferior. They are not capable of any great appli-

cation or association of ideas, and seem formed neither for the advantages nor abuses of our philosophy. They are a race peculiar to that part of Africa, the same as elephants and monkeys. The Negroes of the empire of Morocco are a warlike, hardy, and cruel people, and often superior in the field to the sun-burnt tawny troops, whom they call white. They think themselves born in Guinea, to be sold to the whites, and to serve them.

There are several kinds of Negroes. Those of Guinea, Ethiopia, Madagascar, and the Indies, are all different. The blacks of Guinea and Congo have wool; the others long, shaggy hair. The petty nations of blacks, who have but little commerce with other nations, are strangers to all kind of religious worship. The first degree of stupidity is to think only of the present, and of bodily wants. This was the state of several nations, and especially those which inhabited islands. The second degree is to foresee by halves, without being able to form any fixed society; to behold the stars with wonder and amazement; to celebrate certain feasts; to make a general rejoicing on the return of certain seasons, or the appearance of a particular star, without going further, or having any distinct positive idea. In this middle state between imbecility and infant reason, nations many have continued for several ages.

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Id. page 158.] By an odd chance we find the southern pole, and the four stars, which are nearest to it, spoken of by the famous Dante †. Had there been a necessity for a prediction to establish

† Above one hundred years before this discovery, in the first canto of his Purgatory.

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some right or opinion, what advantages would not have been made of this prophesy? how clear it would have appeared! and with how much zeal would those have been persecuted who had presumed to explain it rationally!



Id. p. 160.] The Portuguese did not at this time form any settlements on the Cape of Good-Hope, which the Dutch have since made one of the most delicious habitations on the earth, and where they cultivate, with success, the productions of the four quarters of the world. The natives of this country resemble neither the Whites nor the Negroes; they are all of a deep olive-colour, having long shaggy hair, and are born, both men and women, with a piece of skin, which hangs down from their navels, and covers the private parts in the form of an apron, which they can take up or let down at pleasure. Their organs of speech are different from ours; for they utter a kind of rattling or stuttering sound, which it is impossible for any but themselves to understand or imitate. These people were not cannibals; on the contrary, their manners were mild and innocent. It is certain they did not carry their portion of reason so far as to have knowledge of a Supreme Being; but were in that degree of stupidity which admits of imperfect society, founded on their common wants. Peter Kolb, the master of arts, who lived so long among them, is certain that those people are descendants from Keturah, one of Abraham's wives, and that they worship a little black beetle. We know very little about their religion, and as to their pedigree I question much whether Peter Kolb's informations were very authentic.

The

The first philosophers who travelled into Egypt and Colchos were struck with surprise at the ceremony of circumcision; but the Hottentots have an operation which is much more surprising. It has always been a custom with them to deprive all their males of one testicle, without knowing how, or on what account this custom was first introduced amongst them. Some of them have told the Dutch that this operation made them more light and active for the chase, and others that the aromatic herbs with which they fill the cavity in the scrotum, from whence the testicle is taken, makes them more vigorous and robust. It is certain they can have no other than a bad reason to give for such a practice, and the same may be said of many customs in other parts of the world.

Of J A P A N.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxi. **T**HE famous Francis Xavier, a Portuguese Jesuit, a man of a bold and indefatigable zeal, was the first who sowed the seeds of the gospel in these parts. He accompanied the merchants, who traded to several of the Japan islands, sometimes in the character of a pilgrim, and sometimes with all the pomp and apparatus of an apostolic vicar, and deputy of the pope. It is certain, that being obliged to make use of an interpreter, he made but an inconsiderable progress in the beginning of his mission; he himself says in his letters, "I do not understand these people nor they me; we spell like children learning to read." After such a confession, the writers of his life had, one would

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would imagine, no great reason to attribute to him the gift of tongues ; nor should they have held the understandings of their readers in so contemptible a light as to assert that, having lost his crucifix, it was brought him again by a crab ; that he was present in two places at one and the same time ; and that he raised nine dead persons to life. They might have contented themselves with praising his zeal and power of resisting temptations. After some time Xavier, learnt enough of the Japanese language to make himself tolerably well understood. The princes of several of the islands of that empire, who were most of them dissatisfied with their bonzes, were not sorry to see foreign preachers come amongst them to oppose those who had abused their functions ; and the Christian religion was by degrees established.

OF INDIA.

Idem, page 175. **I**N the middlemost parts of Africa, there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the negroes, and round eyes exactly resembling those of partridges. The Portuguese call them *Albinos* ; they are small, weak, and look askew. The wool that covers their heads, and of which their eye-brows are formed, is like very fine white cotton. They are inferior to the negroes or blacks in bodily strength and understanding ; and are perhaps intended by nature as the next species after the Negroes and the Hottentots, somewhat above monkeys, and as one of the degrees descending from human kind to the brute creation. Perhaps

haps also there may have been a middle species, inferior to these, who have been destroyed by time, and their own weakness. Two of these creatures have been seen in France; and I myself have seen one in the hotel de Bretagne at Paris, which a negro merchant had brought over with him. There are some of these animals in the eastern parts of Asia, which greatly resemble the human species, but they are very rare, and require that tenderness and care from the rest of the human race in order to their preservation, which we seldom shew to things that are not of some use to us.

* * *

The first thing which Pelsart saw in 1630, in those parts of the Terra Australis, which are divided from our hemisphere, and which is now called New Holland, was a troop of negroes, who came walking towards him on their hands, in the same manner as upon feet. It is probable that when we shall have penetrated farther into this new southern world, we shall become better acquainted with the infinite variety in nature; and that every thing will conduce to enlarge our ideas, and diminish our prejudices.

* * *

[Idem, page 178, 179.] We must be as ignorant and as inconsiderate as the monks of the middle age to indulge ourselves in the vain notion, that all beyond our little spot Europe, that our ancient masters and legislators the Romans, that the Greeks their masters, and the ancient Egyptian priests the master of the Greeks, in a word, that all nations but ourselves have been always a set of detestable and absurd idolaters.

OF ETHIOPIA OR ABYSSINIA.

THE Abyssinians, who are a mixture of half Jews, half Christians, acknowledge for their patriarch an archbishop, who resides in the ruins of Alexandria, or Gran Cairo in Egypt. This patriarch is not of their religion, but of the ancient Greek communion, which communion differs again from the Greek religion. The Turkish government, however, suffer this little flock to remain unmolested, and do not concern themselves whether these Christians plunge their newborn infants into a great tub of water, or carry their god to the houses of their lying-in-women, under the form of a piece of bread steeped in wine. These people would not be suffered in Rome, and yet we find them tolerated by Mahometans.

IDLE DISPUTES.

How AMERICA came to be peopled. Specific differences between AMERICA and the NEW WORLD. Men-eaters. Religions. Reasons why the NEW WORLD is less populous than the OLD.

IF it was an effect of philosophy that discovered America, it certainly is not one to be every day asking how it happened that men were found upon this continent, and how they had been transported thither? If we are not surprised to find that there are flies in America, it is very stupid to express our wonder that there should be men there also.

The

The savage who thinks himself a production of the climate in which he lives, the same as his *Original* and *Maniac* root, is not more ignorant than ourselves in this point, and reasons better. In fact, as the negro of Africa has not his original from us whites, why should the red, olive, or ash-coloured people of America, come from our countries? and besides, which was the primitive or mother-country of all the others?

Were the flowers, fruits, trees, and animals, with which Nature covers the face of the earth, planted by her at first only in one spot, in order that they might from thence be spread over the rest of the world? Where must that spot have been which first produced all the grass, and all the oats, and dispersed them afterwards thro' all other parts of the globe? How were the moss and the firs of Norway conveyed to the countries of the southern pole? You cannot suppose any one country which is not almost wholly destitute of some of the productions of another. We must suppose then, that originally it had every thing, and that now it has nothing. Every climate has its different productions, and the most fruitful is extremely poor, in comparison with all the others put together. The great master of nature has peopled with variety the whole globe. The firs of Norway certainly are not the parents of the clove trees of the Molucca Islands; as little are they indebted for their origin to the firs of any other country. We may as well suppose the grass growing in Archangel to be produced by that on the banks of the Ganges. It would never come into our heads to suppose that the caterpillers and snails of one
part

part of the world were produced in another part; why then should we be surprised that America produces some species of animals, and some race of men resembling ours?

Not only America, but Africa and Asia also, produce and contain vegetables and animals resembling those in Europe; and each of those continents do likewise produce many kinds that have not the least resemblance with those of the old world.

The lands in Mexico, Peru, and Canada, never bear wheat, which is a part of our food; nor grapes, which make our common drink; nor olives, which is so useful a fruit to us; nor indeed the greatest part of our other fruits. All our beasts of burthen, such as horses, camels, asses, oxen, were creatures wholly unknown in that part of the world; they had indeed a kind of oxen and sheep, but altogether different from ours. The sheep of Peru were larger and stronger than those of Europe, and were made use of to carry loads: their oxen were a breed somewhat between our camel and buffalo. There is a species of hogs, in Mexico, which have their navels at their backs, instead of their bellies, as in all other quadrupeds. There are neither dogs nor cats in this country; there are lions here, indeed, and in Peru, but very small, and almost without hair, and what is most extraordinary, the lion of these climates is a cowardly creature.

You may, if you please, reduce all mankind to one single species, because they have the same organs of life, sense, and motion; but this species is evidently divided into several others, whether we consider it in a physical or moral light.

As to the first of these, the Esquimaux, a race of people inhabiting the 60th degree of North latitude, are said to resemble the Laplanders in figure and stature. The neighbouring people have faces covered with hair. The Iroquois, the Hurons, and all the people of that tract, as far as Florida, are olive-coloured, and without the least appearance of hair on any part of the body, except their heads. Captain Rogers, who sailed along the coast of California, discovered a species of negroes, unknown in America. On the Isthmus of Panama there is a race of people called Dariens, who greatly resemble the Albinos of Africa. They are at most four feet high; they are white, and are the only native people of all America, who are of a white colour: they have red eyes bordered with eye-lashes in the form of a semi-circle. They never stir out of their holes but in the night-time, not being able to see in day-light, and are to the rest of mankind what owls are to the feathered race. The natives of Mexico and Peru are of a copper-colour, those of Brasil of a deeper red, and the people of Chili are more ash-coloured; the size of the Patagonians, or inhabitants of the Streights of Magellan, has been greatly exaggerated; the truth seems to be that they are by far the tallest people of any in the known world.

Amongst all these nations, so greatly differing from us, and from each other, there has never yet been found a race of men living without society, wandering as chance might direct, like the brutes, or like them coupling promiscuously, or quitting their females to go in quest of food by themselves: such a state seems not compatible with
human.

human nature, which, by the instinct of species, affects society as it does liberty. Hence we find, that the shutting up of a prisoner in a prison, where he is debarred any commerce with the rest of mankind, is one of the many punishments invented by tyrants, for the torture of their follow-creatures; and is a punishment which would appear less supportable to a savage than to a civilized man.

From the Straights of Magellan to Hudson's-Bay, there are a number of families gathered under one chief, and living in huts which compose villages; but we have no instance in those parts of any wandering people abandoning their habitations, according to the seasons, like the Arabians, Badouins, and Tartars. The reason seems to be, that these people, not having any beasts of burthen, could not so easily transport their cabins. We every where meet with certain fixed idioms, by which the most savage nations are enabled to express the few ideas they are masters of; this is another instinct peculiar to mankind, to denote their wants by certain articulate sounds. Names must necessarily have arisen from the number of different languages, more or less copious, according to the greater or lesser degree of understanding in those who made use of them. Nay, the language of the Mexicans was more regular than that of the Iroquois, as ours is more copious and absolute than that of the Samoidians.

Of all the people of America, one nation only had a religion, which seems, at first sight, not to be repugnant to reason; these are the Peruvians, who, like the ancient Persians and Sabeans adored the sun as a planet that dis-

persed

pened its benefits to all the creation: but, excepting the large and well peopled nations in America, all the others were plunged in a state of the most barbarous stupidity. Their religious assemblies had no mark of a regular worship, and their belief was without form. It is certain, that the Brasilians, the inhabitants of the Caribbee and Molucca Islands; and the people of Guiana, and the northern countries, had no clearer notion of a Supreme Being than the Cafres of Africa. A knowledge of this kind requires a reason that has been cultivated, which their reasons were not. Nature alone may inspire with a confused idea of something supremely powerful and terrible, the savage, who sees a thunderbolt fall, or beholds a mighty river break its bounds: but this is only a faint beginning of the knowledge of a God, creator of the universe; a knowledge which was absolutely wanting to all the inhabitants of the vast continent of America.

The other Americans, who had formed to themselves a religion, had made an abominable one. The Mexicans were not the only people who sacrificed human victims to a certain evil deity of their own invention. It has been said, that the Peruvians were wont to disgrace their worship of the sun by the like bloody offerings. And there seems to be some kind of conformity between the ancient people of our hemisphere, and the more civilized of the other, in regard to this barbarous religion.

We are assured by Herrera, that the Mexicans feasted on the flesh of the human victims that they offered in sacrifice. The greatest part of the first travellers and missionaries, all agree, that

that the people of the Brasils and the Caribbee Islands, as also the Iroquois and Huron's, and some other of those nations, eat the prisoners whom they took in their wars; and that they did not look upon this as a custom peculiar to themselves, but as the general practice of all nations. So many authors, both ancient and modern, have made mention of cannibals, or Man-Eaters, that it is difficult to deny that there are such. In the year 1725, I myself saw four savages at Fontainbleau, who had been brought from the Mississippi; among them was a woman of an ash-coloured complexion, like that of her companions. I asked her by the interpreter, who was with them, whether she had at any time eaten human flesh; to which she answered, yes, in the same indifferent manner as if it had been a common question. This barbarity, which so much shocks our nature, is, however, far less cruel than murder; real barbarity consists in taking away the life of any one, and not in disputing the dead carcase with the crows or the worms. A people who lived altogether by hunting, as did the Brasilians and Canadians, and the inhabitants of the Caribbee islands, might sometimes, on failure of their usual food, be driven to this shocking recourse to supply the calls of nature. Hunger and vengeance might have accustomed them to this food; and when we see in the most civilized ages the people of Paris devouring the mangled remains of the marechal d'Ancre, and those of the Hague eating the heart of the grand pensionary de Witt, we need not wonder that a deed of horror that was only temporary with us, has become a lasting custom among savages.

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The most ancient writings extant confirm to us, that men may have been driven to this excess by hunger. Moses himself threatens the Hebrews in five verses of Deuteronomy, that they should eat their own children, if they transgressed the law; and the prophet Ezekiel promises the same people, in the name of God, that if they fight valiantly against the king of Persia, the Lord will give them to eat of the flesh of the horse and of the horseman. Marco Paolo, or Mark Paul, says, that in his time, in one part of Tartary, the magicians or priests (which were the same) had the privilege of eating the flesh of criminals condemned to death. This strikes one with horror; but the picture of human kind will be found too frequently to produce this effect.

How has it happened that people, who were always separated from each other by their countries, have yet been united in this horrible custom? Can we suppose it to be not altogether repugnant to human nature? It is certain that this practice is very rare; but it is as certain that it does really exist.

There is another vice altogether different from this, and seemingly more contrary to the end of nature, in which, nevertheless, the Greeks prided themselves, which the Romans allowed, and which has continued to prevail amongst the most civilized nations, and is much more common in the warm and temperate climates of Europe and Asia, than in the frozen regions of the north. There have been instances in America of the same effect of the caprices of human nature. The natives of Brasil practised this unnatural custom in common; it was un-

unknown to the Canadians. But how happens it that a passion which overturns all the laws of propagation of the human species, should, in both parts of the world, have taken possession of the very organs of propagation themselves?

Another observation, no less important, is, that the middlemost parts of Africa have been found to be tolerably well peopled, and the two extremities towards the poles very thinly inhabited; in general, the new world does not appear to contain the number of people it should do. There must certainly be some natural causes for this.

In the first place, then, the cold is as excessive and piercing in America, in the same degree of latitude with Paris and Vienna, as in our continent at the polar circle.

In the second place, the rivers in America are for the most part ten times as large as ours, and as these frequently overflow, they must have occasioned a great dearth, and of consequence, mortality, in those immense tracts. The mountains, by being much higher, are not so habitable as ours. The violent and lasting poisons with which the whole soil of America is covered, renders the slightest wound of an arrow dipt in their juice instantaneously mortal. And, lastly, the stupidity of the human species in a part of this hemisphere, may have greatly contributed to depopulate the country. It is a general remark that the human understanding is not near so perfect in the new as in the old world. Man is in both a very feeble animal, and, when in a state of infancy, very liable to perish for want of due care; and it cannot be supposed, that when the inhabitants on

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the banks of the Rhone, the Elbe, and the Vistula, were wont to plunge their new-born infants into those rivers, that the German and Sarmatian mothers reared as many children as they do now; especially when those countries were covered with vast woods, which made the climate more inclement and unwholsome than it has been of late times. Numberless colonies of Americans were in want of proper food. They could not furnish their infants with good milk; nor could they provide for them afterwards, either wholesome food, or a sufficiency of it. We find several of the carnivorous kind of animals greatly reduced in number, for want of subsistence; and it is a matter of surprize, that we meet with more men in America than monkeys.

OF FERNANDO CORTEZ.

Vol. IV, chap. **I**T is said, that, as a Spanish captain was marching thro' the lands of a cacique, the latter presented him with a number of slaves and some game, saying, if thou art a god there are men, eat them, if thou art a mortal here is the flesh of animals, which these slaves will dress for thee.

Of the CONQUEST of PERU.

Vol. IV. chap. **T**HE first of the incas, or emperors of Peru, who conquered that country, and gave the inhabitants laws, passed for a son of the sun. Thus we find the most civilized nations both

of the old and new world, resembled each other in the custom of deifying great and extraordinary men, whether conquerors or legislators.

Garcilasso de la Vega, a descendant from the incas, who was brought to Madrid, wrote the history of those kings, in the year 1608. He was then far advanced in years; and his father might easily have been a witness to the revolution which happened in that country in the year 1530. He could not, indeed, know with any certainty, the minuter parts of the history of his ancestors. The people of America were all of them strangers to the art of writing, resembling in this respect the antient Tartarian nations, the inhabitants of the southern parts of Africa, our ancestors the Celtes, and most of the people of the north; none of all these nations had anything that could supply the place of history. The Peruvians transmitted their principal events to posterity by means of knots tied on cords; but we find that in general, fundamental laws, the most essential points of religion, and heroic exploits, are transmitted with tolerable fidelity from person to person by word of mouth, in which manner Garcilasso might have acquired his knowledge of some capital events, and in such only, he is worthy of our credit. He says, that throughout all the Peruvian empire they worshipped the sun; a worship which appeared more reasonable than any other, in a country that did not enjoy the light of revelation. Pliny admitted no other god, even in the most enlightened ages of Rome. Plato, who was still more enlightened than him, called the sun, the son of God, the splendor of the Father; and we find this planet adored many ages before by

the magi, and the antient Egyptians: the same appearance of truth, and the same error, prevailed equally in both hemispheres.

The Peruvians had obelisks and regular gnomonic instruments, to shew the points of the equinoxes and solstices. Their year consisted of 365 days; perhaps the science of antient Egypt did not extend further. They raised prodigies in architecture, and cut statues with surprising art. In a word, they were the best polished, and the most industrious people of any in the new world.

The inca Huescar, father of Atabalipa, the last of the incas, in whose reign this vast empire was destroyed, had greatly augmented and embellished it.



In the pacific and religious ceremonies instituted to the honour of the sun, they formed certain dances; nothing is more natural; it was one of the antient customs in our part of the world. Huescar, in order to render these dances more grave and solemn, made the performers carry a chain of gold, seven hundred of our geometrical paces in length *, and as thick as a man's wrist, each dancer took hold of a link. Hence we may conclude that gold must have been more plenty in Peru than copper is with us.



Id. pag. 217.] Here let us observe, that if the Mexicans are chargeable with having sometimes sacrificed their conquered enemies to the god of war, the Peruvians were never known to offer such sacrifices to the sun, whom they looked

* Or nearly three quarters of a mile, which is equal to a measure of 1400 yards,

upon as a good and benignant deity. And indeed the Peruvian nation itself, was, perhaps the most gentle in its manners of any in the whole world.

Of the first VOYAGE round the World.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxvi. pag. 219. **T**HE Mariana Islands, lying near the line, demand our particular attention. The inhabitants of those islands know not what fire is, and indeed that element would be altogether useless to them, as they live wholly upon fruits, which their land produces in great abundance; especially cacao, sago, which is much superior to rice, and a kind of paste or dough, that has the taste of the best bread, and is formed in a pod or shell on the top of a large tree. It is said that these people commonly live to the age of an hundred and twenty; the same has been said of the natives of Brasil. When they were first discovered, they were neither wild nor cruel; nor did they want for any of the conveniences which were necessary for their subsistence. Their houses were built of the planks of cacao trees, formed for the purpose, with great industry, and were neat and regular. Their gardens were laid out with great art; and they were, perhaps, the most happy, and the least wretched of any people whatever. Nevertheless, the Portuguese called their country the Island of Thieves, *Islas de los Ladrones*, because those people, not being perfectly versed in the *meum et tuum*, happened to eat some of their ship-provisions. There was no more religion

amongst them, than amongst the Hottentots, or many other of the African and American nations. But beyond these islands, towards the Moluccas, there are other nations where the Mahometan religion was introduced in the time of the caliphs. The Mahometans had sailed thither through the Indian sea, and the Christians came through the South-Sea. Had the Arabians known the use of the compass, they were the only people to have discovered America, as laying in the very tract; but their navigation never extended further than the Isle of Mindanao to the west of the Manillas. This vast cluster of islands was inhabited by different species of men, some white, some black, some olive, and some red, or copper-coloured: Nature has been always found to vary more in hot climates than in those to the northward.

Of B R A S I L.

AT the time that the Spaniards invaded the richest part of the new world, the Portuguese, glutted with the treasures of the new, neglected the Brasils, which they had discovered in the year 1500, without looking after them.

The Portuguese admiral Cabral, after having passed the Cape de Verd Islands, in his way to the coast of Malabar, through the southern sea of Africa, steered so far to the westward, that he fell in with the land of Brasil, which is that part of the Continent of America, which lies nearest to Africa: there being but 30 degrees of longitude between this coast and Mount Atlas;

Atlas; it consequently was the first discovered. The country was found to be extremely fertile, and blooming with a continual spring. The natives were all of them stout, well-made, robust, and vigorous; their complexion was of a reddish cast; they went quite naked, excepting only a large belt round their middles, which served them as a kind of pouch.

They were a people who lived by hunting; and as they were not always assured of a certain subsistence, were consequently wild and fierce, making war upon each other, with their arrows and clubs, for the spoils of the chase, in the same manner as the civilized barbarians of the old continent did, for the possession of a few villages. Anger and resentment for injuries actual or supposed, frequently armed them against each other, as we read of the ancient Greeks and people of Asia. They did not sacrifice human victims, for they had no religious worship among them, and consequently could have no sacrifices to make, as the Mexicans had: but they feasted on the persons they took in battle; and Americus Vespusius relates, in one of his letters, that these people were struck with astonishment to hear that the Europeans did not eat their prisoners.

As to laws, the Brasilians had none, but such as were made upon instant need, by the people assembled together. They were governed wholly by instinct. By this instinct they went to the chase, when pressed by hunger, took to themselves wives, when necessity required, and satisfied the calls of a momentary passion indiscriminately.

These people are alone a convincing proof, that America was never known to the old world, or certainly some kind of religion would have found its way among them, from the continent of Africa, to which they are so near; and there must have remained some small traces of this religion, whatever it had been: whereas there is no such to be found. They had indeed certain jugglers among them, who went about with their heads adorned with feathers, stirred the people up to battle, pointed out to them the new moon, and pretended to cure them of their maladies with certain herbs; but no one ever heard of either priests, altars, or any kind of religious worship among them.

The people of Mexico and Peru, who were more civilized, had a regular worship. Religion with them was the support of the state, because it was entirely subject to, and dependant on the sovereign; but there could be no state or government among savages, who had neither wars nor a police.

The Portuguese government suffered the colonies which their merchants had sent to the Brasils to languish near fifty years unsupported, and almost unnoticed. At length, in the year 1559, it made some solid regulations relating thereto, and the kings of Portugal received tribute from both worlds at the same time. When Philip II. king of Spain, subjected Portugal in the year 1581, he found a considerable increase of wealth in the Brasils. The Dutch afterwards took them almost entirely from the Spaniards from the year 1625 to 1630.

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The Dutch likewise stripped Spain of all the settlements belonging to the Portuguese in the Old World and the New. At length, when these latter threw off the Spanish yoke, they recovered possession of the coast of Brasil. This country has furnished its new masters with the same productions as Mexico, Peru, and the islands did to the Spaniards; namely, gold, silver, and the most precious commodities. And even in our time there have been some diamond mines discovered in the Brasils, that were no way inferior in riches to those of Golconda. But what has been the consequence? Portugal has been beggared by its excessive riches. The colonies of Asia and Brasil have drained it of a prodigious number of inhabitants: while those who were left behind, having their heads full of gold and diamond mines, neglected to cultivate the real mines of inexhaustible wealth to a state, agriculture and the manufactories. Their gold and diamonds were found hardly sufficient to pay for the necessary commodities with which they were furnished by the English, for whom only the Portuguese may be said to have laboured in America. In the year 1756, when Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake, they were obliged to have a quantity of coined silver sent from England, so great a scarcity was there of every thing in Portugal. In a word, in that kingdom, the sovereign alone is rich, his people are all beggars.

Of the POSSESSIONS of the FRENCH in
AMERICA.

SPAIN drew immense treasures from Mexico and Peru, (which however have not greatly enriched them in the end) at a time when other nations had not a single colony in the other parts of America that was of any advantage to them : this naturally excited their jealousy, and determined them to follow the example of the Spaniards.

Admiral Coligny, who had great ideas in every thing, formed a scheme in the year 1557, during the reign of Henry II. to establish a colony of French of his own sect in the Brasils. The chevalier de Villegagnon, at that time a calvinist, was sent over thither. Calvin himself embarked in the undertaking. The Genoese were not at that time such good traders as at present, and Calvin sent over a greater number of preachers than labourers. The former wanting to have the upper hand, there ensued a violent quarrel between the commandant and them, which terminated in a sedition. The colony, thus divided, was attacked and ruined by the Portuguese. Villegagnon renounced Calvin and his ministers as a set of religious incendiaries ; they stigmatized him for an atheist, and France lost the Brasils.

It was said that the family of the incas had taken refuge in that extensive country, whose frontiers join to those of Peru ; that the greatest part of the inhabitants of that country had fled thither from the avarice and cruelty of the European

European christians, who occupied the middlemost part, and had settled near a certain lake named Perima, the sand of which was gold; and that they had there built a city, the houses of which were all tiled with that precious metal. The Spaniards were for a long time employed in searching after this city, which they called Eldorado, or the Golden City.

This name roused the attention of all the powers of Europe. In the year 1596, queen Elizabeth sent out a fleet, under the command of the ingenious and unfortunate Sir Walter Ralieg, to dispute these glorious spoils with the Spaniards. Raleigh actually discovered a country, inhabited by a people of a red complexion; and he pretends, in his writings, to have met with a nation, whose shoulders were as high as their heads. He makes no doubt but that the country furnished mines; and he brought back to England with him an hundred large plates of solid gold, and several pieces of the wrought metal: but, after all, there was no Dorado nor lake-Perima to be found. The French, after several fruitless attempts, made a settlement in the year 1664, on the island of Cayenne, a point of that extensive coast, not more than fifteen leagues in circumference, and to which they gave the name of Equinoctial France, though the whole colony did not consist of above 150 houses, partly wood and partly earth: and the island of Cayenne was never worth any thing to France, till the time of Lewis XIV. who was the first of the French kings that truly encouraged the maritime commerce. This island was taken from the French by the Dutch in the war of 1672. But a fleet, sent over by Lewis

XIV. took it again. Its present produce is a little indigo, and some very bad coffee. Guiana was reputed the finest country in all America, and where the French might have made settlements with the greatest ease; and this was the very country the most neglected by them.

They had heard of Florida, a country lying between the old and new world, part of which the Spaniards were already in possession of; and it was they who first gave the name of Florida to this part of the continent of North America. But, as the captain of a French cruizer pretended to have landed here nearly about the same time with the Spaniards, the right to it was to be disputed; for, by our law of nations, or rather of robbers, the lands of the Americans ought to be the property not only of the first invaders, but also of any one who pretended to have first discovered them.

Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. and about the year 1564, had sent thither a colony of Huguenots, being desirous of establishing his religion in America, as well as the Spaniards had established theirs. The Spaniards destroyed this country, and hung up all the French they found in the place upon the trees, with a label to each, importing, that *they had been hanged not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

Some time afterwards one chevalier de Gourgues, a Gascon, having put himself at the head of a number of pirates to endeavour to recover Florida, made himself master of a small Spaniard's fort; and, in his turn, hung up all the prisoners, taking care to affix a writing to each, signifying that *they had been hanged not as Spaniards, but as robbers and infidels.* And now the unhappy

natives of America began to see their European despoilers revenge their cause, by mutually destroying each other: a consolation which they have frequently enjoyed.

After having hanged the Spaniards, in order to secure themselves from the same treatment, the French were obliged to evacuate Florida, and made a formal renunciation of their pretended right to that country; which was, in many respects, preferable even to Guiana. But the bloody disputes concerning religion, which at that time spread destruction through all the kingdom of France, left the people no leisure to go and butcher and convert these savages, or contest the possession of this fine country with the Spaniards.

The English had for some time been in possession of the best lands, and the most advantageous in point of situation, that could be wished for in North America, on the other side of Florida, when a few merchants of Normandy, on the simple prospect of establishing a small trade for skins and furs, established a colony in Canada, a country covered with ice or snow during eight months of the year, and inhabited only by savages, bears, and beavers. This country, which was discovered some time before the year 1535, had been afterwards abandoned; but at length, after several attempts badly supported by the government for want of a sufficient naval force, a small company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo's founded Quebec, in the year 1608; that is to say, they built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town till the reign of Lewis XIV.

This

This settlement and that of Louisburg, as well as all the rest in New France, have been always very poor, while there are no less than 15000 coaches driving through the streets of the city of Mexico, and still more in that of Lima. Nevertheless, the poverty of these countries has not exempted them from being the theatre of continual wars, either with the natives or the English; who, though already possessed of far the best territories, were still anxious to divest the French of those which belonged to them, in order to make themselves sole masters of the trade of this wintery region of the world.

The natives of Canada are not of the same kind with those of Mexico, Peru, or the Brasils. They resemble them in the want of hair, of which they have none except on their eyebrows and head; but they differ from them in their colour, which approaches nearer to ours; and still more in their disposition, which is very fierce and courageous. They were always entire strangers to monarchical government, the republican spirit having always prevailed among the northern nations, both of the old and new world. The inhabitants of North America, of the Apalachian mountains, and of Davis's freights, are all of them peasants and hunters, living together in little towns or villages, which is an institution natural to the human species. We very seldom give them the name of Indians, having erroneously appropriated that name to the people of Mexico, Peru, and the Brasils; which country has been called the Indies, only because as much treasure comes from thence as from the real Indies; but content ourselves with calling the North Americans savages, though

though they are less so in some respects than the country people on some of our European sea coasts, who have so long assumed the barbarous right of plundering all vessels that are wrecked on their shores, and murdering the poor unhappy sailors. War, the crime and scourge of all times and all countries, was not with them as it is with us, a mere motive of interest; it was in general the result of vengeance meditated for injuries received, as it was also with the Brasilians and all other savage nations.

The most horrible thing belonging to the Canadians was their custom of putting their captives to death by the most cruel torments, and afterwards eating them. This barbarous practice they learnt from the people of Brasil, though at the distance of fifty degrees from each other. Both nations feasted on the flesh of their enemies, as on the produce of the chase. This is a custom that has not always prevailed; but it has been common to more than one nation, as we have shewn in the foregoing sheets.

In the frozen and barren climes of Canada men were frequently cannibals; but they were not so in Acadia, which is a better country and produces greater plenty of foods: nor in the rest of the continent, excepting only some parts of the Brasils and on the Caribbee islands.

The infant colony of Canada was formed by a few Jesuits and Huguenots, who had met together there by a strange fatality: they afterwards enteted into an alliance with the Hurons, who were at war with the Iroquois. These latter did great damage to the colony, and took several Jesuits prisoners; and, as it is said, eat
them

them. The settlement at Quebec suffered considerably from the English, who attacked it almost as soon as it was built and fortified. They afterwards made themselves masters of all Acadia, which indeed was doing little more than destroying a few fishermen's huts.

The French then had no foreign settlement at that time, either in Asia or America.

The company of merchants who had ruined themselves by these projects, in hopes to repair their losses, applied to cardinal Richelieu to be included in the treaty made with the English at St. Germain. The latter consented to restore the little they had taken, and of which they made small account; and this little became afterwards New France. This settlement continued a long time in a deplorable condition, save only that the cod-fishery brought in some little profits which served to support the company. But as soon as the English were apprized of these small profits, they seized upon Acadia again.

They restored it again by the treaty of Breda. After that they took it five several times, and at length made it their property by the treaty of Utrecht; a treaty which, though looked upon as an happy event at the time it was made, has since proved the most fatal to the peace of Europe: for we shall see that the ministers who drew it up, not having properly determined the limits of Acadia, which the English have endeavoured to enlarge, and the French to confine; this corner of the world has proved the subject of a furious war; which broke out between the rival nations in the year 1755, and drew along with it the war in Germany, with which it had no kind of connection. But so complicated

are

are the political interests of the present times, that a shot fired in America shall be the signal for setting all Europe together by the ears.

The French, in 1713, remained in possession of the little island of Cape Breton, on which is Louisbourg, the river of St. Laurence, Quebec, and Canada. Possessions which were rather useful, by being a nursery for seamen, than profitable in any other respects. Quebec contained about 7000 inhabitants; but the war carried on by the government to preserve this country cost more than the country itself will ever be worth, and yet it appeared absolutely necessary.

In New France is comprehended an immense tract of country, which joins on one side to Canada, and on the other to New Mexico; and whose limits towards the north-east are not known. This country is called the Mississippi, from a river of that name, which falls into the gulph of Mexico; and Louisiana, from the name of Lewis XIV.

This tract of land lay very convenient for the Spaniards; but having already too large an extent of dominion in America, they neglected the possession of it; and the more so, as it produced no gold. Some French belonging to Canada undertook to travel into this country, partly by land, and partly by sailing round the Illinois river; in which trial they underwent the most shocking hardships and fatigues. It was as if you were to go to Egypt round the Cape of Good-Hope, instead of taking the route of Damietta. This extensive part of New France, till the year 1708, was peopled only by about a dozen families, who led a wandering life in the midst of desarts and woods.

Lewis XIV. who at that time was ready to sink under his misfortunes, and saw Old France on the point of falling to ruin, could not think of the New. The state was exhausted of men and money; and here it may not be improper to observe, that, during these times of public calamity, two men acquired fortunes of near forty millions * each; one by a great private trade he carried on in the East Indies, while that company, which had been established by Colbert, was entirely ruined; and the other, by lending money to an unsuccessful, necessitous, and ignorant ministry. This great merchant, whose name was Crozat, was rich and venturous enough to risque a part of his fortune to purchase a grant of Louisiana from the king, on condition that every ship, that he or his partners should send thither, should carry over six young persons of each sex, in order to people the country, where trade and population were equally at a stand.

After the death of Lewis XIV. Law, a Scotchman, a very extraordinary person, many of whose schemes had proved useless, and others hurtful to the nation, made the government and the people believe, that Louisiana produced as much gold as Peru, and that it would soon be able to supply as great a quantity of silk as China. This was the first epocha of Law's famous scheme, called the Mississippi scheme. Several colonies were sent to that country, and a plan was drawn of a magnificent and regular city, to be built there, by the name of New Orleans. The settlers almost all of them perished for want; and the city was confined to a few paltry houses. Perhaps one day, when France

* Of livres, equal to 1600,000 l. sterling.

shall have a million or two of inhabitants more than she may know what to do with, it may be of some advantage to her to people Louisiana.

Of the FRENCH ISLANDS, and of the BUC-
CANEERS, or FREEBOOTERS.

THE possessions of the most consequence that the French have acquired at different times, are, one half of the island of St. Domingo, the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and some of the lesser Antilles; which is not the two hundredth part of what the Spaniards have got by their conquests; but these have, however, turned out to great advantage.

St. Domingo is that very island Hispaniola, (by the natives called *Aiti*) which was discovered by Columbus, and depopulated by the Spaniards; the French have not been able to find on that part of the island which they inhabit, the gold and silver which was formerly found there; this may happen either from metals acquiring a long succession of ages to be formed, or, which seems the most probable, that there is only a certain quantity contained in the bowels of the earth, and that a mine when once exhausted, is never recruited; and indeed, when we consider that gold and silver are not mixed metals, it is difficult to say, how they can be reproduced. There are still mines of these metals in that part of the country, which is under the dominion of the Spaniards; but as the expence exceeds the profits, they have left off working them.

It

It was to the desperate boldness of a new people, formed by hazard out of English, Bretons, and Normans, that the French are indebted for sharing any part of this island with the Spaniards. These people, who were called Buccaneers or Freeboters, had nearly the same origin and association as the antient Romans; but their courage was more impetuous and terrible. Figure to yourself a company of tygers endowed with some portion of human reason, and you will then have a true idea of these Buccaneers. Their history is as follows:

It happened about the year 1625, that some adventurers from France and England landed at the same time on one of the Caribbe islands, called St. Christopher by the Spaniards, who always gave the name of some saint to every place they invaded, and butchered the natives in the name of that saint. These new-comers found themselves obliged, notwithstanding the natural antipathy of the two nations, to unite together against the Spaniards, who, being masters of all the neighbouring islands as well as of the continent, soon came upon them with a force greatly superior to theirs. The French chief made his escape, and returned back to France. The English commander capitulated: The most resolute of both French and English got over to the island of St. Domingo by the help of some barks, and fixed their residence in an inaccessible part of that island, surrounded by rocks. There they built some small canoes resembling those of the American Indians, and made themselves masters of the island of Tortuga; whither several Normans went over to join them, as they

they did in the twelfth century, to make the conquest of Apulia, and that of England in the tenth. These people met with all the vicissitudes of good and bad fortune that must naturally attend a set of lawless adventurers, assembled together from Normandy and England, on the gulf of Mexico.

In the year 1655, Cromwell fitted out a fleet which took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards. This expedition would not have succeeded but for the assistance of these Buccaneers. They cruised upon all nations indiscriminately, and being more taken up with the search after plunder, than the care of defending themselves, they suffered the Spaniards to make themselves masters of the island of Tortuga during one of their cruizes. However, they soon recovered it again; and the French ministry were obliged to appoint the person whom they chose governor of the island. They infested all the gulph of Mexico, and had lurking places in several of the little islands thereabouts. They assumed the name of *Brothers of the coast*. Stowed in an heap in a pitiful canoe, that a single shot from a great gun, or the least gale of wind would have blown to atoms, they boldly boarded Spanish ships of the largest burthen, and frequently made them their own. They knew no other laws but that of equally distributing the share of the spoils; no other religion, but that of nature; and even from that, they frequently deviated in an abominable manner.

They had it not in their power to steal wives for themselves, as history tells us the companions of Romulus did; but they procured an hundred
young

young women to be sent them from France: this number however, was far from being sufficient to keep up a society, which was now become so numerous. Two Buccaneers therefore cast dice for one woman; he that won married her; and the loser had no right to lie with her, unless the other was absent, or employed elsewhere.

These people seemed upon the whole formed rather to destroy than to found a state. They performed unheard of exploits, and were guilty of incredible cruelties. One man (named l'Olonois, from the island of Olonne his birth-place) ventures into the port of the Havanah with a single canoe, and cuts out from thence an armed frigate. Upon examining one of the prisoners on board, the man confesses that this frigate was fitted out purposely to sail in search of him, and, if possible, to take and hang him; adding further, that he himself was to have been his executioner. On hearing this, l'Olonois, without further delay, orders the fellow to be hanged up, cuts off the heads of all the other prisoners with his own hand, and drinks their blood.

This l'Olonois, and one of companions named le Basque, marched at the head of five hundred Buccaneers, as far as Venezola in the bay of Honduras, where they destroyed two considerable towns with fire and sword, and returned loaded with booty. This success enabled them to equip the vessels which had been taken by their canoes, with cannon and all other necessaries, so that they beheld themselves on a sudden become a maritime power, and on the point of being great conquerors.

Mor-

Morgan, a native of England, who has left a famous name behind him, puts himself at the head of a thousand Buccaneers, partly of his own nation, and partly Normans, Bretons, and natives of Saintonge, and Basque, with whom he undertakes to get possession of Porto-Bello, the magazine of the riches of Spain, a city of great strength, and defended by a number of cannon, and a considerable garrison. Morgan arrives before it without any artillery, scales the walls of the citadel in spite of the enemy's fire; and, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, made himself master of it. By this successful temerity, he obliges the city to purchase it's ransom of him for a million of piafters*. Some time afterwards, he has the boldness to land on the Isthmus of Panama, in the midst of the Spanish troops; forces his way to the ancient city of Panama, carries off all the treasures lodged there, and burns the city to the ground, and returns to Jamaica victorious and enriched. This man, who was only the son of a poor peasant in England, might have erected a kingdom to himself in America; but after all his exploits, he ended his days in prison at London.

The French Buccaneers, whose place of retreat was sometimes among the rocks of St. Domingo, and at others in the island of Tortuga, fit out six armed boats, and with about 1200 men, go and attack Vera-Cruz; an undertaking as great as if 1200 men from Biscay should come and lay siege to Bourdeaux with ten boats. However, they take the place by storm, and bring away five millions in specie, and about

* About 200,000l. sterling, a piafter being about 4s. 6d. English.

1500 slaves. At length, made bold by a multitude of successes of this kind, they determine, both French and English, to enter the South-Sea, and make themselves masters of Peru. No Frenchman had at that time ever seen the South-Sea, and there was no way to get to it but by crossing the mountains of the Isthmus of Panama, or by sailing all along the coast of South-America, and passing the Streights of Magellan, to which they were all of them strangers. However, they divide themselves into two parties, and set out at the same time in the two different routes.

Those who cross the Isthmus, plunder and destroy all that comes in their way; and at length arrive on the borders of the South-Sea, make themselves masters of some barks they find in the harbours, and wait the arrival of their companions, who were to pass the Streights of Magellan. These latter, who were almost all of them French, after having undergone adventures as romantic as their enterprize, were not able to get to Peru through the Streights, being blown back by tempests, which drove them upon the coast of Africa, where they landed, and plundered all the inhabitants along shore.

In the mean time, those who had got to the South-Sea across the Isthmus, having only open boats to sail in, are pursued by the Spanish flota from Peru. How are they now to escape? One of their companions, who commands a kind of canoe with about fifty men aboard, makes the best of his way into the Vermillion sea, and gets on shore at California, where he remains four years; he afterwards returns back through the South-Sea; in his passage takes a ship with 500,000 piafters on board, passes the Straights
of

of Magellan, and arrives safe at Jamaica with his booty.

The others return back to the Isthmus loaded with gold and precious stones. The Spanish troops assemble on all sides, and pursue them. This obliges them to cross the Isthmus in its widest part, and to march round about for the space of 300 leagues; whereas there are not above 80, in a right line, from the place where they were to that whither they were going. In their journey they are frequently stopt by cataracts, which they are obliged to descend in machines made like a tub. They have hunger and thirst to struggle with, and the elements and their enemies the Spaniards. At length, however, they arrive at the North Sea, with what part of their treasure they have been able to save. Their number was, by this time, decreased to 500. The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks will be always more famous in history, but certainly is not to be compared with this.

If these adventurers could have been all united under one chief, they might have formed a very considerable state in America; but their enterprizes were chiefly confined to doing the Spaniards almost as much hurt as these had formerly done to the American natives. Part of them returned home to their own countries, to enjoy their riches in peace; others died of the excesses occasioned by those riches, and a great many were soon reduced to their original indigence. The governments of France and England ceased to countenance or protect them, when they had no longer any occasion for their assistance; and at present nothing remains of
N. these

these heroic robbers, only the remembrance of their valour and cruelty.

It is to them that France is indebted for one half of the island of St. Domingo; and it was by their arms that she was maintained in possession of it during the time of their cruises.

In the year 1757 they reckoned 30,000 persons in that part of St. Domingo belonging to the French, besides 100,000 slaves, blacks and mulattoes, who work in the several plantations of sugar, cacao, and indigo; and who sacrifice their lives and healths to please those new-acquired wants and appetites which were unknown to our forefathers. We send for these negroes to the coast of Guinea, and to the gold and ivory coasts. I do not know what the present price may be; but about thirty years ago a good negro could be bought for fifty livres, which is about five times less than what we pay for a fat ox. We tell them with one breath that they are men like us, and that they are redeemed by the blood of a God, who was crucified for them; and the next we set them to work like beasts of burthen, and feed them worse. If they attempt to make their escape, we cut off one of their legs, and after having supplied its place with a wooden one, we make them turn a sugar-mill by hand; and yet shall we pretend, after all this, to talk of the law of nations!

The little islands of Martinico and Guadeloupe yield the same commodities as St. Domingo. These islands, and the events that have happened in them, are mere points in the history of the universe: but, after all, these countries, though hardly perceptible in a map of the world, produced in France an annual circulation of

near 60 millions in merchandize. This trade does not enrich a country; far from it, for it is the cause of many shipwrecks, and the loss of a number of lives. Therefore it certainly cannot be looked upon as a real good; but as mankind have made new wants for themselves, it prevents the kingdom from purchasing at a dear rate from foreigners, a superfluity that is, by this means, become a necessary.

The END of the TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.



ad. W. del.
Lewis, y^e 15th King of France stab'd by Damien. *J. Stally del.*

THE *1487*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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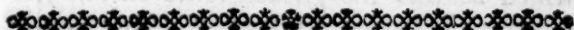
TO THE

ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations,
from CHARLEMAGNE to the present
Time.

PART II.



Of the POSSESSIONS of the ENGLISH and
DUTCH in AMERICA.

THE English, who as being islanders,
are necessarily become more practised
in sea-affairs than the French, have
acquired more advantageous settle-
ments in North America than the
latter. They are in possession of about six hun-
dred leagues of coast from Carolina to Hudson's
Bay, by which they have long but vainly endeavoured

B

voured

voured to find a passage into the South Seas and so to Japan. The English settlements in America were not near so valuable as those of the Spaniards; the former having produced, at least hitherto, neither gold, silver, indigo, cochineal, precious stones, nor woods for dying; and yet they have proved very advantageous to the possessors. The English territories on the Terra Firma begin about ten degrees from our tropic, in a most delicious country called Carolina. Here the French have never been able to effect any settlement; and the English did not take possession of it till they had secured the coast to the northwards.

You have seen the Spaniards and Portuguese masters of almost all the New World, from the Streights of Magellan to Florida: next to Florida is Carolina, to which the English have of late years added another part to the southward, called Georgia, from the name of their king, George I. They have been in possession of Carolina ever since the year 1664. That which bestows the greatest lustre on this province is, its having received its laws from the admirable Locke: a perfect liberty of conscience, and an universal toleration in point of religion, form the basis of these laws. Here the episcopals live in brotherly union with the puritans; they even admit of the Catholics, their natural enemies, to exercise their religion undisturbed, as also the Indians, who are called idolaters; but the laws require that there shall be seven heads of families to establish any particular sect or religion within that government. Locke wisely considered that seven families, with their slaves, might amount to 5 or 600 souls, and that it would be an act of injustice

to deprive such a number of persons from serving God in their own way; and that under such a restraint they might be tempted to quit the colony.

Marriages in one half of this country are performed only in the presence of a magistrate; but those who have an inclination to add the benediction of the priest to this civil contract, may have that satisfaction.

These laws were received with admiration, after the torrents of blood that had been shed throughout all Europe, by the spirit of enthusiasm and persecution. But they were laws that would never have entered into the imagination of either the Greeks or Romans, as they could never have conceived, that there would be a time in which men would force each other to embrace a particular faith, sword in hand. By this humane code it is ordered, that the negroes shall be treated with the same humanity as domestic servants. In the year 1657, there were in the province of Carolina 40,000 blacks, and 20,000 whites.

Beyond Carolina is Virginia, a colony so named in honour of the virgin queen Elizabeth, and first peopled by the famous Raleigh, who afterwards met with so cruel a return for all his public-spirited labour, from James I. It cost immense pains to settle this colony; for the savage natives, who were a more warlike people than the Mexicans, and who saw themselves as unjustly attacked, almost totally destroyed it at its first establishment.

It has been said, that since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which impolitic step added thousands of subjects to both worlds, at the ex-

pence of France, the number of inhabitants in Virginia have amounted to 140,000, without reckoning the negroes. In this province and in Maryland they apply themselves chiefly to the culture of tobacco, which forms an immense branch of trade, and is another of our new artificial wants, which did not take place till very lately, and which is now grown powerful by example; as you may perceive, when I tell you that it was looked upon as the greatest impoliteness at the court of Lewis XIV. for any one to thrust this dirty stimulating dust up his nose. The first farm of tobacco in France did not bring in to the proprietors above 300,000 livres *per annum*, at present it is worth 16 millions. The French lay out very near four millions a year, in this weed, with the English colonies, when they themselves might plant it in Louisiana: and here I cannot forbear remarking, that France and England at present consume, in commodities unknown to their forefathers, more than the whole revenues of both crowns were formerly worth.

To the northward of Virginia is the province of Maryland, containing 40,000 white people and about 60,000 blacks. Beyond this lies Pennsylvania, a country differing from all the rest of the world by the singular manners of its inhabitants. This country received its name and laws, in the year 1680, from one William Penn, the head of a new sect, which have very improperly been called *Quakers*. This was not an usurped power, as were most of those invasions which we have seen both in the old and new world. Penn purchased these lands of the real natives, and became a lawful proprietor

proprietor in the most rigid sense of the word. The christian doctrine, which he carried along with him there, differs as much from that acknowledged in every other part of Europe, as his colony does from every other colony. He and his companions professed the same simplicity and equality which prevailed among the primitive disciples of Christ. They knew no other religious tenets but those which proceeded extempore from the lips, and which were all confined to the love of God and their fellow creatures. They did not admit baptism, because Christ baptised no one. They had no priest, because Christ himself was the only teacher and pastor of his first disciples. Here I perform only the duty of a faithful historian, and shall further add, that if Penn and his followers erred in their theology (that inexhaustible source of misfortunes and disputes), they at least excelled all other people in the strictness of their morals. Though situated in the midst of twelve small nations, whom we term savages, they have never had the least dispute with any of them; on the contrary, these have always looked upon them in the light of fathers and arbitrators. Penn and his primitive followers, who are called quakers, but to whom we ought to give no other title than that of *the Upright*, made it a maxim never to go to war with any one, nor to law with each other. They had no judges amongst them, but only arbitrators, who accommodated all differences in law in an amicable manner, and without expence. They had no physicians, for they were a sober people, and consequently did not stand in need of them.

The province of Pensylvania was for a long time without soldiers, till the government of late years, while at war with France, sent some regiments over from England for the defence of this country. Take away the name of *quakers*, and that barbarous and disagreeable habit of throwing their bodies into a variety of ridiculous convulsions in their religious assemblies, and it must be confessed, that there is not a more venerable society of men in the world. Their colony is as flourishing as their manners are pure. Philadelphia (or the City of the Brethren), which is their capital, is one of the most beautiful cities in the universe; and in the year 1740 contained upwards of 80,000 souls. But the inhabitants are not all of them quakers, one half of them consisting of Germans, Swedes, and other nations, which altogether form seventeen different religions; and yet the quakers, who have the chief government, treat them all as brethren.

Beyond this singular spot of the globe, where affrighted peace hath sheltered herself, when chased from every other part, we come to New England, whose capital is Boston, the richest city on all that coast.

This city was at first peopled and governed by puritans, who had fled from the persecution raised against them in England by the famous Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, whose head afterwards payed for his persecutions, and whose fate was a prelude to that of his weak and unfortunate master Charles I. These puritans, who were a kind of Calvinists, took refuge in this country, afterwards called New England, in the year 1620; and it might be said of them
and

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and the episcopal party who persecuted them in England, that they were tygers who made war upon bears; for these latter brought over with them to America their gloomy and morose disposition, by which they miserably harrassed the pacific Pennsylvanians when they came first to settle near them. But in the year 1692, these puritans proved a heavy scourge to themselves, by the most unaccountable epidemic madness that ever possessed the human race.

At the time when Europe was beginning to emerge from the abyss of horrible superstition and ignorance in which it had been plunged for such a number of ages; and that witchcraft and the power of evil spirits was no longer regarded in England and other civilized nations but as ancient prejudices and follies at which all reasonable men blushed; the puritans revived them in America. A young woman happened to be seized with convulsions in the year 1692, a holder-forth accuses an old maid-servant in the family of having bewitched her, and the poor old woman is obliged to confess herself a witch. Upon this half of the inhabitants believe themselves bewitched, and accuse the other half of the black art; the populace rise and threaten to hang the judges if they do not order the accused persons to be hanged. Thus for two years nothing was talked of but witchcraft, witches, and hanging; and they were countrymen of the great Locke and Newton who were seized with this madness. At length the malady abated, and the people of New England, being a little come to themselves, were amazed, and ashamed at their outrageous folly. They now applied themselves to trade and hus-

bandry, and their colony soon became the most flourishing of any; insomuch, that in the year 1750, it contained near 150,000 inhabitants, which is ten times the number that the French have in their settlements.

From New England we come to New York or Acadia, which has been the subject of so much discord and bloodshed; and Newfoundland, where the great cod-fishery is carried on; and then, after having sailed some way to the eastward, we arrive at Hudson's Bay, by which it has been vainly hoped to find out a shorter passage to the extremities of the eastern and western hemispheres.

The islands which the English possess in America have proved almost as profitable to them as their continent. Jamaica, Barbadoes, and some others, where they grow sugar, have turned out exceedingly profitable, not only on account of their own manufactures, but of the trade carried on from them with New Spain, which is so much the more advantageous as it is prohibited.

The Dutch, who are so powerful in the East Indies, are hardly known in America; the little colony of Surinam, in the neighbourhood of the Brasils, being the only territory of any consequence that they are possessed of in that part of the world. Thither they have carried the genius of their country, which is to cut their lands into canals. They have made a new Amsterdam at Surinam as well as at Batavia, and the island of Curaçoa yields them a considerable profit. Lastly, the Danes have of late been possessed of three small islands, and have opened a very beneficial trade, through the encouragement their king has given them.

This

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This is all that the Europeans have done of any consequence, at present, in this fourth part of the globe.

There yet remains a fifth, which is that of the *Terra Australis*, or Antarctic land, of which only a small part of the sea-coast and some few islands, have, as yet, been discovered. If we comprehend under the name of this new southern world the Papous-land and New Guinea, which begin even under the equator, it is evident that this part of the world is by far the most extensive of any.

Magellan discovered the Antarctic land, in 1520, lying in 51 degrees south declination; but these frozen climes proved no temptation to the masters of Peru. Since that time several immense countries have been discovered to the southward of the Indies, and in particular New Holland, which stretches from the 10th to the 30th degree. The Dutch Batavia company are said to be in possession of several advantageous settlements in this country; but it is not very easy to carry on a trade, and be masters of whole provinces unknown to the rest of the world. It is not unlikely that this fifth portion of the globe may yet be visited by some new adventurers, from whom we may learn that nature has not neglected these climes; that she exhibits her usual variety and profusion in them, as well as throughout the rest of the world.

But hitherto we know little or nothing of these immense countries, except that there are some wild and uncultivated coasts where Pelsart and his companions, in 1630, found black men who walked upon their hands as upon feet; a bay where Tasman, in 1642, was attacked by

a people with yellow complexions, armed with clubs and arrows; and another where Dampier, in 1649, had an engagement with a race of negroes who had no fore-teeth in their upper jaws. We have not yet penetrated into this segment of the globe; and it must be confessed, that it is better to improve and cultivate our own countries, than to go in search of the frozen regions and motley-coloured animals of the southern pole.

OF PARAGUAY.

Of the power of the Jesuits in that part of the world, and of their disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese.

THE conquest of Mexico and of Peru are prodigies of human boldness; the cruelties which were exercised there, and the total extirpation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo and some other islands, the utmost stretch of human barbarity: but the settlement of Paraguay, established only by a few Spanish jesuits, appears the triumph of humanity, and seems in some measure to make atonement for the cruelties of the first conquerors. The quakers of America, and the jesuits of Paraguay, have exhibited a new spectacle to the world. The former have softened the rugged manners of the savages bordering on Pennsylvania; they have won them to instruction by the mere force of example, without making any attempt upon their liberties; and have procured them new conveniencies of life by bringing them acquainted

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quainted with trade. The jesuits have indeed made use of religion to deprive the inhabitants of Paraguay of their liberties ; but, on the other hand, they have civilized them, have taught them to be industrious, and have succeeded in governing a vast country, in the same manner as a convent is governed in Europe. Upon examination, the quakers appear to have acted the most justly, and the jesuits the most politically. The former considered the attempt to reduce their neighbours under subjection in the light of a crime ; the latter made a virtue of subduing savages by mildness and instruction.

Paraguay is a vast country, lying between Brasil, Peru, and Chili. The Spaniards, who made themselves masters of this coast, founded the city of Buenos Ayres, a place of great trade on the river la Plata ; but with all their power they were too few in number to conquer the swarms of natives that dwelt in the midst of the forests, and whom, however, it was necessary to subject, in order to facilitate to themselves a passage from Buenos Ayres to Peru. In this conquest, the jesuits assisted them much more effectually than their soldiers could have done. These missionaries penetrated by degrees into the heart of the country in the 17th century. Some of the savage natives, who had been taken when young, and bred up in Buenos Ayres, served them both as guides and interpreters. The fatigues and labours they underwent, equalled, if not exceeded, those of the conquerors of the new world. The courage, inspired by religion is at least as great as that which actuates the warrior in pursuit of fame. They were discouraged by no difficulties, and

at length they succeeded in the manner following:

The cows, sheep, and oxen, which had been brought from Europe to Buenos Ayres, having multiplied prodigiously, they took a great number of these with them, as likewise several waggon-loads of all kinds of instruments of husbandry and architecture. They sowed some plains which they found on their way with the several sorts of European grain, and made a present of the whole to the savages, whom they thus lured to their purpose, as animals are caught with a bait. These nations consisted only in a number of families, who lived separate from each other, without society, or the knowledge of religion. They were, however, soon brought into the former, by having new wants given them from the new productions with which they were supplied. The missionaries in the next place, with the assistance of some of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, endeavoured to teach them to sow and till the ground, make bricks, hew timber, and build houses. In a short time, these wild and uncivilized people were wholly transformed, and became useful and obedient subjects to their benefactors; and though they did not immediately become profelytes to christianity, the doctrine of which was above their comprehension, their children, by being bred up in that religion, soon became thorough christians.

This settlement in its beginning, consisted only of fifty families, which, in the year 1750, were encreased to an hundred thousand. The jesuits, in the space of one century, have formed thirty cantons, to which they have given the

the name of the *Country of the Missions*, each canton at present contains 10000 inhabitants. One father Florentin, a Franciscan friar, who was at Paraguay, in the year 1711, and who in every page of his narrative, expresses his admiration of this new government, says that the village of St. Xavier, in which he lived a considerable time, contained at least 30,000 souls: from whence we may conclude, with some degree of certainty, that the jesuits have raised upwards of 400,000 subjects by mere persuasion.

If any thing can give us a clear idea of this colony, it is the ancient Lacedemonian government. All things are in common in Paraguay; and the use of gold and silver is unknown to these people, though bordering on the mines of Peru. The essential character of a Spartan was obedience to the laws of Lycurgus; that of an inhabitant of Paraguay has hitherto been obedience to the laws of the jesuits: in a word, there seems to be a perfect resemblance between the two people, save only, that those of Paraguay have no slaves to till their lands, or hew their timber, as the Spartans had; but are themselves slaves to the jesuits.

This country is indeed dependant in spiritual matters on the bishop of Buenos Ayres, and in temporals, on the governor of that city. It is also subject to the king of Spain, in like manner as the provinces of La Plata and Chili; but the jesuits, the original founders of this colony, have always maintained an absolute government over the people whom they formed. They gave the king of Spain a piaſtre per head for each of their subjects; and this they pay to the
governor

governor of Buenos Ayres, either in money or commodities; they only are possessed of the former, for the subjects never touch it. This is the only mark of vassalage which the Spanish government has thought requisite to demand of them. But the governor of Buenos Ayres cannot appoint any person to any office, either military or civil, in the jesuits country; nor can the bishop send so much as a parish priest thither.

An attempt was once made to send two curates to the villages of Our Lady of Faith and St. Ignatius, and they even took the precaution to send a guard of soldiers with them; but the people of both villages quitted their habitations, and divided themselves among the other cantons; and the two curates, finding themselves left alone, returned back to Buenos Ayres.

Another bishop incensed at hearing of this affront, which had been put upon his predecessor, resolved to establish the customary church-government throughout the country of Missions. For this purpose, he invited all the clergy in his jurisdiction, to repair to him on a day appointed, in order to receive their respective charges; but no one dared to appear. We have this fact related by the jesuits themselves, in one of their memorials, which they published. Thus then, they commenced absolute masters in spiritual affairs, and no less so in the civil. They, indeed, allow a passage through their country to the officers that the governor sends to Peru; but those officers are not permitted to stay above three days in the country, during which time they must not converse with any
of

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of the inhabitants; and tho' they come in the king's name, they are treated exactly like foreigners, who are suspected of being spies. The jesuits, who have always been careful to preserve appearances, make use of religion as a pretext to justify this behaviour, which might be construed into disobedience and contempt. And they declared to the council of the Indies, at Madrid, that they could not consent to receive a Spaniard into their provinces, lest he should corrupt the manners of the natives; and this reason, which carries with it such an insult upon their own country, has been admitted as satisfactory by the kings of Spain, who could not hope for any assistance from the Paraguayans; but on this extraordinary condition, which is a reproach and disgrace to a nation so proud and tenacious of their honour as the Spaniards.

The form of government in this nation, the only one of its kind in the known world, is as follows: The provincial, or jesuit-governor, with the assistance of his council, frames the laws; and each rector, assisted by another council, takes care that they are observed; a person is chosen from among the body of inhabitants of each canton, as a justice of the peace*, and has under him a lieutenant. These two officers

* The French term is *Un Procureur Fiscal*, which is a kind of attorney, who prosecutes within his jurisdiction all causes wherein the public are interested; but in this place his office seems rather to be that of a justice of the peace, (as I have ventured to render it,) for the particular canton, in which he is chosen; and that of his lieutenant, a constable. We have no term in English which answers to the French but attorney-general, which is too extensive in the sense here meant.

go round their district every day, and give an account to the superior of whatever passes.

Every village carries on some manufactory; and the workmen in each profession meet together, and perform their occupations in common, and in the presence of their overseers, who are appointed by the fiscal. The jesuits furnish the hemp, cotton, and flax, which the inhabitants work up. They also give out the grain to be sown, which is reaped in common; and the whole produce of the harvest deposited in the public magazines, from whence each family is supplied with what it wants for its subsistence, and the remainder is sold at Buenos Ayres, or Peru.

The Paraguayans keep flocks; they raise corn, pease, indigo, cotton, hemp, sugar-canes, jalap, ipecacuanha, and a plant called *Paraguay-Grass*, which is a kind of tea, greatly esteemed in South America, and of which they make a considerable traffic. These commodities are returned in goods and specie; the former the jesuits distribute among the inhabitants, and the gold and silver they make use of to decorate their churches, and to answer the calls of the government. Each canton has an arsenal or military storehouse, from whence on certain days they give out arms to such of the inhabitants who know how to make use of them. A jesuit superintends the exercise, which is performed in a regular manner, and after it is over, the arms are all returned again into the store, no inhabitant being allowed to keep arms in his house. The same principle which has made these people the most tractable of all subjects, has likewise made them excellent soldiers. They fight as they obey, from a belief that it is their duty.

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duty. Their assistance has been more than once necessary against the Portuguese of Brasil, the Banditti, who are known by the name of Mammelucs, and the Musqueto savages, who were a race of cannibals. They have always been headed by jesuits in these expeditions, and have always fought with courage, order, and success.

In the year 1662, when the Spaniards laid siege to the city of St. Sacramento, of which the Portuguese had made themselves masters, and which gave birth to such extraordinary accidents, a jesuit brought 4000 Paraguayans to the assistance of the former, who scaled the walls of the town, and entered the place sword in hand. And here I must not omit one circumstance, which will shew that these monks, who were used to command, understood their business much better than the governor of Buenos Ayres, who was at the head of the Spanish forces. This general, when the assault was going to be made, gave orders for placing a rank of horses in front of the men, in order, that the cannon from the enemies ramparts having spent their fire upon these creatures, the soldiers might advance with less danger; but the jesuit, who headed the Paraguayans, represented the folly and danger of such a scheme, and ordered the place to be attacked in the usual way.

The manner in which these people fought for the Spaniards shewed that they would not be at a loss to defend themselves upon occasion, and that it would be dangerous to attempt to make any change in their government. It is certain, that the jesuits have already formed to themselves an empire in Paraguay, of about

400 leagues in circumference, and that they have it in their power to add to its extent.

Though vassals, in all appearance, to the crown of Spain, they are in effect kings, and perhaps the best obeyed of any kings upon earth. They have been at once founders, legislators, pontiffs, and sovereigns.

A government of a constitution altogether so new and extraordinary, and established in another hemisphere, is an effect perhaps the most distant from its cause that was ever known to the world. We have for a considerable time seen priests possessed of sovereign authority in Europe; but they attained to this rank, which seems so opposite to their real condition, by a gradual and natural progression. They obtained considerable lands, and these lands, like most others, have in time become fiefs and principalities. But the jesuits had nothing given them in Paraguay; and they have made themselves absolute sovereigns, without even pretending to be proprietors of a foot of land. In a word, every thing has been of their own creation.

But having at length abused their power, they have lost great part of it; for when the crown of Spain ceded the city of St. Sacramento, together with its vast dependencies to the Portuguese, the jesuits had the boldness to oppose this convention; the people whom they governed would not consent to be under the Portuguese government, and for some time resisted both their old and new masters.

If we may credit the *Relatio abbreviada*, the Portuguese general d'Andrado, wrote to the Spanish general Valdareos, in the year 1750, in these terms: "The jesuits are the only rebels. Their
"Indians

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"Indians have twice attacked the Portuguese fort of Pardo, with a considerable train of "artillery." The same relation adds, that the Indians cut off the heads of their prisoners, and carried them to their commanders the jesuits. Although this charge may be true, it does not seem very probable.

It is however certain, that in the year 1757, there was an insurrection in one of their provinces called St. Nicholas, when some mutineers took the field, to the number of 13000, under the command of two jesuits named Lamp and Tadeo; and this gave rise to a report, which was generally believed, that one of the jesuits had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Paraguay, by the name of Nicholas I.

While the monks of this order were carrying on a war against the kings of Spain and Portugal, in America, their brethren in Europe were the confessors of those very kings. But of late we have seen them accused of rebellion, and an intent to murder their lawful king in Lisbon, entirely driven out of Portugal in the year 1758, and violently persecuted at the court of Madrid. The Portuguese government have cleared all their American colonies of them; but they still remain masters of all that part of Paraguay which belongs to Spain, where it is very difficult to get at them, and where they still continue to share the sovereign authority with the crown of Spain, over an immense tract of country. This is an example hitherto not paralleled in the history of the universe. It shall be the subject of some future pages to shew why the whole earth seems to have taken up arms against

against them, and why the see of Rome alone has declared herself their protectress.

Of the MOGUL.

Vol. IV. ch. 129. **T**Hough there were several Indian astronomers who understood the calculating of eclipses, yet the common people could not be brought to believe otherwise than that the sun was fallen into the throat of a great dragon, and that the only way to free him from thence, was by standing naked in the water, and making a hideous noise to frighten the dragon, and oblige him to let go his hold. This notion, which is so generally prevalent among the orientals, is an evident proof how much the symbols of religion and natural philosophy have at all times been perverted by the common people. The astronomers of all ages have been wont to distinguish the two points of intersection, upon which every eclipse happens, and which are called the *Lunar Nodes*, by marking them with a dragon's head and tail. Now the vulgar, who are equally ignorant in every part of the world, took the symbol or sign for the thing itself. Thus, when the astronomers said the sun is in the dragon's head, the dragon is going to swallow up the sun, said the common people; and yet these people were remarkable for their fondness for astrology. But while we laugh at the ignorance and credulity of the Indians, we do not reflect that there are no less than 300,000 almanacks sold in Europe, all of them filled

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filled with observations and predictions equally false and absurd with any to be met with among the Indians : for is it not as reasonable to say that the sun is in the mouth or the claws of a dragon, as to tell people every year, in print, that they must not sow, nor plant, nor take physic, nor be bled, but on certain days of the moon. It is high time, in an age like our's, that some men of learning would think it worth their while to compose a calendar that might be of real use to the industrious husbandmen, and instruct instead of deceiving them.



Id. page 138.] We are told by a missionary of undoubted credit, that in the year 1710, forty wives of the prince of Marava threw themselves alive upon his funeral pile, and were burnt with the dead corpse of their lord. The same author also says, that in the year 1717, two princes of that country being dead, seventeen wives of the one, and thirteen of the other, devoted themselves to death in the same manner ; and that the last, being with child, waited till she was delivered, and then threw herself into the flames. The missionary adds further, that these examples are more frequent among the principal castes, or classes, than among the lower people ; and this we find confirmed by other missionaries. The contrary should seem the most probable ; for the wives of the grantees have more to attach them to life than the wives of handicrafts, or of hard working men ; but unhappily, a notion of honour has been annexed to these voluntary sacrifices, and as women of rank are more susceptible of a love

of

of glory than the vulgar, and that the Bramins always claim the garments and ornaments worn by the unhappy victims on such occasions, these latter have found it more their interest to encourage this delusion in the rich than in the poor.

OF PERSIA.

Vol. IV. **A**Mong the many causes of complaint alledged by the Persians against their enemies the Turks, the chief has always been the murder of Haly, though the Turks certainly were not the murderers of that prophet, as there was no such people as Turks then existing. But in this manner do the common people in general reason; and it is surprising that they did not sooner take advantage of this mutual hatred to establish a new sect.

Of

Of the OTTOMAN Empire in the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. **A**FTER the death of Tuman-
 page 250. bai, or Toman Bey, the
 last king of the Mammelukes, the people of
 Egypt sunk into the lowest state of abjection :
 and they who are said to have been a brave and
 warlike race in the reign of Sesostris, are now
 more effeminate and dastardly than even in the
 time of Cleopatra. We are told that Egypt
 gave birth to the sciences, and now not one is
 cultivated there ; that her people were sedate
 and grave, now they are volatile and unthink-
 ing, dancing and singing to the music of their
 own chains ; the prodigious number of her in-
 habitants, which are said to have passed all
 counting, are now reduced to three millions at
 the most. Rome nor Athens have not experi-
 enced a greater change than this country, which
 is an undeniable proof, that though a climate
 may have some influence on the dispositions of
 men, yet the government has a much greater.

Of the Coast of BARBARY.

Vol. IV. **A** Late dey of Algiers said to an ch. 132. English consul who was complaining to him of some prizes his corsairs had made, "Never complain to the captain of a gang that you have been robbed." Throughout all the northern parts of Africa, we continually meet with monuments of the antient Romans, whereas there are not the least footsteps of any thing belonging to the Christians, notwithstanding there were many more bishopricks here than in France and Spain put together. There are two reasons to be assigned for this; the one is, that the very antient structures of hard stone, or of marble and cement, withstand the attack of time in a dry climate better than the more modern edifices; the other, that monuments, with the inscription *Diis Manibus* on them, which the Barbarians do not understand, do not consequently awaken their displeasure so much as the sight of the symbols of the Christian religion, to which they are such bitter enemies.

In the polite ages of Arabia, the arts and sciences flourished among the Numidians; at present those people cannot so much as regulate their year; and, though perpetually exercising the trade of pirates, they have not one pilot capable of taking an observation, nor one good ship-builder among them; but buy their ships, cordage, guns, and gunpowder of us Christians, and in particular of the Dutch; and with these they afterwards take our merchant ships, while the

the powers of Christendom, instead of uniting to crush their common enemy, are busied in mutually destroying each other.

Of the Kingdom of FEZ and MOROCCO.

Vol. IV. **T**HIS empire reaches to the frontiers of Guinea, in a most pleasant climate; few territories are more rich and fruitful, or abound with greater variety. Several branches of Mount Atlas are full of mines, and the level country produces great abundance of all kinds of grain, and some of the best fruits in the world. This country was formerly cultivated as it deserved. This must have been under the first caliphs, since we find the arts and sciences were then in high estimation; and these are generally the last matters attended to. The Moors and Arabians of this country carried their arts and their arms with them into Spain; but every thing has since degenerated and fallen into a state of ignorance and barbarism. The Mahometan Arabians, who civilized this country, have since retired into the deserts, where they lead a pastoral life; and the government has been left to the Moors, a race of men less favoured by nature than their climate, and less industrious than the Arabians; a people at once cruel and slavish. Here we find despotic power reigning in all its horrors. The antient custom which obliges the Miramolins, or emperors of Morocco, to be the chief executioners in their kingdom, has not a little contributed to make the inhabitants of this vast empire infinitely greater savages than the Mexicans. Those of

Tetuan are a little more civilized ; but the rest of this nation are a disgrace to human nature. Several of the Jews driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella took refuge with their families in Tetuan, Mequinez, and Morocco, where they lead most miserable lives. The inhabitants of the northern provinces have intermixed with the blacks who live about the banks of the Niger.

* * *

There have been religious disputes in this kingdom, as well as in all others ; and a sect of Musulmans, who pretended to be more orthodox than the rest, disposed of the throne ; which never happened at Constantinople. There have been likewise some civil wars ; but at length the dominions of Fez, Morocco, and Tahilet, were all united into one empire, in the seventeenth century, after the famous victory gained by the Moors over the unfortunate Don Sebastian, king of Portugal.

Notwithstanding the great degree of brutal stupidity into which this people are fallen, the Spaniards and Portuguese have never yet been able to take vengeance on them for their former slavery, and subject them in their turn. Oran, which is the frontier of their empire towards Spain, though once taken by cardinal Ximenes, who lost it again, and retaken a second time by the duke of Montemar, in the reign of Philip V. in 1730, since which time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards, has not opened them a way to further conquests. Tangier, which might be the key of the empire, has never proved of any use to them : and lastly, Ceuta, taken by the Portuguese in the

4 year

year 1409, and afterwards by the Spaniards in the reign of Philip II. and who have kept it ever since, has been only a dead expence to them. Thus we find that the Moors subjected all Spain, whereas the Spaniards have as yet been able only to vex the Moors; and after having crossed the Atlantic ocean, and conquered a new world, have not the power to revenge themselves within five leagues of their own kingdom. The Moors, though badly armed, worse disciplined, and slaves to the most detestable of all governments, have hitherto bid defiance to all the attempts of the Christians to subject them. The true cause seems to lie in the constant and mutual dissensions of the latter amongst themselves. How, for instance, could the Spaniards cross over to Barbary with a force sufficient to subdue the Mussulmen, when they had their neighbours, the French, to fight against? Or, when at peace and in union with France, how could they engage in such an expedition, when the English had taken Gibraltar and Minorca from them?

It is somewhat extraordinary that there should be so great a number of Spanish, French, and English renegadoes in the empire of Morocco. We find a Spaniard of the name of Perez, admiral, under Mully Ismael; a Frenchman, named Pilet, governor of Sallee; an Irish woman mistress to the tyrant Ismael; and some natives of England settled as merchants at Tetuan. The hopes of making a fortune amongst an ignorant people has always carried Europeans to Africa, Asia, and America, particularly the latter. The contrary reason keeps the people of those regions from visiting us.

A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF SOME OF THE
PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
COUNCIL OF TRENT.

IN the midst of so many religious wars, and such a scene of disasters, the council of Trent was assembled. This council was the longest that had ever been held, and yet the most peaceable. It formed no schism like that of Basil, it lighted no fires like that of Constance, it did not pretend to depose crowned heads like that of Lyons, nor did it follow the example of the council of Lateran, which stripped the count of Thoulouse of his patrimony, and far less that of Rome, in which pope Gregory VII. kindled the flames of discord throughout Europe, by presuming to depose the emperor Henry IV. The third and fourth council of Constantinople, and the first and second of Nice, had been theatres of divisions and enmity ; but this council of Trent was peaceable, or at least its disputes were neither public nor attended with consequences.

If

If there is any historical certainty, it is in what was written concerning this council by cotemporary authors. The famous Sarpi, the defender of the Venetian liberties, better known by the name of Fra. Paolo, and the jesuit Palavicini, his antagonist, both agree in essential matters of fact. It is true that Palavicini reckons 360 errors committed by Fra. Paolo; but what are these errors? He accuses him with having mistaken dates and names. Palavicini has been detected in as many faults as his adversary; and when he is in the right against him, it is hardly worth being in the right. Of what consequence is it, whether a trifling letter of Leo X. was written in 1516 or 1517? Whether the nuncio Archimbold, who made such a traffic of indulgences in the North, was the son of a tradesman of Milan or of Genoa? Or, indeed, what signifies it whether he did or did not sell indulgences? What matters it whether cardinal Martinusius was a monk of the order of St. Basil, or an hermit of St. Paul? But we should be glad to know whether this defender of Transilvania, against the Turks, was assassinated by the order of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. In fine, Sarpi and Palavicini have both told the truth, but in a different manner; one as a freeman, and the defender of a free senate; the other as a jesuit, who wanted to be a cardinal.

Charles V. proposed to pope Clement VII. to call this council as early as the year 1533. but that pontiff, who still trembled at the remembrance of the sacking of Rome, and his own captivity, and dreading, lest the story of his spurious birth should embolden the council

to depose him, eluded the emperor's request, to whom he did not dare to give an absolute denial. Francis I. of France, proposed Geneva as the place of session, at the very time that the reformed religion began to be preached in that city. It is more than probable, that if the council had been held in Geneva the reformed party would have been considerable sufferers.

During these procrastinations, the protestants of Germany demand a national council to be held; and, in their answer to the pope's legate Contarini, found their request upon these words of Our Saviour, "When two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them." Their quotation was allowed to be just; but it was said at the same time, that if two or three persons were gathered together in the name of Christ, in an hundred thousand different places of the earth, this might produce an hundred wars and councils, which might produce as many different confessions of faith, in which case there never would have been any union, though it might be allowed at the same time, that there never would have been any civil wars.

Pope Paul III. (of the family of Farneſe) proposes Vicenza; but the Venetians reply, that the Turkish Divan might take umbrage at an assembly of Christians being held in the Venetian territories. He next proposes Mantua; but the chief of that city is apprehensive of admitting a foreign garrison: at length the city of Trent is pitched upon, the pope being willing to pay a compliment to the emperor, of whose assistance he stood very much in need at that time, having hopes to obtain the investiture

GENERAL HISTORY. 31

ture of the Milanese for his natural son Peter Farnese, to whom he afterwards gave Parma and Placentia.

The council is at length convoked by a bull, "by the authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, whose authority the pope exercises upon earth;" in which the emperor, the king of France, and the other crowned heads, are invited to be present thereat. Charles V. expresses his indignation that they should have dared to put a king upon a footing with him, and especially a king who was in alliance with infidels, after all that he had done for the service of the church. But here his Imperial majesty seems to have forgotten the sacking of Rome.

Pope Paul, who wanted to bestow the investiture of Parma and Placentia on his bastard, and thought that Francis I. might be more serviceable to him in that affair than the emperor, in order to intimidate the latter, who was pressed hard both by the Turks and protestants, threatens him with the fate of Coran, Dathan, and Abiram, in case he opposed the bestowing the investiture of Parma; adding, "The Jews have been dispersed for crucifying their master; and the Greeks have lost their empire and their liberty for having insulted his vicar."

After a great deal of caballing, the emperor and the pope are reconciled. Charles permits his bastard to reign quietly in Parma; and Paul sends three legates to open the council at Trent, which he proposes to direct from his Vatican. His legates correspond with him in cyphers,

an invention very little known in those days; and which was first made use of by the Italians.

The legates and the archbishop of Trent begin by granting three years and 360 days deliverance from purgatory to every one who shall actually be in the city at the opening of the council.

The pope issues a bull, forbidding any prelate to appear by proxy, and immediately the proxies of the archbishop of Mentz arrive, and are well received; this law not being made for the ecclesiastical princes of Germany, whom it was the pope's interest to humour.

And now Paul bestows on his son, Peter Lewis Farnese, the investiture of the duchy of Parma and Placentia, with the connivance of Charles V. and publishes a jubilee.

The council is opened by a sermon from the bishop of Bitonto, in which this prelate proves that a council was necessary, "First, because several councils had deposed kings and emperors. Secondly, because we read in Virgil's *Æneid*, that Jupiter assembled a council of the gods." He goes on with observing, "That God called a council before he created man, and destroyed the Tower of Babel; that all the prelates of the church ought to repair to Trent, as the Greeks did into the Trojan horse. That the gate of the council chamber, and that of Paradise, are one and the same; that the spring of the fountain of life flows from it, with which the fathers are to sprinkle their hearts, as parched lands; or else that the Holy Ghost will open their mouths as it did those of Balaam and Caiphas."

A.

GENERAL HISTORY. 33

A discourse of this kind seems to contradict what we have said of the revival of learning in Italy. But this bishop of Bitonto was a Milaneze monk ; a native of Florence or of Rome, or a disciple of Bembo or Caza, would not have talked in this manner. It must be considered, that though good taste was established in several of the capital cities, it never spread over all the provinces.

The first thing ordered by the council, was, that the prelates should always appear in the habit of their calling. The custom at that time was for the clergy to dress like laymen, except when in the exercise of their function.

There were very few prelates then present at the council ; most of the bishops of great fees brought theologians, or professors of divinity, along with them, who spoke for them. There were some also employed by the pope.

Almost all these theologians were monks of the order of St. Francis, or of that of St. Dominick, and were continually disputing about original sin, notwithstanding the emperor's ambassadors objected against such disputes, which they looked upon as idle and of no utility. These monks began upon the grand question, Whether the Virgin Mother of Christ was born subject to the sin of Adam ? The Dominicans, adversaries of the Franciscans, obstinately maintained, with their patron St. Thomas *, that she was conceived in original sin. The dispute was long and vehement ; and the council was at length obliged to put an end to it, by determining, that the Virgin was not comprehended in the original sin common to

* See Note to page 131. vol. iv.

all mankind, but at the same time she was not altogether exempt from it.

Duprat, bishop of Clermont, after this was over, requires that his master the king of France may be prayed for by name, as well as the emperor, as he had received the same invitation as the emperor to the council; but his demand was refused, it being alledged that in this case they must also pray for the other kings by name, which might occasion some difference with those who should find themselves last named: the rank of crowned heads remained as unsettled then, as in former times.

Peter d'Anes arrives with the character of ambassador from the king of France. It was at one of the meetings of this council that he made his famous repartee to an Italian bishop, who, after having heard him speak a long time, said, when he had ended, How this cock crows! *Gallus cantat!* (the words cock and Frenchman are both expressed in the Latin tongue by *gallus*). To this insipid pun d'Anes replied with great coolness, "Would to God Peter may repent at the crowing of this cock."

And this is a proper place for taking notice of the *bon môr* of don Bartholomew de los Martiros, primate of Portugal, who, speaking of the necessity of a reformation in the church, said, "That the most illustrious cardinals stood in need of being most illustriously reformed."

The bishops could with difficulty be brought to yield the precedency to the cardinals, whom they did not reckon as belonging to the church hierarchy; and the cardinals had not, at that time, the title of eminency, which they did not assume

assume till under the pontificate of pope Urban VIII. Here it is to be observed, that although all the fathers and theologians of the council spoke in Latin at their meetings, yet they had some difficulty to understand one another; by reason that a Pole, an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman and an Italian, have each a very different manner of pronouncing that language.

One of the most important questions discussed in this council, was that of the residence of bishops, and their institution by divine right. Almost all the prelates, excepting those of Italy, who were particularly in the pope's interest, insisted that their institution should be declared *a jure divino*; alledging, that if it was not so, they could have no reason to condemn the protestants. But how could they pretend their institution to be wholly divine, when they were obliged to receive their bulls of prelacy from the pope? If the council controverted this point, the pope would then be no more than a simple bishop like themselves. His see was indeed the first of the Latin church, but not first of all sees; and therefore must lose its authority: and this question, which seemed at first wholly theological, became, in fact, a very political and delicate point. It continued to be debated a long time with great elocution; and none of the popes under whom this long council was held, would ever suffer it to be determined.

The subjects of predestination and saving grace were also a long time under consideration, and at length decrees were drawn up; Dominic de Soto, one of the divines of this council, explained these decrees in favour of the opinion of the Dominicans, in three

large volumes in folio : but father Andrew Vega answered him in fifteen volumes of the same size ; in which he explained them to the advantage of the Franciscans.

The doctrine of the seven sacraments was next examined with great attention, and passed without any disputes.

After having settled this tenet as it is now received by the whole Latin church, they proceeded to the plurality of church benefices. This was a ticklish point : several of the members spoke largely against the abuse, which had been long introduced, of suffering a number of benefices and dignities to be held by one person, and revived the old complaints which were made in the pontificate of pope Clement VII. who in the year 1534 granted his nephew cardinal Hippolito the usufruct of all the vacant benefices in the world for six months.

Pope Paul wants to reserve to himself the decision of this point ; but the fathers make a decree that no one shall hold two bishoprics at the same time, but with this modification, that it may be done by virtue of a dispensation from the pope. This has never been refused to the German prelates ; so that now a poor country curate shall be incapable of enjoying two livings of 100 crowns a year a piece, when a prelate shall be in possession of bishoprics to the amount of several millions. It was the interest of all the bishops, princes, and nations in the world to root out this abuse, and yet we find it authorized.

This point having somewhat ruffled the minds of the several parties, pope Paul transfers the
coun-

council from Trent to Bologna, on pretence of a contagious disorder prevailing in the former.

During the two first sessions of the council at Bologna, the pope's bastard, Peter Lewis Farnese, duke of Parma, become insupportable through his insolence, debauchery, and extortion, is murdered in Placentia, as Cosmo de Medicis had been before him in Ferrara, his brother Julian before him, duke Gallas Sforza in Milan, and several other new made princes. There are no proofs of the emperor Charles V. being accessary to this murder; but it is certain he enjoyed the fruits of it, for the very next day the governor of Milan seized upon Placentia in the emperor's name.

It may easily be supposed that this murder and the sudden depriving the pope of the city of Placentia, occasioned a rupture between the former and the emperor. These dissensions affected the council; and the few bishops of the empire who remained behind in Trent, refused to acknowledge the fathers of the council of Bologna.

It was during these disputes that Charles V. triumphant over the protestant princes by the famous battle of Mulberg, in the year 1547, crowned with success upon success, and displeased with the pope, aspires at the glory of doing what this could not, namely, to bring about an union, at least for a time, between the catholics and protestants of Germany. With this view he sets the theologians to work on all sides, and publishes his *Inhalt*, *Interim*, or temporary profession of faith, till a better can be drawn up. This was not declaring himself head of the church, as Henry VIII. had done; but it would

have been the same thing in fact, if the Germans had been as tractable as the people of England.

This formula of the *Interim* has its foundation in the doctrine of the church of Rome, but modified and explained in terms less offensive to those of the reformed party. The laity were allowed to partake of the cup at the eucharist, and priests to marry. There was wherewithal to have pleased every one if the spirit of party could ever be pleased; but neither the catholics nor the protestants were satisfied. Pope Paul, who might have been expected to oppose this proceeding, remained quiet. He foresaw that it would fall to the ground of itself; and even if he had been disposed to make use of the same arms against the emperor, as his predecessors Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. the example of England and the power of Charles made him humble.

Other concerns more pressing, because of a private nature, disturb the quiet of this pontiff's days. Affairs in Parma and Placentia were in an odd and ticklish situation. Charles V. as master of Lombardy, had lately annexed Placentia to that territory, and might do the same by Parma.

The pope, on his part, wants to annex Parma to the ecclesiastical state, and to give his grandson, Octavio Farnese, an equivalent. This prince is married to a natural daughter of the emperor, who has taken Placentia from him, and is grandson to the pope, who wants to deprive him of Parma. Thus persecuted at once by two such near relations, he resolves to ask assistance from France, and oppose the designs of his grand-

grandfather the pope. Thus the incontinence of the pope and the emperor excites a furious quarrel in the council of Trent, and their bastards stir up the most violent intrigues, while the monkish divines are busied in argumentation. The pope, struck with grief, dies, like almost all other sovereign princes in the midst of the troubles they themselves had raised, and which they do not live to see ended. His memory is severely censured, sometimes perhaps unjustly.

Juan del Monte is elected pope in his room, by the name of Julius III. and agrees to remove the council again to Trent; but the quarrel about Parma overturns this council. Octavio Farnese persists in refusing to give up Parma to the holy see; Charles V. is as resolute to keep Placentia, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his daughter Margareta, Octavio's wife. Another bastard steps in between and brings the war into Italy. This was the wife of one of Octavio's brothers, a daughter of Henry II. king of France and the duchess of Valentinois, who engages her father Henry to espouse her quarrel; who now declares himself the protector of the house of Farnese, against the emperor and the pope: and this very prince, while he is burning all the protestants in France, opposes the holding of a council against the protestants.

While the most christian king is declaring against the council, some protestant princes send their ambassadors thither; namely, Maurice the new duke of Saxony, the new duke of Wirtemberg, and last of all the elector of Brandenburg; but these ambassadors soon return back discontented. The French king also sends an ambassador there; this was James Amiot, bet-
ter

ter known for his translation of Plutarch than by his embassy: he however appears at the council only to protest against its proceedings.

In the mean time the two electors of Mentz and Triers take their seats at the council below the pope's legates: the presence of two cardinal legates, two nuncio's, two ambassadors from the emperor, one from the king of the Romans, together with some Italian, Spanish, and German bishops, restore life and business in the council.

The Franciscans and the Jacobines now divide the opinions of the fathers in relation to the eucharist, as they before did touching the article of predestination. The Franciscans maintain that the body of Christ in the elements changes place, and the Jacobines insist that it does not change place, but is instantaneously formed in the consecrated bread.

The fathers come to a determination that the body of Christ is under the appearance of the bread, and his blood under that of the wine; that the body and blood are together in each of the elements by concomitance whole and entire, and that they are instantaneously produced anew in every morsel of the bread, and in every drop of the wine, and that accordingly there is the same worship due to them as to God.

During these debates, prince Philip, son to the emperor Charles V. and afterwards king of Spain, and the hereditary prince of Savoy, pass through Trent. It is said in some of the books concerning the polite arts, that "the fathers gave a ball to these princes, which was opened by the cardinal of Mantua, and that the fathers danced with a great deal of becoming gravity."

“gravity and decency.” Cardinal Palavicini is quoted in this account, to shew that dancing was not reckoned among the profane diversions; and great stress is laid on the silence of Francis Paolo, who no where condemns this ball given by the cardinals.

It is certain that among the Greeks and Hebrews dancing frequently made a part of their religious ceremonies; but it is not true that Palavicini, as is said, speaks of the fathers dancing: and the claim to Fra. Paolo’s indulgence is as falsely grounded; for if he does not condemn this ball, it is in reality because the fathers did not dance in it. Palavicini, in his 15th chapter of his 11th book, only says, that after a magnificent repast, given by the cardinal of Mantua, president of the council, in a large hall built on purpose, about a quarter of a mile out of the city, there were diversions, jousts, and dances; but he does not say a word about the president of the council dancing at them.

In the midst of these diversions, and the more serious occupations of the council, Ferdinand I. king of Hungary, brother to Charles V. causes cardinal Martinus to be murdered in Hungary. This news fills the council with trouble and indignation. The fathers refer the cognizance of this villainous affair to the pope, who cannot take cognizance of it. The times of Thomas Becket and Henry II. of England, were long since past. Julius III. excommunicates the murderers, who were Italians, and some time after declares king Ferdinand, brother to the potent prince Charles V. absolved from all censure on that occasion. So that the death of the famous Martinus still remains among the great number of assassinations which.

which have passed unpunished, to the disgrace of human nature.

But now matters of a greater moment disturb this council. The protestant party, defeated at Mulberg, recovers strength and appears in arms. The new elector of Saxony, Maurice, lays siege to Augsburgh; the emperor is surprised in the passes of Tirol, and is obliged to save himself by flight, with his brother Ferdinand; and, by this one reverse of fortune, loses the fruit of all his victories. The Turks threaten to invade Hungary. Henry II. of France, in alliance at the same time with the Turks and protestants, even while he is burning the latter at home as heretics, sends troops into Germany and Italy. The fathers of the council fly in all haste from the city of Trent, and the council continues forgotten for the space of ten years.

At length in 1560, pope Pius IV. (by name Medequeno,) who pretended to be a descendant from those great merchants, and greater princes, the Medicis, revives the council of Trent; to which he invites all the princes of Christendom, and even sends nuncios to the protestant princes assembled at Naumbourg in Saxony, whom he styles his *Dear Sons*; but these princes refuse to acknowledge him for their father, and return his letters.

The council recommences its session by a solemn procession of 112 bishops between two files of musqueteers; the bishop of Reggio preaches a more eloquent sermon than the bishop of Bitonto, in which he raises the power of the church to the utmost possible height, by equalling it to that of God; for he says,
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" The church has abolished circumcision and
 " the sabbath, which were instituted by God
 " himself." In the two years 1562 and 63,
 during which time this council held its second
 sessions, there were almost continual disputes
 between the several ambassadors about prece-
 dence. Those of Bavaria wanted to rank be-
 fore those of Venice ; but, after a long contest,
 they gave up the point.

The ambassadors of the catholic Swiss can-
 tons claim precedence of those of the duke of
 Florence, and obtain it. One of the Swiss de-
 puties, named Melcheor Laci, offers to defend
 the council with his sword ; and to serve the
 enemies of the church as his countrymen served
 the curate Zuinglius and his adherents, whom
 they murdered and burnt for the good old
 cause.

But the greatest dispute was between the
 French and Spanish ambassadors. The count
 de Luna, ambassador from Philip II. of Spain,
 insists upon being incensed * when at mass, and
 to kiss the cup †, before Ferrier the French
 ambassador. Not being able to obtain this dis-
 tinction, he agrees to admit that two incense
 pots and two cups be used at the same time ;
 but Ferrier still continues inflexible. The two
 ambassadors threaten each other, the service is
 interrupted, and the church is filled with tu-

* It is a custom in the Roman catholic churches, to throw
 the pot which contains the burning frankincense, used at the
 celebration of mass, towards persons of condition, that the
 smoke may come upon them.

† Another ceremony, used in like manner to persons of dis-
 tinction, who have the chalice or cup with the consecrated
 wine, presented to them to kiss, the laity not being permitted
 to partake of the wine in communicating.

mult and uproar. At length this difference is compromised, by omitting both ceremonies of incensing and kissing the cup.

New difficulties arise to retard the theological debates. The ambassadors of the emperor Ferdinand, successor to Charles V. will have this assembly to be a new council; and not a continuation of the former. The legates adopt the mean between the two parties, and say, "We continue the council by calling it, and we call it by continuing it."

The grand question concerning the residence of bishops and their institution by divine right, is renewed with more warmth than before. The Spanish bishops, strengthened by the arrival of a number of prelates from France, maintain their pretensions. It was on this occasion that some of them complained, that the holy ghost was always sent from Rome in the courier's mail; a famous witticism, of which the protestants have not failed to make the most advantage.

Pius IV. incensed at the obstinacy of the bishops, declares these barbarians to be enemies of the holy see, and that he must have recourse to a million of gold crowns. The Spanish bishops complain bitterly that their Italian brethren have betrayed the interests of the prelacy, and that they receive sixty gold crowns a month each from the pope. The greatest part of the Italian bishops were poor, and the see of Rome being richer than all the bishops of the council put together, might assist them without any breach of decency; but then those who receive favours are very apt to be of the same opinion.

opinion with the person from whom they receive them.

This same pope, Pius IV. offers Catherine de Medicis, queen regent of France, an hundred thousand gold crowns, and to lend her an hundred thousand more, and a body of Swiss and German troops of the catholic religion, if she will drive all the Hugonots out of France, confine Monluc, bishop of Valence, who is suspected of favouring them, a prisoner in the Bastile, together with the marshal de l'Hopital, who lay under the same suspicion, and who was the greatest man in France, if that title is due to one in whom genius, learning, and probity were united. His holiness moreover demands the abolition of all the laws made by the French parliaments relative to the church; and in these hopes advances 25,000 crowns. The abject acceptance of this charity of 25,000 crowns shews into what an abyss of wretchedness the French government was at that time sunk.

But it was still more infamous that the cardinal of Lorraine, who at length came to the council, accompanied by some French bishops, should begin by complaining that the pope had given the king his master no greater a sum than 25,000 crowns. It was at this time that Ferrier, the French ambassador, in his speech to the council, compared Charles IX. then an infant, to the emperor Constantine: a comparison which every ambassador did not fail to apply to his own sovereign. In the first place, this comparison suited none of them. In the next, Constantine never received 25,000 crowns subsidy from any pope: and lastly, there was some little difference between an infant king of a small

small part of Gaul, whose mother held the reins of government, and an emperor who was sovereign of both empires of the east and west.

Fredinand's ambassadors complained with great warmth against the pope for having promised money to France, and moved that the council might make a reformation in the pope and his court; and that there should not be more than twenty-four cardinals at most, agreeable to the decree of the council of Basil, never considering that by retrenching their numbers they encreased their power. Ferdinand I. likewise demanded, that all nations might be allowed to pray in their mother-tongue; that the laity might partake of the cup; and that the German princes might remain in possession of the church revenues which they had gotten into their hands.

Proposals of this kind were generally started when there was any difference with the see of Rome, and as generally dropt again when matters were accommodated.

The dispute about the cup continued a long time. Several of the divines asserted, that the cup was not necessary to communion; that the manna in the desert, which was a type of the eucharist, was eaten without drinking; that Jonathan did not drink when he eat his honey; that Christ, when he gave the bread to the apostles, gave it them as laymen, and that he made them priests by giving them the wine. This question was decided before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorrain; but afterwards it was left to the pope to grant or refuse the cup to laymen as he should judge proper.

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The subject of the divine right was again renewed, and divided the council. It was on this occasion that the jesuit Luines, who succeeded Ignatius Loyola as general of the order, and who was one of the pope's theologians at the council, said, that "no other church could reform that of Rome, inasmuch as the servant could not be above his master."

The Italian bishops joined in his opinion, and admitted of no divine right but in the pope. The French bishops, who came with the cardinal of Lorrain, joined the Spaniards against the court of Rome; which made the Italians say, that the council was fallen from the Spanish itch into the French disease, *della rognna Spagnuola nel mal Francese*.

Recourse was now had to negotiating, caballing, and bribing. The legates gained over as many of the foreign theologians as they could. There was in particular one Hugonis, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who served them as a spy, and who is positively said to have received fifty gold crowns of the bishop of Vintimiglia for betraying to him the secrets of the cardinal of Lorrain.

The French court was at that time so exhausted by her religious and political disputes, that she had not money enough to pay the theologians she had sent to the council, who therefore, all of them, return home, excepting only this Hugonis, who was in the pay of the legates. Nine French bishops had already quitted the council, so that now there remained only eight.

And now the religious disputes in France stained that kingdom with blood, in the same manner

manner as they had done Germany in the reign of Charles V. The pope, incensed at a temporary peace which had been made with the protestants, in the month of March of this year 1563, caused the cardinal de Chatillon bishop of Beauvais, an avowed Hugonot, to be condemned by the Inquisition at Rome; including in the same sentence ten other bishops of France, none of whom we find to have appealed to the council. Some of them contented themselves with appealing to the parliament. On the whole, we do not find that any one sessions of this council opposed this act of authority in the pope.

The fathers take this opportunity to draw up a decree against all those princes who wanted to exercise a civil power over ecclesiastics, and oblige them to pay subsidies. All the ambassadors, in general, opposed this decree, and it did not pass. The dispute grew warm on all sides. In the midst of the tumult, the French ambassador, Ferrier, cries out, "Let us not in this place cry out with the devils at the approach of Jesus Christ, Lord send us into the herd of swine." It is not very clear what affinity there could be between the herd of swine and this dispute.

After such a variety of altercations, which though warm in their beginnings were always quieted by the prudence of the legates, it was now moved to put an end to the council.

In the 24th session, the council declared the marriage tie to be perpetual from Adam, and that it is become a sacrament from the time of Christ; that it cannot be dissolved even by adultery, and that nothing can make it void, but
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consanguinity within the fourth degree, or a dispensation from the pope. The protestants, on the other hand, were of opinion, that a man may marry his cousin, and may put away his wife, if found guilty of adultery, and marry another.

In this session also, the council declares, that, in criminal cases, bishops can be tried only by the pope; and that it is in his breast alone, in cases of necessity, to commission other bishops to try them. This law, however, is admitted in very few courts of justice, especially those of France.

In the last session they pronounce an anathema against all those who reject the invocation of saints, pretending that we are to pray to God alone; that is, who do not think God like those weak and frail princes of the earth, who are not to be approached but through their courtiers or ministers.

Anathema is likewise pronounced against those who do not worship relics; that is, who think that the bones of a dead carcase have no sort of relation to the spirit which animated the living body, and that these bones have no virtue of their own. Such are also anathematized who deny the doctrine of purgatory, an antient dogma of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, which has been adopted and sanctified by the church, and thought by some to be more suitable to the justice and clemency of a God who remembers mercy in the midst of his judgments, than the belief of an eternal state of torments, which seems to make him a God of implacable vengeance.

In these anathemas no mention is made either of those of the confession of Augsbουργ, nor of those of the communion of Zuinglius and Calvin, nor those of the church of England.

This same session allows monks to make vows at sixteen years of age, and nuns at twelve; a permission which is justly considered as highly prejudicial to the well-being of states, but without which the monastic orders would have very soon become extinct.

They assert the validity of indulgencies, which was the first source of those quarrels which occasioned the calling of this council; but they prohibit the sale of them. Nevertheless, they continue still to be sold at Rome; but it must be confessed they are sold very cheap, and you may have them at second hand, in some of the petty Roman catholic Swiss cantons, for four sols a piece. The chief market for them is in the Spanish West Indies, where the people are richer and more ignorant than in these petty cantons.

At length they finished by recommending to the bishops never to yield precedency to the ministers of crowned heads, nor to lords.

The council is subscribed by four legates, eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders.

They did not make use of the form, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," but "it hath seemed good to us in presence of the Holy Ghost."

The

GENERAL HISTORY. 31

The cardinal of Lorrain revived the antient acclamations of the first Greek councils, crying out, " Long live the pope, the emperor, " and all kings," which was repeated by the fathers. The cardinal was greatly blamed in France for not mentioning the king, his master, by name ; and from that time it plainly appeared how much the cardinal was in fear of offending Philip II. of Spain, who was the great support of the leaguers.

Thus finished this council, which (including its interruptions) had sat twenty one years. The theologians who had no voices in the deliberations, explained the several dogmas ; the prelates pronounced the decrees or conclusions, and the pope's legates directed them, appeased all murmurs, softened all animosities, eluded whatever could hurt the court of Rome, and, in fine, directed and comptrolled all the proceedings.

Death of HENRY III.

Vol. v. ch. 143, **T**HE name of Herod, which
pag. 81. was given to Henry III.

was not from any resemblance between him and that petty prince of Palestine; but only because the common people having heard that Herod had caused all the young children in his country to be put to death, they therefore thought this a proper appellation for Henry, whom they looked upon as a tyrant; while they considered his murderer, Clement, as a saint and a martyr.

* * *

In almost every catholic country (Venice excepted) the crime committed by James Clement was looked upon as a most meritorious act. The jesuit Mariana, who passes for a wise and grave historian, expresses himself thus in his book *Of the Institution of Laws*. "James Clement raised to himself a great name; here murder was atoned by murder, and the king's blood was shed as a sacrifice to the names of the duke of Guise, who had been assassinated by his orders.—Thus died James Clement, at the age of 24, a man who will for ever be the glory of France." The French carried their enthusiastic folly so far, as to cause the picture of this murderer to be placed on the altars, with these words underneath, "St. James Clement, pray for us."

The true form of the sentence passed upon the dead body of this assassin, was for a long time unknown. He was prosecuted by the marquis

quis de Richelieu, grand provost of France, and father to the cardinal of that name; and the attorney-general La Guéle, who was present when the murder was committed, and who had himself introduced friar Clement to the deceased king, did not appear in the character of his office on this trial, but only as a person who came there to give evidence in common with others. It was Henry IV. who pronounced the sentence himself, by which the body of the monk was ordered to be quartered and burnt; the sentence was passed with the advice of his council, and signed *Rusé*.

Another circumstance which has not been known hitherto, is, that another Jacobine monk named *Jean le Roy*, having murdered the commandant of Coutance in Normandy, Henry IV. tried this miscreant the same day that he tried the regicide Clement; and sentenced Jean le Roy to be sowed up in a sack, and thrown into the river; which sentence was executed upon him at St. Cloud, two days after. Both the sentence and the punishment were very uncommon; but the crimes which occasioned them were still more horrible.

OF HENRY IV.

Vol. V. ch. 144, **W**HAT does Bayle mean
 pag. 82. by beginning his article of Henry IV. with saying, "that if he had been made an eunuch
 "when he was young, he might have eclipsed
 "the glory of Alexander and of Cæsar." Does he pretend by that to insinuate, that to be a great man one must be only half a man? or was he ignorant how many great leaders have joined love with war? Charles XII. was the only one of all those who have gained themselves fame by their arms, who absolutely renounced all connections with the fair sex; and he met with more ill fortune than success. Not that I have any inclination, in a work of this serious kind, to flatter the idle gallantry which has long been the reproach of the French nation. I only mean to enforce this great truth, that nature, who gives us all our qualifications, does almost always deny strength and courage to those who have been deprived of the ensigns of manhood, or, at least, who have them imperfectly formed. Nature is the same through all the creation: it is not the ox, but the bull, who fights. The powers both of body and mind depend upon this source of existence. We find only one general, Narses, who was an eunuch, and only two learned men Origen and Photius. Henry IV. was frequently in love, and sometimes foolishly so; but he was never effeminate. The fair Gabriel calls him, in her letters,

letters, "My soldier." This appellation alone is sufficient to refute Bayle.

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Id. pag. 85.] The jesuit Jouveney acknowledges in his history, that Nigri, superior of the novices of that order in Paris, assembled all of them that were in France, and led them to meet the pope's army at Verdun, into which he incorporated them; and that this army marked its progress through the kingdom by the most terrible devastations. This circumstance sufficiently shews the spirit of those times.

The monks might then indeed, with some reason, say in their writings, that the pope had a right to depose kings, since he was on the point of establishing that right by the sword.

* * *

Id. pag. 89.] You will remark, that the parliament wanted to sit in the general assembly of the states by deputation or proxy, and that they could not obtain it. You will remark also that this very parliament had just before ordered an arret of the king's parliament (held at Chalons) against the pope's legate and his pretended power of presiding at the election of a king of France, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Much about the same time, several of the citizens having presented a petition to the city and parliament, desiring that the king might at least be pressed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, before they proceeded to the election; the Sorbonne declare this petition "unfit, seditious, impious, and idle, inasmuch as they

"well know the obstinacy of Henry the apostate," at the same time excommunicating the authors of the petition, and banishing them out of the city. This decree, which was written in very bad Latin, and was certainly the production of weak and superstitious minds, is dated the first of November, 1592. It was afterwards revoked, when of very little signification whether it was or not; but had not Henry IV. enjoyed the crown, it would have continued in force, and Philip II. would have been loaded with the appellations of protector of France, and of the church.

While Henry's adversaries were employing the sword and the pen, politics and superstition against him, and during the sitting of the assembly of the states, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular; Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it.

* * *

Henry IV. had about his person a private envoy from queen Elizabeth, who, in a letter, he wrote to his royal mistress, concerning the kings changing his religion, has these very words:

"The following is the manner in which the king excuses himself, on account of his change of religion, and the very words in which he expressed himself to me." *

"When I came to the crown, 800 gentlemen and nine regiments left my service, on pretence that I was an heretic; the leaguers

* Taken from the third book of Beze's MSS. No. 8.

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“ immediately set about choosing another king, and the most powerful of them offered their services to the duke of Guise, whereupon I determined, after mature deliberation, to embrace the Romish religion, and by that step I have entirely won over the third party, have prevented the election of the duke of Guise, and have gained the good-will of the people of France. I have had the promise of the duke of Florence, in regard to some matters of great importance, and have finally prevented the reformed religion from being entirely rooted out.”

* Henry sent the sieur Morland, his ambassador, to the queen of England, to inform her of what had passed, and to make his excuses to her as well as he could. Moreland tells us, that Elizabeth made him this reply, “ Is it possible then, that any worldly consideration can have made the king, your master, lay aside the fear of God !” When we hear the murderers of Mary Stuart talking of the fear of God, we cannot help thinking the character of a hypocrite, which has been given her by most historians, to be too true ; but when we hear the brave and generous Henry declaring that he had changed his religion, merely for the good of his country, which ought to be the governing principle with all crowned heads, we cannot doubt that he spoke from his heart. How then can the jesuit Daniel offer so glaring an insult to truth, and to the understanding of

* Idem.

his readers, as to assert, even against all probability, a cloud of witnesses, and the principles of the human mind, that Henry IV. had been long a catholic in his heart? Once more I must repeat it, that the count de Boulainvilliers was perfectly in the right, when he asserted, that no jesuit could be a faithful historian.

* * *

The ambassadors of Philip II. left Paris the very day that Henry made his entry into that city, without having the least violence offered to their persons; only the king as saw them passing by a window, where he was standing, called out to them, "Gentlemen, pray give my compliments to your master; but I desire never to see you here again."

* * *

Several politicians have pretended that when Henry IV. had gotten the mastery, he ought to have imitated queen Elizabeth, and have entirely separated his nation from the Romish communion. They further more say, that the balance of Europe inclined too much in favour of Philip II. of Spain and the catholics, and that to have kept this balance equal, he ought to have made the French protestants as the only means of rendering them a numerous, rich, and powerful people.

But Henry IV. was not in the same situation as Elizabeth; he had not a well disciplined army at command, nor the parliament of the nation in his interests. He was moreover in want of money; he had but few troops to withstand Philip II. who was always ready to attack

attack him, and the leaguers were still powerful and in high spirits.

* * *

Id. pag. 99.] It was a thing highly worthy of admiration, that Henry IV. notwithstanding the exhausted and desolated state, in which he found the kingdom, should, in less than fifteen years time, have been able to ease the burthen of the taille, by near four millions of the currency of his time, which would make ten of ours; to lessen the other duties one half, and to pay off an hundred millions of the crown debts, which would make two hundred millions of the present money. He redeemed lands which are now alienated to the amount of more than an hundred millions; all the strong places were fortified, the magazines and arsenals well filled, and the highways repaired; all which is to the immortal glory of the duke of Sully, and of his royal master, who had the happy boldness to make choice of a soldier to repair the disorders in the public finances; and who did not disdain to labour in concert with the minister of his choice.

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Id. pag. 109, 110.] About the time that Henry IV. was murdered, there was published an apology for John Châtel, in which it is said, "that the attempt was a virtuous, heroic, and meritorious act; and worthy to be compared to the noblest deeds recorded in sacred or profane history. There is but one thing can be found fault with, adds the apologist, which is, that Châtel did not compleat what

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“ he had began, by sending the apostate to
 “ his proper place with Judas.”

This apology clearly shews the reason why Guignard could never be brought to ask forgiveness of the king was, that he did not look upon him as king. “ The constancy of this
 “ holy man,” says the author of the apology,
 “ would never suffer him to acknowledge one
 “ whom the church did not acknowledge; and
 “ although the judges condemned his body to
 “ be burnt, and his ashes scattered in the air,
 “ yet will his blood never cease to cry out against
 “ his murderers, before the throne of the God
 “ of Hosts, who will not fail to repay their
 “ wickedness seven-fold, upon their heads.”

Such was the spirit of the league and of the priests in those days; and such the terrible abuse made of religion, which was so ill understood; an abuse which has continued even to the present time.

It is not long since a jesuit, named La Croix, who was professor of divinity in Cologne, reprinted, with notes, a book of one of the ancient jesuits, called Besenbaum, which would have remained as much unknown as the author and his commentator, if they had unhappily served to revive the detestable doctrine of murder and regicide.

It is said in this work, that any person outlawed by a prince, cannot be lawfully put to death any where, but in the dominions of such prince; but that a crowned head, excommunicated by the pope, may be murdered wherever he is found, inasmuch as the pope is sovereign lord of the universe; and that any one having orders to slay an excommunicated person,

son, be whom he will, may delegate his charge to another, and that it is an act of charity to except of such charge.

It is true, that the parliaments of France condemned this abominable book; and the jesuits of that kingdom probably declared their abhorrence of the doctrine it contained; but, on the other hand, a new edition of this book, which has lately appeared with additions, sufficiently shews that these infernal tenets have been long ingrafted in a number of minds; that they have been looked upon as points of our holy religion; and that consequently the laws cannot exert themselves with too much rigour against the teachers and abettors of this vile doctrine of king-killing.

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[Id. page 112, &c.] Every one knows that Ravaiillac was a novice, in an order of begging friars of St. Bernard, who were still infatuated with the fanatic spirit of the leaguers, and that this infamous miscreant was abandoned to superstition, and all manner of vice. Counsellor Matthew, historiographer of France, who held a long conversation with him in his little Hotel de Retz, near the Louvre, tells us, that this wretch had been for several years under a strong temptation to murder the king. A counsellor of the parliament, asking him in the same hotel, and in the presence of Matthew, how he dared to lift his hand against the most christian king? "It is first to be known, replied he, if he is most christian."

The irresistible force of destiny shews itself more plainly in this event, than in almost any other

other we read of. A country school-master, without forming a conspiracy, without having an accomplice, or being the least interested in what he did, kills Henry, in the midst of his subjects, and changes the face of affairs in Europe.

The whole of the proceedings against him, which were printed in 1611, shews that this man had in fact no other accomplices than the sermons of the preachers of those times, and the discourses of the monks. He was a great bigot, much given to mental and extempore prayer, and pretended at times to have visions from heaven. He confessed, that after leaving the Feuillants, he had frequently a desire to take the jesuits habit. He likewise confessed that his first design was only to have persuaded the king to banish the reformed religion out of France; and that once in the Christmas-holidays, seeing the king pass in his coach, thro' the same street, where he afterwards murdered him, he cried out, as loud as he was able, "Sire, " in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and " the most holy Virgin Mary, I conjure you " to let me speak to you;" but that the guards pushed him away from the coach; that then he returned back to Angoulesme, his birth-place, where he kept a school, and had eighty scholars, and, that during his stay there, he frequently went to confession, and took the sacrament: and it appeared, from many proofs, that he conceived his hellish design in the midst of the most fanatic acts of devotion. His answer to the second interrogatory, in his examination, were in these words, " No one " whatever, either counselled or assisted him " in

“ in the perpetrating this deed ; only that hearing the soldiers in general, talking amongst themselves, that if the king was to make war against the pope, they would assist him, and lay down their lives for his cause ; that therefore, and for that reason, he suffered himself to be led away by the strong desire he felt to kill the king, because, in his opinion, the making war against the pope is making war upon God, inasmuch, as the pope is God and God is the pope.” Thus we find every thing concur, to prove to us that Henry IV. was in fact the victim of an horrible prejudice, which had, for a long time, blinded the understandings of mankind, and spread desolation over the face of the earth.



It has been confidently asserted that Henry's approaching death was talked of in the Low Countries long before the fatal blow was given. It is not at all astonishing that the partizans of the catholic league, seeing the formidable army he was on the point of leading into the field, might say that nothing but the death of Henry could save them. They and the rest of the leaguers undoubtedly wished for a second John Châtel to arise ; we easily pass from desire to hope, this hope will break forth in expressions, and these are wasted abroad ; something of this kind had reached the ears of Ravailiac, and determined him to put his bloody purpose in execution.

It is certain likewise, that it had been told to Henry that he should die in his coach. This notion arose from the great dread this prince, otherwise

otherwise so intrepid, was always under of being overturned; when in any wheel-carriage. This natural weakness was looked upon by astrologers, as a foreboding, an omen; and this notion of theirs, formed at random, was verified by the most improbable of all events.

On the cardinal de RICHELIEU's obtaining a dispensation from the POPE, to pass sentence of death upon MARILLAC.

Vol. v. chap. cxlvi. **T**HUS does a priest
pag. 170.] spill the blood of a
fellow-subject by the sword
of justice, which sword he receives in France,
from the hand of another priest, who lives at
the further extremity of Italy.

Administration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU.

On the Marriage of GASTON, brother of
LEWIS XIII. with MARGARET of Lor-
raine.

Id. page 182.] **T**HE king insisted that his brother's
marriage with Margaret of Lor-
raine should be annulled. Gaston had
only a daughter by his first wife, the heiress of
Monpensier. Now if the heir presumptive of the
crown persisted in his second marriage, and a
son should be born of it, the king wanted to
have this son declared a bastard, and incapable
of inheriting the crown.

This was an absolute violation of all religion,
laws, and customs; but as religion can only
be

be instituted for the good of a state, it is certain, that when its customs are hurtful or dangerous, they ought to be abolished.

On the Creation of Twenty-four new Counsellors of Parliament.

Id. page 190. **I**T is a matter, not very worthy of attention, that there should be only twenty persons found to purchase these judges seats; but what will serve to shew us the spirit of mankind, and especially of Frenchmen, is, that these new created members were a long time despised and hated by the whole body; that, in the war of the league, they were obliged to pay 15000 livres each, to obtain the good graces of their brethren, by contributions to a war against the government; that (as we shall see hereafter) this got them the nick-name of the *Quinze-vingt*, or the twenty-fifteens. Lastly, that when an attempt was lately made to lay aside these useless members, the parliament, who cried out against their being first introduced, as mere supernumeraries, exclaimed as loudly against their being suppressed. Thus are the same things well or ill received, according to the spirit of the times, and the remedy is frequently as much complained of as the disease.

On

On the Jesuit CAUSSIN, the KING'S
Confessor.

Id. page 191. **T**HIS same jesuit advised Lewis XIII. to put the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, in order to sanctify the king's amours with made-moiselle de la Fayette, which was looked upon only as an union of minds in which the senses had very little share. The good father's advice was followed, and cardinal Richelieu put this project in practice the following year, while Caussin celebrated in wretched doggrel at Quimpercorentin, the particular regard the Virgin had for the kingdom of France. The house of Austria happened to have the Virgin for its patroness likewise, so that our holy lady must have been extremely put to it which of them to have served, had it not been that the Swedes and the duke of Weimar were protestants.

* * *

Ibid.] Observe that you will never meet with any great troubles in history, nor any intrigues of council, without the confessors of kings having an hand in them, which often ends in their own disgrace. For instance, a prince has the weakness to consult his confessor on state-affairs, (and by the bye this is one of the greatest inconveniences attending auricular confession.) The confessor, who is almost always of some one party, endeavours to make his royal penitent consider the views of this party

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party as the will of God. The minister soon comes to the knowledge of these artifices, upon which the confessor is disgraced, and another is taken in his place, who practices the very same.

At the end of the Chapter of the Administration of Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Id page 200. **W**HEN it came to be perceived how full the pretended testament of cardinal Richelieu was of errors in chronology and topography, false computations, and the most absurd and ignorant assertions, such, as for instance, that France had a greater number of ports in the Mediterranean than Spain, and chiefly, that in all this spurious work there was not the least mention made of the manner in which it was proper to carry on the war, in which the French monarchy was then engaged; this famous production became as much despised as it was before admired.

OF SPAIN, under PHILIP IV.

Vol. V. ch. 147. SPAIN has suffered so great
pag. 204. a depopulation, that Don

Ustaris, a famous statesman, who wrote in the year 1723, for the good of his country, reckons the number of inhabitants at that time, not to amount to more than seven millions, or about a third of what are in France; and while he laments the great decrease of useful subjects in that state, he at the same time complains, that the number of monks in the kingdom had almost always continued the same. He also confesses, that the revenues of the masters of the mines of Mexico and Peru, did not amount to eighty millions of livres of the present money*.

* About three millions and a half sterling.

At the End of the CHAPTER relating to
PHILIP IV.

Id. p. 211. **A**FTER the death of Philip IV. which happened in the year 1666, Spain was very unfortunate. Mary of Austria, widow to the deceased king, and sister to the emperor Leopold, was regent during the minority of Don Carlos, or Charles, the second of that name, his son. Her regency was not so distracted, as that of Anne of Austria in France; but they had this melancholy conformity with each other, that the queen of Spain drew upon her the hatred of the whole nation, by giving the administration into the hands of a foreign priest, as the queen of France made all her people her enemies, by subjecting them to the yoke of an Italian cardinal; the principal grandees oppose the ministers in both states, and the interior government was equally ill conducted in one and the other.

The prime minister, who governed the Spanish nation for some time, during the minority of Charles II. was the jesuit Evrard Nitard, a German, confessor to the queen, and grand inquisitor of the kingdom. The incompatibility which religion seems to have placed between the monastic vow, and ministerial intrigues, soon raised a general murmur against this jesuit.

The character of Nitard did not a little add to the public indignation against him. Though he was very capable of ruling over the mind
of

of his penitent, he was by no means fit to hold the reins of government in a state, having nothing of the minister or the priest, but pride and ambition, even without the necessary covering of dissimulation. He one day had the insolence to say to the duke of Lerma, "It is you who owe respect to me, who have every day your god in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With this pride, so opposite to true greatness, he suffered the treasury to be left bare of money, all the strong places in the kingdom to fall to ruin, the ports to be left without shipping, and the forces without discipline, and without any leaders capable of commanding them; this negligence of his, more especially, contributed to the first advantages which Lewis XIV. gained over his brother-in-law and mother-in-law, when he attacked them in 1667, and took from them one half of Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté.

A party was formed against the jesuit-minister, as in France against cardinal Mazarin; and Nitard found in Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. as implacable an enemy as the Great Condé was to the cardinal. Condé was imprisoned, Don John was banished. These disputes gave rise to two factions that divided the Spanish nation, but without a civil war, which, however, was just on the point of breaking out, when the queen prevented it by banishing father Nitard (though much against her will) as queen Anne of Austria was obliged to turn off Mazarin. But this latter returned more powerful than ever; whereas father Nitard, whose dismissal happened in 1667, could never again get footing in Spain. The reason

son was, that the queen regent had taken another confessor in his room, who opposed the return of his predecessor; whereas the queen of France had no minister near her to supply the place of Mazarin.

Nitard went to Rome, where he in vain solicited a cardinal's hat, which is seldom bestowed on disgraced ministers, and was obliged to live a retired life very little countenanced by his brethren, who indeed are seldom fond of a person who has raised himself above their level. But at length, by his own assiduity, and the good offices of the queen of Spain, he obtained this hat, which is so much the darling object of all churchmen; and now his brother jesuits were by the ears who should first pay their court to him.

The reign of Charles II. of Spain was as weak as that of Philip III. and IV. as you will see in the age of Lewis XIV.

Of the Misfortunes of CHARLES I. and of
the IRISH MASSACRE.

Vol. V. ch. 150. **T**HIS massacre has not the
page 152. same degree of celebrity

in the history of great crimes
as that of St. Bartholomew, though it was as
general, and accompanied with all the horrors
and barbarities that could distinguish such a
fally of enthusiastic fury. But this conspiracy
of one half of a nation against the other, on
account of religion, passed in an island at that
time little known by other nations, and had not
the authority of such illustrious accomplices as
a queen regent, a king of France, and a duke
of Guise; the victims of this brutal zeal,
though equal in number, were not of such con-
sideration as those in France, and although
the scene was to the full as bloody, yet the
theatre of action did not fix the attention of
Europe. The whole world still rings with the
horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, while the
Irish massacre is in a manner forgot.

If we were to reckon the murders which
have been committed by enthusiasm, since the
days of St. Athanasius and of Arius, to the
present time, we should find that those disputes
have contributed more to the depopulation of
the earth, than all the battles that have been
fought; for, in these, the male species only is
destroyed, which is always more numerous
than the female: but in the massacres perpe-
trated for religion's sake, both sexes are indis-
criminately made the victims.

Reflections on the Declaration of CHARLES I.
concerning Religion.

Id. pag. 158. **T**HUS are princes in religious matters more under subjection to their people, than the people to them. When once, what we call dogma, or an opinion, has got root in a nation, the sovereign must declare that he is ready to die in the defence of that opinion. It is much easier to make such a speech than to persuade a headstrong populace.



Of the numberless dissensions which have at different times threatened the subversion of the English government, before it acquired the happy and settled form in which we now see it, the troubles of those times preceding the death of Charles I. were the only ones, in which excess of folly and excess of madness were joined together, and that ridiculous superstition with which the reformed sect had reproached those of the Romish communion, might now be retorted upon the puritans. The bishops behaved like mean-spirited cowards; they ought to have died in defence of a cause which they thought just: but the behaviour of the presbyterians was that of madmen; their dress, their way of discouraging, their low allusions to passages of Scripture, their ridiculous gestures, their sermons, their pretended prophecies; in short, the whole, of their manners might in peaceable times have served to divert the mob at a fair, had they not been rather too disgusting. But,

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unhappily, these fanatics joined fury to absurdity; and those whom children now a-days would laugh to scorn, by wading through rivers of blood made themselves respected and dreaded; and were at once the most ridiculous and the most formidable of men.

OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

Vol. V. ch. 151. **T**HE marquis of Montrose
page 277. was sentenced to be hang-

ed on a gibbet thirty feet high, to be afterwards quartered, and his members fixed upon the gates of the four principal towns in Scotland, for having offended against the *New Law or Covenant*, as it was called. This brave nobleman, upon hearing his sentence pronounced to him by the judge, made answer, that he was sorry he had not quarters enough to be sent to the gates of every town in Europe, as monuments of his fidelity to his prince. He even put this sentiment into tolerable verse as he was going to the place of execution. He was a person of the most agreeable wit, and the most learning, as well as the bravest man of any in the three kingdoms. The presbyterian clergy accompanied him to his execution, reviling and insulting him, and pronouncing his damnation.

* * *

Id. p. 286.] Cromwell placed confidence only in the independants, who could not subsist but thro' him, and he would laugh at them sometimes with the deists, though he did not look upon deism with a favourable eye, as being a religion

gion void of enthusiasm, and consequently fit only for philosophers, and can never be of service to conquerors.

There were but a few of this philosophic sect in the kingdom, and with these he would sometimes divert himself at the expence of the holy madmen, who had cleared the way for him to the throne with the Bible in their hands. By this conduct he preserved, to his last hour, an authority which had been cemented with blood, and supported by force and artifice.

OF ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

Vol. VI. ch. 152. **D**EISM, which this king seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom, and has since made a surprising progress in other parts of the world. The earl of Shaftsbury, son to the minister, and one of the chief supporters of this sect, says positively in his Characteristics, that the noble appellation of deist cannot be too highly revered. A number of eminent writers have made open profession of deism; and the major part of the Socinians have ranged themselves under its standard. This sect, now become very numerous, is accused of admitting only the light of reason, and rejecting all revelation. It is not possible for a Christian to stand up as their advocate; but the strict impartiality with which we are desirous to draw this great picture of human life, obliges us, while we condemn their doctrine, to do justice to their behaviour. We

cannot therefore but acknowledge, that this is the only sect of all others that has not disturbed the peace of society by its disputes; and, though erroneous, has been always clear of fanaticism. It is indeed impossible that such a sect should be other than peaceable, since its followers are united with all mankind in the principle common to all ages and all countries; namely, the worship of one only God; and differ from other men only in having neither forms nor places of worship; in believing only in one just God, allowing for the diversity of opinions in others, and seldom discovering their own. They say that their pure religion, which is as old as the world, was for a long time the only true one, before God himself gave another to the Hebrew nation. They found this notion from its having been always the religion of the Chinese literati; but these literati had a public form of worship, whereas the European deists have only a private one, every person worshipping God in his own house, and assisting without scruple at all public ceremonies: at least there has hitherto been but a very inconsiderable number of those called *Unitarians*, who have formed an assembly; and these may be called primitive Christians rather than deists.

* * *

Id. pag. 8, 9, &c.] Notwithstanding the great change in minds and affairs in England, the love of liberty and faction did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother the duke of York; so that in the midst of the pleasures and festivities of a court, confusion,

tion, division, and animosities, between sects and parties, overspread the kingdom. There were not indeed any violent civil wars, as in the time of Cromwell; but numberless intrigues, plots, and murders, committed under the solemn mask of justice, and in virtue of laws, which hatred, or party misapprehension, construed according to their own purpose, threw a cloud over a great part of the reign of Charles II. This prince indeed seemed, by the amiable mildness of his character, formed to render his people as happy as he made every one who had the honour of approaching him; and yet the blood of the subject flowed under the hand of the executioner during this good prince's reign, as well as under those of others. Religion was the sole cause of these disasters, notwithstanding that Charles himself was perfectly indifferent on that head.

Charles had no children, and his brother, who was heir presumptive to the crown, had lately turned papist, a name which is held in execration by the parliament and kingdom of England in general. As soon as it was positively known that the duke had changed his religion, the fear of having one day a papist for their king, made a change in almost all minds. Some wretches among the dregs of the people, hired by the faction that opposed the court, pretended to discover a plot much more extraordinary than that known by the name of gunpowder treason. They declared and swore to it, that the papists had formed a design to murder the king, and place the crown upon his brother's head; that pope Clement X. in a congregation called *de Propagandâ*, held in 1675,

had declared, that the kingdom of England belonged to the popes, by an imprescriptible right; that, in virtue of this right, he had appointed Oliva, general of the jesuits order, his lieutenant there; and that this jesuit had made over his authority to the duke of York, the pope's vassal; that an army was to be raised in England to drive Charles II. from the throne; that Father La Chaize, a jesuit, and confessor to Lewis XIV. had remitted a thousand louis d'ors to London, to set the operations on foot; that Conyers, another jesuit, had bought a poniard, which cost him twenty shillings, with which he was to stab the king; and that a certain physician had been offered ten thousand pounds to poison him. At the same time they produced a list of the names and commissions of all the officers who had been nominated by the general of the jesuits to command the army to be raised in defence of popery.

Never was accusation more absurd. The rabbit woman or the bottle-conjurer in England, or with us the affair of the Bull Unigenitus, the convulsionists, and the charges brought against philosophers and men of learning, were not more ridiculous. But when once the minds of men come to be heated, the more preposterous an opinion is, the more it is credited.

The whole nation took the alarm. The parliament, in spite of all the endeavours of the court, proceeded in the most severe manner. There was some mixture of truth in these incredible falsehoods, and that was sufficient to sanctify the whole. The informers pretended that the general Oliva had appointed one Coleman, a dependant on the duke of York, his
secretary

secretary of state in England. This Coleman's papers were seized, and some letters were found among them written by him to father La Chaife, in which were the following expressions; "We have a great undertaking in hand, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and perhaps the total extirpation of heresy; we have a prince zealous in our cause, &c. . . . You must send a large sum of money to the king, money is the only prevailing logic at our court."

It is plain by these letters that the Catholic party wanted to get the upper hand, that they had great dependance on the duke of York, and that the king himself was inclinable to favour the Catholics, provided they would supply him handsomely with money; and, lastly, that the jesuits were doing all in their power to serve the pope in England. All the rest was manifestly false; and the informers contradicted themselves so grossly in their depositions, that at any other time they would have been laughed at by every one.

But Coleman's letters, and the murder of a justice of peace*, which happened about that time, made any thing be believed of the papists. Several persons who were accused, lost their lives on the scaffold, and five jesuits were hanged and quartered. Had these men been condemned as disturbers of the public peace, or for holding illicit correspondence, and endeavouring to subvert the religion by law established, their sentence would have been perfectly just; but certainly they ought not to have

* Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.

been put to death as captains or chaplains of a popish army, which was to have conquered the three kingdoms. The zeal against popery, however, was carried so far, that the house of commons almost unanimously passed the bill of exclusion against the duke of York, by which he was declared for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of England. This unhappy prince, a few years afterwards, did but too well confirm this sentence of the house of commons.

England, all the northern kingdoms, one half of Germany, the seven United Provinces, and one fourth of the Swiss cantons, had hitherto contented themselves with considering the Roman Catholic religion as idolatrous. But this obloquy had not passed into a law in any of these states. Now, however, the English parliament tacked the oath of abjuration to that of the test, and obliged the people to swear to their abhorrence of popery as an idolatrous religion.

What changes have happened in the human mind! The first Christians accused the Roman senate with paying divine honours to statues, which they certainly did not. The Christian religion continued three hundred years without images; twelve Christian emperors treated those as idolaters who prayed before the pictures or figures of saints. This mode of worship is afterwards received both by the eastern and western churches, and after that held in abhorrence by one half of Europe. At length, Christian Rome, that places its chief glory in the destruction of idolatry, is ranked with the heathens, by the laws of a powerful and discerning

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discerning people, who are deservedly held in high esteem by all other nations.

The enthusiasm of the common people did not stop at these demonstrations of horror and aversion to popery; accusations and punishments were still continued.

But the most deplorable circumstance was the execution of lord Stafford, a venerable nobleman, of tried fidelity to his king and country, who had retired from public business, and was closing the career of an honourable life, by the exercise of every domestic virtue. This good man passed for a papist, though he was not such. He was accused by one of the state informers, of having hired him to murder the king; and though it was proved that he had never spoken to the person who was his accuser, yet the wretch was believed. The innocence of lord Stafford availed him nought in the day of trial; he was condemned to lose his head: and by the same shameful and wicked weakness, which had cost his father his crown and his life, Charles did not dare to pardon him. This example proves that the tyranny of public bodies is always more heavy than that of a king. There are a thousand ways to pacify the resentment of a sovereign; there are none to bend the inflexible cruelty of the public, when carried away by prejudice. Each member is filled with the fury that animates the whole, imparts it with redoubled force to his companions, and gives himself up without fear to the most pitiless inhumanity, conscious that an individual is not answerable for the actions of a community.

While the papists and the church of England party were exhibiting these bloody spectacles in London, the presbyterians in Scotland presented a scene no less absurd, and infinitely more abominable. They murdered the archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of that kingdom, where the episcopal government still continued, because this prelate had stood up in defence of his prerogatives. After this noble action, the presbyterians assembled the people, and in their sermons openly compared their shocking deed with those of Jael, Ehud, and Judith, recorded in holy writ, and to which indeed it bore a pretty near resemblance. From the church they led their infatuated auditors with the sound of drums and bagpipes to Glasgow, of which they made themselves masters. After this they took an oath that they would no longer acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church, nor his brother as king after his death; and that they would shew obedience to no one but the *Lord*, to whom they would sacrifice all the bishops who opposed the workings of the saints.

The king was now obliged to send his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, with a small army against these saints. The presbyterians marched to meet him with eight thousand men headed by ministers of the gospel. This army stiled itself *the army of the Lord*. An old minister got up on a little hillock, and caused his hands to be supported, as we read of Aaron, in order to insure victory to those of his party; notwithstanding which, the army of the Lord was routed at the very first onset, and twelve

hundred of the saints taken prisoners, all of whom the duke treated with the greatest humanity; he hanged only two of the most active of their priests, and set at liberty every one who would take an oath not to make any more disturbances in the country, in God's name. Nine hundred accepted their liberty on these conditions, the remaining three hundred declared that it was better to obey God than man, and that they had rather suffer death themselves, than not be allowed to kill all church of England men and papists. Upon this they were transported to America; and the ship that was carrying them over being cast away, they all received the crown of martyrdom at the bottom of the sea.

This spirit of folly continued some time longer in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but at length the king found means to restore the public tranquillity, not so much by his prudence perhaps, as by the amiableness of his disposition, and that pleasing affability which won him the hearts of all who approached him, and insensibly softened the gloomy ferocity of discontented factions, and harmonized the minds of jarring parties.

OF ITALY in the Sixteenth CENTURY.

Vol. VI. ch. 153, **P**OPE Pius IV. sent a body
 pag. 13. of forces into France, to
 assist Charles IX. against the
 Hugonots. These troops were at the battle of
 Moncontour. To so low an ebb was the French
 government at that time fallen, that 2000 of
 the pope's soldiers were looked upon as a very
 useful succour.

OF SWEDEN and POLAND.

Vol. VI. ch. 158, **H**ERE is another strange
 pag. 62, &c. vicissitude and contrast
 in the affairs of the North.
 Sweden, which was so despotically governed of
 late, became the most free kingdom in the
 world, and that in which the king is most de-
 pendent on his people: while, on the contrary,
 Denmark, where the king had formerly no
 more authority than a doge, and where the so-
 vereign power was vested in the nobles, and the
 common people were all slaves, has, since the
 year 1661, been the most absolute monarchy
 upon the earth. The clergy and the burghers
 chose rather to submit to an absolute sovereign
 than to an hundred nobles, every one of whom
 was for having the chief command; and accord-
 ingly they obliged the nobles to become sub-
 jects as well as themselves, and to invest their
 king Frederick III. with an unlimited authority*.

* For an account of this revolution, see note to pag. 62, Vol. VI.
 And

And he was the only monarch in the universe who, by the formal consent of all the orders of the kingdom, was acknowledged as absolute master of the people and the laws, "which he might either make, annul, or neglect, according to his own will." This formidable power was committed into his hand in a juridical manner, and happily his successors have not abused it. They have been sensible that their true greatness consisted in the happiness of their subjects. Sweden and Denmark have cultivated trade by methods diametrically opposite to each other; the former by making themselves free, the latter by giving up their liberties.

Of SABATEI SEVI, the false Messiah.

Vol. VI ch. 160, **I**T is a standing tradition among the Jews, that the Shiloh or Messiah, their avenger and king, is not to appear till the coming of Elias; and they are persuaded that they have had one Elias, who is to appear again at the renewing of the world. This Elias has, by some learned persons, been taken for the sun, on account of the conformity between this name and *Elios*, which in Greek signifies the sun; as also from the story of Elias or Elijah being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot, drawn by four horses, which has a great resemblance of the poetical fiction of the chariot of the sun and his four horses. But without employing our time in such researches, or examining whether the Hebrew books were written after the time of Alexander, when the Jewish factors residing in Alexandria

Alexandria had learnt something of the Grecian mythology; it is sufficient to remark, that the Jews have been in expectation of the coming of Elias from time immemorial; and to this very day, when these deluded people perform the ceremony of circumcision on a new-born infant, they always place a chair for Elias, in case he should please to honour them with his presence. Elias, according to them, is to introduce the great sabbath, the great Messiah, and the general revolution of all things. This notion has been received among christians. The Elias is to come to declare the dissolution of this world, and a new order of things. Almost all the different sects of fanatics expect an Elias. The prophets of the Cevennes, who came to London in the year 1707, to raise the dead, pretended to have seen Elias, and to have spoken to him; and that he was to shew himself to the people. In 1724, the magistrate of the police sent two Elias's to prison, who fought with each other who should be accounted the true one. It was therefore absolutely necessary for Sabatei Sevi to set out with declaring himself to be the Messiah, otherwise his pretended mission would have been treated as an imposture.

He met with one Nathan, a Jewish rabbin, who thought there was something to be gained by playing a part in this farce. Accordingly Sabatei declared to the Jews of Asia Minor and Syria, that this Nathan was Elias, and Nathan on his part insisted that Sabatei was the Messiah, the Shiloh, expected by the chosen people.

Siege of VIENNA by the TURKS.

Vol. VI. ch. 161, **I**T has been the custom of
 pag. 110. all the princes, from Constantinople to the further limits of Asia, always to keep a treasure by them as a resource in times of war or other necessity. They are unacquainted with the method of raising money upon extraordinary supplies, or by the creation or sale of offices, government securities, or annuities. The circulation of specie and public credit are things unknown amongst them, and these potentates content themselves with amassing all the gold, silver, or jewels, they possibly can. This had been the custom in the east ever since the time of Cyrus: and Cara Mustapha, the Turkish vizir, thought it was the same with the emperors of Germany.

Of CHINA.

Vol. VI. ch. 164, **T**HE emperor Yont-chin,
 at the end. successor to Cam-hi, when he drove the European missionaries out of his empire, spoke to them in the following manner; which they have had the honesty to relate in their *Letters curious and edifying*.

“What would you say if I was to send a
 “number of bonzes and lamas into your country?
 “try? How would you receive them? If you
 “have found means to impose upon my father,
 “do not think I will suffer you to deceive me
 “in

“ in the same manner. You would have my
“ Chinese embrace your religion ; now I very
“ well know that you will not permit of any
“ worship different from your own : what then
“ must become of me and my people ? The
“ subjects of your princes and the disciples
“ whom you make, acknowledge no other au-
“ thority than yours. In times of trouble and
“ distraction they are wholly guided by your
“ voices. I am sensible that at present we
“ have nothing to fear ; but when your vessels
“ shall find the way hither by thousands, times
“ of trouble and distraction may ensue.”

The very jesuits who give us an account of this speech, acknowledge with every other writer, that this emperor was one of the wisest and most generous princes that ever filled a throne. His whole study was to relieve the necessities of the poor, by setting them to work ; to enforce the observance of the laws, by setting the example himself ; to check the ambition and intrigues of the bonzes ; to maintain peace and plenty throughout his empire ; and to cultivate and encourage all the useful arts, especially agriculture. During his reign the public edifices, the high roads, and the canals, which form a communication between all the principal rivers of the empire, were supported with a magnificence and oeconomy of which there has been no example, but among the antient Romans.

RECAPITULATION

OF THE

FOREGOING HISTORY.

HAVING gone through the immense scene of revolutions that have happened in the world, since the time of Charlemagne, and even some ages before, till that of Lewis XIV. let us now enquire what will be the fruits of our labour, and what advantage we may hope to derive from history? We have taken a view of actions and manners, let us next consider what benefit we may reap from the knowledge of them.



A sensible reader will easily perceive, that he is to credit such great events only as carry with them an air of probability; and that he ought to look with pity and contempt on all those fabulous relations with which fanaticism and the spirit of fiction and credulity have, in every age, loaded the history of the world.

Constantine triumphs over the emperor Maxentius; but most certainly the labarum, with its Greek inscription, never appeared to him in the clouds.

Clovis, yet reeking with the blood of those whom he had caused to be assassinated, turns christian,

christian, and commits new murders; but no pigeon brought him an ampulla for his baptism, nor did an angel descend from heaven to present him with a standard.

A monk of Clairvaux might preach a crusade; but a man must be more than an idiot to write or believe that God worked miracles by the hand of this monk, in behalf of this crusade, which at the same time proved so unsuccessful.

Lewis VIII. of France might die of a consumption; but no one except an ignorant fanatic could say, that he might have been cured by the embraces of a young maiden, had he not chosen to die a martyr to his chastity.

History is in every nation disfigured by fiction, till the time that philosophy appeared to enlighten mankind; and when she rose upon this worse than Egyptian darkness, she found the minds of men so blinded by many ages of error, that she could with difficulty undeceive them; she found ceremonies, facts, and monuments, established to consecrate falsehoods.

How for instance could any philosopher have been able to persuade the common people of Rome, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, that this Jupiter never came down from heaven to stop the flight of the Roman legions? Or, how could he have attempted to deny, in the temple of Castor and Pollux, that these twin brothers had been seen fighting at the head of their armies? Would they not instantly have produced to him the stone on which the print of the feet of those gods were still to be seen? Would not the priests of Jupiter and of Pollux have

have said to him, "Incredulous wretch, you cannot but confess in beholding a rostral column, that we have gained a naval victory, of which that column is a monument: acknowledge, therefore, that the gods came down to earth to fight in our behalf; and no longer blaspheme those miracles in presence of the monuments that bear witness to them." Such has, in all ages, been the arguments of imposture and credulity.

A crazy princess builds a chapel to the honour of eleven thousand virgins. The priest of this chapel firmly believes that these eleven thousand virgins never had existence; and yet he stirs up the populace to stone the philosopher who disputes it.

Monuments are to be taken as proofs of facts only when those facts, probable in themselves, are transmitted to us by cotemporary writers of wisdom and understanding.

The chronicles of the reign of Philip Augustus, and the abbey of la Victoire, are proofs of the battle of Bovines. But when you see the famous groupe of Laocoon at Rome, are you from that, to believe the fable of the Trojan horse? Or in viewing the hideous statues of a St. Denis, on the road to Paris, will those monuments of ignorance and credulity convince you, that St. Denis walked above a league with his head under his arm after it was cut off?

Most of those monuments that have been erected any length of time after the action they commemorate, are at best but proofs of an error consecrated by time: nay, we may sometimes even doubt the truth of medals that have
been

been struck even at the time of an event ; for we have seen the English, deceived by a false piece of news, strike a medal, with these words on the exergue, *Carthagen taken by admiral Vernon* ; and almost the next post brought them an account of that admiral's having-raised the siege. If a nation so fruitful in wise and learned men could thus run the hazard of imposing upon posterity, what are we to think of nations and times buried in the deepest ignorance ?

We may safely credit those events attested by public registers, by the consent of cotemporary authors living in a capital, procuring lights from each other, and writing under the inspection of the principal persons of a nation. But for all those petty, dubious, and romantic facts, related by obscure writers, in the corner of some ignorant and uncivilized province, and those idle tales, filled with the most absurd and improbable circumstances, and with pretended miracles that are the disgrace of history instead of being its ornament, let us rank them with the works of Voragines †, father Caussin, Maimbourg, and others of their stamp.



It is easy to observe the great change of manners almost throughout the world, from the first irruptions of the barbarians to the present time. The arts, which soften the manners by improving them, began a little to revive in the 12th century ; but this dawn, being overcast by a

† The author of the Golden Legend.

cloud of the most absurd and infamous superstitions, threw every thing back into its pristine darkness; and these superstitions, having spread among the ignorant and brutal people of Europe, formed every where a mixture of barbarism and folly.

The Arabians civilized and improved Asia, Africa, and a part of Spain, till they were subdued by the Turks, and finally driven out by the Spaniards. Then ignorance took possession of these beautiful regions, and the manners of mankind became gloomy, fierce, and barbarous throughout one half of our hemisphere.

The popes were, for several centuries, elected only by force of arms; and the people, and even their sovereigns, were so weak, that an anti-pope of their own making, was, from the instant of his creation, revered by them as the vicar of God, and infallible. If this infallible personage happened to be deposed, he lost his holiness with his dignity, and his successor inherited the tribute of their adoration. And these earthly deities, who were in their turns either murderers or murdered, poisoners or poisoned; who enriched their bastards with the spoils of states, while they condemned fornication; who fulminated their anathemas against tournaments, while they themselves were carrying on wars with excommunicated and deposed kings, and made the deluded people purchase the remission of their sins, were at once the scandal, the abhorrence, and the gods of the greatest part of Christendom.

You have seen how in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monks and bishops raised

themselves to the sovereign power and dignity, and were every where the heads of the feudal government. Here they established the most ridiculous customs, as gross as their own manners; such as the exclusive right of entering the church with a falcon on their hand; the right of employing husbandmen to beat their ponds, that a baron, a monk, or a bishop might not be disturbed by the croaking of the frogs; the right of passing the first night with the new-married wives of their vassals, and the right of levying fines upon all traders being aliens; for at that time there were no traders in their own country.

You have also seen these fallies of ignorance and folly blended with the more bloody and fatal ones of religious wars.



Several princes, in endeavouring to release the vassals from the tyranny of their lords, attempted to bring the lords under the same kind of servitude; this was the occasion of so many civil wars.

Were we to credit several writers, who adapt every thing to their own ideas, we should be led to imagine, that republican states were more virtuous and happy than the monarchical; but without reckoning the bloody wars that were so long carried on between the Genoese and the Venetians, about the right of trading with the Mahometan nations, what troubles did not the republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Pisa experience? and how often did the three latter change masters? If Venice preserved her liberty,

she is indebted for that happiness wholly to her impassable marshes called the Lagunes.

It may be asked, how in the midst of so many tumults, intestine wars, conspiracies, crimes, and follies, there should have been so many persons who cultivated the useful and liberal arts in Italy, and afterwards in the other states of Christendom? The answer is, that we have never been under the Turkish yoke.

There must certainly have been something in the manners and genius of the people of this part of the Europe, which is not to be found either in Thrace, where the Turks have fixed the seat of their empire, nor in Tartary from whence they originally came. There are three things that constantly influence the minds of men, climate, government, and religion. This is the only possible method of explaining this ænigma in worldly affairs.

* * *

The author of *The spirit of Laws* † says, that there are no republican states in Asia; whereas an hundred different hords of Tartars, and tribes of Arabian freebooters, form so many different wandering republics. Besides, there were formerly in Asia, several very flourishing republics, even superior to those of Greece; witness Tyre and Sidon: but we have seen none such since their decline. That great empires of that part of the world have also been swallowed up, as this same author thinks, is manifest from the prodigious plains found, there at present. He pretends that a mountainous country is the most proper asylum of liberty; but certainly

† Montesquieu,

Asia is to the full as mountainous as Europe: Poland, which is a republic, is a champaign country. Venice and Holland cannot be said to abound in mountains. Swisserland, which is a free country, is indeed situated in a part of the Alps; but its neighbours that inhabit the other part, have ever been in a state of slavery. It is certainly a refinement in reasoning to enquire into the physical causes of governments; but then we should not seek for causes that never had existence.



Altho' it has in former times been a custom with almost all nations, to sacrifice human victims; yet this custom is far from having been frequent. This effect of barbarous ignorance, abolished in the old world, still continued to subsist in the new. But this detestable ceremony is not to be considered in the light of a religious precept, that influenced society; for though the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners before the altars of their gods, and the Romans strangled theirs, after having dragged them in triumph, at their chariot wheels, to the Capitol, this was no more than one of the consequences of war, which prevailed equally with both nations, and which, when joined to a religious motive, became one of the most dreadful scourges of humanity. All I contend for, is, that there never was an instance of any religious society or rite being instituted with a view to encourage men to the commission of vice. Religion has, indeed, been made a cloak for wickedness in all parts of the world; but it is every where instituted to promote virtue and goodness: and though superstition may have intro-

introduced fanaticism and wars, morality teaches universal peace and concord.

* * *

From this picture of Europe, from the reign of Charlemagne to the present time, you will easily judge, that this part of the world is, without comparison, better peopled, more civilized, more wealthy, and more enlightened than it was in his days ; and that it is even superior to what any other part of the Roman empire was, Italy excepted.

It is a notion worthy only of the facetious author of the Persian Tales, or of the new-fangled paradoxes which we meet with in other writers no less frivolous, though delivered with an air of more gravity, to pretend that Europe is less populous than in the time of the antient Romans.

If we consider the number of superb cities from Petersburg to Madrid, that have been built in places that were deserts six centuries ago ; or the immense tracts of woods which covered the earth, from the borders of the Danube to the Baltic sea, and even to the heart of France, it will clearly appear, that such an extent of land could not have been cleared, without a great number of hands. And let others say what they will, agriculture and commerce have been infinitely more encouraged since the time of the Romans, than they were either then or before.

One reason, which has in general contributed to keeping up the population of Europe is, that in the numberless wars, which its several provinces have experienced, the conquered people

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have

have never been carried away out of their own country by the victors.

Charlemagne did indeed depopulate the banks of the Weser ; but this small spot was soon recruited again with inhabitants. The Turks carried away several Hungarian and Dalmatian families, out of their own country, and accordingly we find those countries, at present, but thinly peopled. Poland is also badly inhabited, but that is owing to the common people being still held in a state of slavery.

In what a flourishing condition then, would Europe have been at this time, had it not been for the continual wars, by which it has been rent on the slightest pretexes, and very often through mere whim and caprice ? To what a degree of perfection would agriculture have attained, and how much more comfort and assistance would those arts, which prepare the produce of the earth for our use, have afforded us, had not such an astonishing number of persons, of both sexes, been doomed to pass their lives in useless retirement, within the walls of a cloister ! An improvement in humanity, which has been introduced amidst the scourge of war, and thus softened its horrors, has at the same time not a little contributed to save the common people from that destruction with which they were almost continually threatened. The great number of military forces, which are continually maintained by all crowned heads, is doubtless a very great evil in society ; but, at the same time, as I have before observed, this very evil is productive of a good. The common people now leave the trade of war to their masters, without intermeddling therewith themselves ; the inhabitants

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tants of a besieged town pass frequently from the service of one power to that of another, without a single life being lost on the occasion; and quietly become the property of him who has the strongest army, the best artillery, and the most money.

Germany, France, and England, were for a long time laid waste by civil wars; but these disasters were soon repaired, and the present flourishing state of these countries shews, that the industry of mankind has even far exceeded their rage and fury. It is not the same with Persia, for that country has, for upwards of forty years, been a prey to the most shocking devastations; but if happily she should be gathered together, under the rule of a wise and good prince, she may recover herself in far less time than has been taken in ruining her.

When a nation has an acquaintance with the arts, and its inhabitants are not absolutely enslaved, or carried away by a foreign conqueror, that nation will easily rise from her ruins, and recover her former strength.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

A G E O F L E W I S XIV.

In speaking of the four AGES or CENTURIES,
of which the last is that of LEWIS XIV.

Vol. VI. **W**E must not suppose that these
pag. 160. four enlightened ages were
exempt from misfortunes or crimes.

Though the arts may be cultivated in their
greatest perfection by the peaceable citizens,
this does not hinder princes from being ambi-
tious, the common people from being seditious,
nor the priests and monks from being sometimes
incendiaries and impostors. All ages resemble
each other in having given birth to bad men; but
I know only of these four that are distinguished
by the shining geniuses they produced.

ROME.

GENERAL HISTORY. 101

R O M E.

On the B I S H O P S stiling themselves such by the divine permission, and that of the holy see.

Vol. VI. ch. 166. SEVERAL of the French
pag. 181. bishops, in the year 1682,

laid aside this form, which was altogether unknown to the first ages of christianity; and very lately, namely in 1754, a bishop had the noble resolution to omit it entirely in a mandate which was to be handed down to posterity; and is the only one that expressly asserts what no supreme pontiff ever yet ventured to declare; namely, that all men, even infidels, are our brethren.

The pope has retained, in every Roman catholic state, certain prerogatives, which he undoubtedly would not obtain, had not time put him in possession of them.

CIVIL WARS.

The End of the SECOND.

Vol. VI. ch. 168, 169. **I**T is highly probable that cardinal Mazarine had long been appointed prime minister in the mind of the queen, and even during the life of Lewis XIII.

THIRD CIVIL WAR.

IT was found necessary to levy taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the emperor. The finances in France had, ever since the death of the great Henry IV. been as badly managed as in Spain and Germany. The administration was a perfect chaos, and ignorance and rapine lorded it over the land: the latter of these was not, indeed, so extensive, nor had it such considerable objects as at present. The government was not the eighth part so much in debt as it now is; it had not armies of 200,000 men to keep in pay; it had not immense subsidies to answer, nor a war by sea to support. The revenues of the government amounted in the first years of the regency, to near seventy-five millions of livres of those days. This was sufficient to have answered all calls, if there had been any oeconomy in the ministry; but in 1646 and the following year, they were in want of new supplies. The superintendant of the finances

finances * at that time was Emeric †, a peasant of Sienna, who had a soul more mean than his birth, and who, by his insolence and licentiousness, irritated the whole nation against him. This man invented schemes for raising money, equally ridiculous and burthensome. He created places of comptrollers of fire-wood, sworn sellers of hay, wine-carriers of the king's council, and made a public sale of letters of nobility. The annuities on the town-house of Paris did not then amount to more than eleven millions; the annuitants were obliged to give up several quarters; additional duties were laid on all imports, and several new places of masters of requests created; and besides all this, about 80,000 crowns were kept back out of the salaries of the magistrates.

It may easily be imagined that the minds of the people were greatly irritated against two Italians, who had come into France without any fortune, had enriched themselves at the expence of the nation, and who by their conduct had rendered themselves so justly obnoxious. The parliament of Paris, the masters of the requests, all the other courts, and the annuitants, joined together to oppose them. Mazarine took away the post of super-intendant from his confident Emeric, and banished him to one of his estates at a distance from Paris; but this sacrifice came too late, every one loudly complained that such a man should have any estates in France, and Mazarin himself was universally detested, tho', at that very time, he had put the finishing hand

* The same as chancellor of the exchequer in England.

† His real name was Michael Perticelli.

to the peace of Munster. For we must observe, that this famous treaty, and the barricades, happened in the same year 1648.

The civil wars in Paris began, like those in London, about a trifling sum of money †.

Of the DUKE of BEAUFORT.

THE duchess of Nemours, in her Memoirs, tells us, that the prince of Condé presented a little crook-backed dwarf, armed cap-a-pée to the queen, saying, “ Behold the generalissimo of the Parisian forces.” These words were designed as a reflection upon his brother the prince of Conti, who was deformed, and whom the Parisians had chosen to head them. Nevertheless, Condé himself was afterwards general of the same troops; and madame de Nemours adds, that she has often heard him declare, that this whole war deserved to be written only in doggrel verse.

† M. de Voltaire, in this place, alludes to the affair of the ship-money in England, which was the first beginning of the troubles and unfortunate end of Charles I.

CONDITION of FRANCE under the Administration of Cardinal MAZARINE.

On the DEATH of CROMWELL.

Vol. VI. ch. 170. **I** Do not know whether it
 pag. 245 & note. is true, that Cromwell
 played the enthusiast and prophet on his death-bed, by telling his physicians that he was certain that God would work a miracle in his favour. His secretary Thurlo tells us, that his words were, "Nature can do more than the physicians." This was not talking like an enthusiast, but like a man of understanding. It might so happen, that, from a conviction of the possibility of the physicians being mistaken in their judgment, he had a mind, in case he should recover, to give the people a higher opinion of his sanctity, and thereby render his person more respected, and even sacred.

MAGNIFICENCE of LEWIS XIV.

On the BULL of DIVORCE granted by the Pope to the Queen of Portugal, on the supposed impotence of her husband.

Vol. VII. ch. 174. **T**HAT which pope
 pag. 11. Clement VII. refused
 to the powerful king of
 England, Henry VIII. Urban VIII. granted
 E 5 to

to the wife of a king of Portugal. The most trifling intrigue will frequently bring about that, at one time, which the most powerful exertions cannot obtain at another. There were always two weights and two measures for the privileges of all kings and their subjects: these two measures have been kept in the Vatican ever since the popes came to have influence in Europe. It would be impossible to conceive how so many nations should, for such a length of time, have left their authority in the hands of the Roman pontiff, were we not well apprized of the great force of custom.

END of the CHAPTER, which concludes with
the DEATH of CONDE.

Vol. VII. ch. 175. **I**T is a current story, but
pag. 60. such as merits our contempt, that Montecuculli
resigned the command of the army after the
death of Turenne; alledging, that he had no
longer any rival worthy to contend with. This
would have been a very foolish assertion, even
if the great Condé had not been living. But,
so far from expressing himself in this ridiculous
manner, which has been as ridiculously im-
puted to him as an honour, he actually fought
against the French, and compelled them to re-
pass the Rhine, that very same year. Besides,
what general who had the command of an ar-
my, would say to his master, " I will serve
you no longer because your enemies are too
weak."

“ weak, and I have too great a superiority of
“ merit.”

OF COLBERT and FOUQUET.

Vol. VIII. ch. 197. **I**T was the league and
pag. 90—97. the war of Paris that

first set a price upon places in the courts of judicature; and as it was one of the greatest faults and misfortunes of a government, for a long time overwhelmed with debt, that France should be the only nation in the world where the office of a judge is venal; so, on the other hand, it is the consequence of the old leaven of sedition, and a kind of insult upon the crown, that the place of king's attorney should cost more than the first dignities of the state.

* * *

We should never be the dupes of those premeditated answers or public speeches, which the heart frequently disavows. Colbert was outwardly a man of moderation; but it is incontestible, that he laboured with the most cruel assiduity to take Fouquet's life. The same person may be a good minister, and one of a vindictive spirit. It is to be regretted that he was not as generous as he was vigilant.

But the most implacable of his (Fouquet's) persecutors, was the person appointed for his judge, Michael le Tellier the chancellor; who

behaved to him with the greatest cruelty, when he went to examine him in the Bastille, and who did all in his power to get him capitally condemned. Therefore, when we read the funeral oration of this chancellor, spoken by Bossuet, and compare it with his conduct, what can we think, except that a funeral oration is no other than a common harangue?

On St. EVREMONT.

Id. pag. 98. **W**HEN Lewis XIV. sent him leave to return back to his own country, at the latter end of his life, the philosopher scorned to accept this permission as a favour, and by his example shewed that every man's country is that in which he can live the happiest: his was England.

LEWIS XIV. GOVERNMENT.

Vol. VIII. **D**ON Ustaris, a statesman, chap. 201. who has written on the trade and revenue of Spain, calls Lewis XIV. *a prodigy of a man.*

LEWIS

LEWIS XIV. FINANCES.

Vol. VIII. chap. I. T is a known anecdote, that ccii. to the end. the king having proposed to place Pelletier at the head of the exchequer, after the death of Colbert, Le Tellier told his majesty, "that he was not a proper person for that office." "And why so?" demanded the king. "Because, Sir, answered le Tellier, "his disposition is not harsh enough." "But do you know," replied the king, "that I want not to have my people treated harshly." This new minister was indeed a good and a just man; but when in 1688, France was again involved in a war, and had to defend itself against the effort of the league of Augsbourg; that is to say, against the joint forces of almost all Europe: he found himself loaded with a burthen that would have proved too heavy, even for the shoulders of Colbert. In this exigence, the easy and unhappy expedient of borrowing upon annuities was the first he had recourse to. He afterwards attempted to lay a restriction upon luxury, which, in a kingdom abounding in manufactures, is putting a check to industry, and the circulation of money; and this is never to be done, but in a nation which pays foreigners for the articles of luxury.

* * *

At this time also we meet with one of those unpardonable faults, in an administration, which have been corrected but of late years; I mean the debasing the current coin, and by an unequal

unequal valuation, making the crowns of less intrinsic value than the quarts; by which means all the latter were bought up, and carried into foreign countries, where they were melted down again, and cast into crowns, and afterwards returned back to France, to the great loss of that kingdom, and the gain of others. A country must be very strong in itself, to stand the force of such repeated shocks, and yet preserve its credit: but the ministry were at that time ignorant. The finances were then like the metaphysicks, a mere conjectural science; and the contractors were a set of impudent impostors, who cheated the ministry. The government sustained a loss of eighty millions, by this management; a loss which requires above twenty years to repair.

* * *

They were continually obliged to have recourse to extraordinaries, as they are called. They created ridiculous posts, which are always eagerly purchased, by those who are desirous to be exempted from the taille, a tax which carries with it a mark of debasement in France; and as men are by nature inclined to be vain, they are almost always the dupes of any scheme that excuse them from this; moreover, the considerable salaries annexed to these places, are another allurements to those to become purchasers in times of necessity, who do not reflect that these places will be suppressed as soon as matters are upon a better footing. Thus, in 1707, the ministry invented the dignity of king's counsellors, brokers, and dealers in wine, which brought in 180,000 livres. They likewise

GENERAL HISTORY. III

wise created the imaginary offices of king's registers, and subdelegates to the intendants of provinces; king's counsellors, comptrollers of fire-wood, counsellors of the police, barber-peruke-makers, comptroller-visitants of fresh-butter, and tasters of salt-butter. These extravagancies make people smile now-a-days, but drew tears from all eyes in those times.

Of CALVINISM.

Vol. ix. chap. I. IN the war of 1701, rebellion ccvii. page 72. and fanaticism broke out in Languedoc, and the neighbouring parts.

This rebellion was excited by the spirit of prophecy. Predictions have at all times been the means made use of to mislead simple people, and inflame the minds of bigots. If one only, out of an hundred events foretold by a daring impostor, comes to pass, thro' mere hazard, the rest that fail are buried in oblivion; and this is looked upon as a certain testimony of the favour of heaven, and the proof of a prodigy. If a prediction does not come to pass literally, it is explained away; it has a new sense given to it, which fanatics adopt and fools believe.

Jurieu, a calvinist minister, was a most violent prophet. He began by setting himself above one Cotterus, a certain Christina, a Justus Velsius, and a Drabitus, whom he pretended to be persons inspired by God. He then put himself almost upon a level with the author of the revelations, and St. Paul. His followers caused a medal to be struck in Holland, with this inscription

scription on the exergue, *Jurius Propheta*. He foretold the deliverance of the people for above eight years. He established his schools for prophecy in the mountains of Dauphiny, and of the Vivarais, and Cevennes; countries perfectly well adapted to such purposes: where the inhabitants are ignorant by nature, and have their imaginations heated by the warmth of the climate, and the enthusiastic discourses of their preachers.

The first of these schools was set up in a glass-house, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called *Peira*.

* * *

Id. pag. 74.] Brousson had laid a plan for introducing the English and Savoyard forces into Languedoc. This plan, written with his own hand, and addressed to the duke of Schomberg, had been intercepted for a considerable time, and was in the custody of the intendant of the province. Brousson, as he was wandering from town to town, was seized at length at Oleron, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was kept close confined. He was examined, while in prison, by the intendant and judge of the province, to whom he declared that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ, and had received the gift of the Holy Ghost; that therefore he dared not to betray the faith committed to his charge, but was in duty bound to distribute the bread of the word to all his brethren. They asked, if the apostles had wrote plans to stir up a province to rebellion? and, thereupon produced to him a paper written with his own hand. After this, he was unanimously condemned to be broke upon the wheel.

Me

GENERAL HISTORY. 113

He died after the manner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint; who had sealed the faith with his blood; and books were published with the title of the martyrdom of Mr. de Brousson.

Of JANSENISM, at the end of the Chapter.

Vol. IX. chap. **R**eligion may yet sharpen
ccviii. pag. 119. the poniards of fanaticism.

There is always in a nation a certain set of people, who hold no commerce with persons of honour and reputation, who are not of this age, nor are to be affected by the progress of reason in the human mind, and in whose souls fanaticism still exercises its baleful influence, like certain distempers, which are found only among the lowest of the people.

Of QUIETISM.

Vol. IX. chap. **L**A Combe, madame Guion's
ccix. pag. 120. director, carried her with
him to his little birth-place of

Annecki, in Savoy. Even this was a very indecent step in a clergyman, to carry a young and handsome woman away out of her own country; but it has almost always been the custom of those, who are desirous to establish a sect, to carry women with them.

On

On the Canonization of MARY D'AGREDA.

Id. pag. 126. **I**T is difficult to say, which side acted with the greatest absurdity and folly ; but it was certainly highly ridiculous to give that kind of weight to such extravagancies, which they continue to preserve in some measure to this day.

On the charge of HERESY against FENELON.

Id. pag. 127. **T**HIS enthusiastic behaviour of Bossuet, was, by the numerous friends of Fenelon, thought to be far from sincere. The courtiers pretended that it was a mere court-trick. It was, in the main, hardly to be supposed, that a man of the bishop of Meaux's party, should really consider as a *fatal heresy* the pious chimera of loving God for his own sake only. It appears more probable, that, actuated by an aversion to this mystic devotion, and still more by his private hatred of Fenelon, and confounding the one with the other, he was induced to prefer this charge against his old friend and fellow-collegian ; imagining, perhaps, that the character of an informer, which stamps infamy upon a man of the world, did honour to an ecclesiastic ; and that a zeal for religion warrants the most ungenerous proceedings.

End

End of the Chapter of QUIETISM.

Id. pag. 132. **T**H E S E disputes, which so long engrossed the attention of France, like many others begot by idleness and ignorance, are now wholly buried in oblivion; and we at present wonder how they could ever have produced so great animosities. The spirit of true philosophy, which is every day gaining ground, seems to insure the public tranquillity; and even those enthusiasts, who still oppose philosophers, are indebted to them for the peace which they at present enjoy, and which they labour to deprive themselves of.

End of the Chapter relating to the CHINESE Ceremonies.

Vol. IX. chap. ccix. pag. 142. **T**H E emperor Camhi died in 1724. This prince was a great lover of all the European arts. Some jesuits had been sent to his court, who, by their consummate knowledge and the eminent services they did him, gained his affection, and obtained from him, as we have already observed, permission to exercise and teach the christian religion publicly, throughout his dominions.

His fourth son Yontching, whom he had nominated to the empire, to the exclusion of the elder brothers, succeeded him peaceably, without his brothers murmuring, or shewing the

the least signs of discontent. Filial piety and obedience, which is the fundamental law of that empire, makes it a crime and disgrace, in persons of whatsoever condition, to complain of the last will, or determination, of a parent.

The new emperor even exceeded his father in a regard for the laws and welfare of his people. No prince ever gave greater encouragement to agriculture. He carried his attention to this first of all the necessary arts, so far as to bestow the rank of a mandarin of the eighth order, on such husbandman in each of the provinces of the empire, who, in the opinions of the magistrates of his canton, should be deemed the most diligent, industrious, and honest man in his vocation; but this rank did not take such husbandman from the exercise of his profession, tho' it called him to a seat in the courts of judicature; he was still to remain what he was before his elevation to this new dignity, only he bore the title of mandarin, which gave him a right to sit in the presence of the viceroy of the province, and to eat at his table. His name was registered in letters of gold, in one of the public halls. It is said that this regulation, so very different from our customs, and which is in fact a kind of satyr upon them, still subsists.

This prince likewise ordered, that no person should be put to death in all his extensive empire, till the proceedings against him had been laid before the emperor, not once only, but three times successively. The two principal motives for this edict, are as respectable as the edict itself, as they shew the great value that

that ought to be set upon the life of every man, and the tenderness which a king owes his people.

He caused immense magazines of rice to be formed in each province, with an œconomy that did not burthen the people, and which effectually provided against the accident of a dearth in any future time. All the provinces vied with each other in giving testimonies of joy and gratitude, by public shows and triumphal arches, which were every where erected to the name of this father of his country. However, Yontching, published an edict, ordering a stop to be put to these exhibitions, which were hurtful to the œconomy he had recommended; and positively forbid the erecting any more monuments to his honour, expressing himself thus, in the rescript he sent to the Mandarins.

“ I did not bestow favours, said he, from the
 “ vain motive of applause; I would have my
 “ people happy and better; and that they
 “ should discharge the several duties of their
 “ station; these are the only monuments I
 “ desire, or will accept.”

Such was the character of this emperor; and unhappily this was the prince who proscribed the christian religion. The jesuits had at that time several churches, in which they openly performed their worship; and even some princes of the imperial blood had actually received baptism at their hands. Some fatal innovation was apprehended in the state: it was no secret, that, at that very time, christianity had excited furious disorders in Japan, and this made an impression on all minds, that the sanctity of the religion itself, for want

of being properly known, could not counter-balance. It was also well known, that at that very time, the disputes between the christian missionaries of the different orders then at Tonquin, had occasioned the total extirpation of their religion in that province; and as these very disputes were carried to a still greater height in China, almost all the tribunals were exasperated against a set of people, who appeared divided amongst themselves, in relation to the most essential points of the religion they came to preach to others. In short, information was received, that at Canton there were English, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish settlers, who, tho' all calling themselves christians, were yet of a different religion from the christians of Macao.

These various considerations determined the supreme tribunal of rites, to forbid the further exercise of the christian religion. This edict was published the 10th of January, 1724, but without any reflection upon, or punishment decreed against the missionaries, or even the least offensive reproach; nay, the words of the edict invited the emperor to retain such of them about his person at Pekin, as he should judge necessary for the furtherance of mathematical knowledge. The emperor confirmed this edict, and issued an order at the same time, that the missionaries should be sent back to Macao, under the care of a mandarin, who was to protect them from all insults by the way; these are the express words of the emperor's ordinance.

He kept some few of them about him, and among the rest the jesuit Parennin, whose character I have already given, and who was equally famous for his great erudition,
and

and the wise and prudent manner in which he conducted himself. This man spoke the Chinese and Tartarian languages perfectly well, and was indeed a very necessary person, not only as an interpreter, but as a mathematician also. He is the best known to us of any of the missionaries of that time, by the wise and instructive answers he has given to the learned objections started by one of our best philosophers, in relation to the sciences of the Chinese. This priest was in high favour with the emperor Camhi, and held in no less degree of esteem by his son and successor Yontching. If any one could have warded off this blow upon christianity, it would have been him. He, with two other jesuits, his brethren in the mission, obtained an audience of the emperor's brother, who was appointed to examine the edict, and make a report to the emperor. Parrennin, with great candour, relates the answer this prince gave to them, who was their patron and protector: "Your affairs, says he, give me a great deal of trouble and uneasiness: "I have read the accusations brought against you: your continual quarrels with the other Europeans, in relation to the rites and ceremonies of the Chinese worship, have done you irreparable prejudice. What would you say; or how would you act, if we were to come over to Europe, and behave as you have done here? Answer me ingenuously; would you suffer it?" They had no answer to make to this. Nevertheless, they prevailed on the prince to speak to the emperor in their favour; and being afterwards admitted to speak to the emperor in person, he declared that he

was

was resolved to send away every one who called himself a missionary.

We have already related these words of the emperor, "You have deceived my father, "think not to deceive me likewise."

Notwithstanding the prudent orders issued by the emperor, some jesuits were indiscreet enough to return again clandestinely into some of the provinces, in the reign of the successor of this Yontchin, who condemned them to die as open violators of the laws of the empire, as we in France put to death such Huguenot preachers, who, in disobedience to the order of the king, come to gather congregations, or assemble the people of a province or country. This itch of making profelytes is a malady endemial to our climates, as I have already remarked, and has been always unknown to those of Upper Asia. These people never sent missionaries into Europe; we are the only people in the world who are desirous of carrying our religion, like our trade, to all parts of the globe.

The jesuits were even the cause of the deaths of several of the Chinese, in particular of two princes of the blood, who were suspected of favouring them too much. What a misfortune! to come from the extremity of the earth to sow discord in an Imperial family, and be the cause of two princes falling by the hands of executioners! These men, to render their mission respectable in Europe, pretended that God declared in their favour, by causing four crosses to appear in the sky over China, and have given us the figure of these crosses, in a copper-plate, in their *curious and edifying letters*; but if God had been willing that the Chinese should have become

become Christians, Would he have been contented with hanging these crosses in the air? Would he not rather have fixed them in the hearts of the people?

WRITERS in the Age of LEWIS XIV.

After the Article BAYLE.

Vol. IX. ch. 214. **SOME** persons attempted page 109. a continuation of his dictionary, but could not come up to the original. They falsely imagined that nothing more was required than compilation; but they found that the genius and dialectic knowledge of Bayle was necessary to whosoever should attempt to work after him.

After the Article LA BRUIERE.

Id. p. 198.] What he says at the end of his book against the atheists is greatly admired; but when he pretends to meddle with divinity, he is even below the divines themselves.

After the Article DESMARETS, &c.

DESTOUCHES (*Nericaut*) after having written several comedies, was for a long time *chargé d'affaires* from the court of France to London, and having discharged this office with reputation, he returned to his former avocation of writing plays. His pieces have not the same energy and sprightliness as those of Regnard; nor do
G they

they furnish us with such lively pictures of the human heart : they have not that true natural humour, that excellent comic colouring which makes the distinguishing merit of the inimitable Moliere ; and yet he has preserved the next place to himself, after these two authors. There are some pieces of his which have met with great success, though the humour in them appears rather too much forced. He has been at least happy enough to avoid that whining kind of comedy, or rather low tragedy, which is indeed neither tragedy nor comedy, but a monstrous production, which took place after the age of Lewis XIV. and was owing partly to a want of capacity in the writers, and partly to a disordered taste in the public after those golden days of literature. The comedy of *le Glorieux*, or the *Boaster*, is one of his best performances, and bids fair to keep possession of the stage, though some will have it, that the character of the *Glorieux* is not well filled : however, the other characters are undoubtedly admirably finished.

FONTENELLE.

Id. pag. 223. **H**E suffered a kind of literary persecution for having maintained, that in many respects the moderns were equal to the antients. Racine and Boileau, though, in some measure, interested that Fontenelle should be in the right, affected to despise him ; and for a considerable time kept the doors of the academy shut against him. They wrote several epigrams upon

upon him, and he upon them, and they were for a considerable time at open enmity.



Id. pag. 224.] His history of Oracles, which is a very moderate and decent abridgment of the great history of Vandalis, drew upon him more violent enemies than either Racine or Boileau. Two compilers of the lives of the saints, Pabebroke and Bolandus, Flemish jesuits, and a third named Baltus, who were compilers in the literal sense of the word, wrote after their manner against the reasonable opinions of Vandalis and Fontenelle. The Parisian philosopher was not at the pains to answer them; but the learned Basnage, a Dutch philosopher, took upon him to refute their absurdities, and the compilers were no longer read. Several years afterwards, the jesuit Le Tellier, confessor to Lewis XIV. and the unhappy author of all those disputes which have produced so much evil and contempt in France, represented Fontenelle to his royal penitent as an atheist. Mark René de Paulini, marquis of Argenfon, at that time lieutenant of the police, and afterwards keeper of the seals, warded off the persecution, which was on the point of falling heavy on Fontenelle, as that philosopher acknowledges with gratitude, in his panegyric on Mr. d'Argenson, pronounced by him in the academy of sciences.

Article of GEDOUIN.

Id. pag. 228. **H**E entered into the society of the jesuits when fifteen years old, and left it when he came to a riper age. He was so passionate an admirer of the good authors of antiquity, that he was willing to forgive them their religion in favour of the beauties of their writings, and their mythology. He discovered in their fables an admirable system of natural philosophy, and the most striking emblems of all the operations of the deity. He was of opinion that the understandings of mankind in general have been greatly confined since their time, and that the more exalted spirit of poetry and eloquence disappeared with the Greek mythology. According to him the famous Paradise Lost of Milton is a barbarous enthusiastic, gloomy, and unpleasing poem, in which the devil is perpetually opposing and inveighing against the Saviour of mankind. He wrote four very curious dissertations on this subject, which the learned are in hopes to see ere long in print.

Article of Count HAMILTON.

Id. pag. 232. **H**IS memoirs of the count de Grammont are models of sprightly conversation, rather than that of a book. The chief character of the hero of his piece, seems to be that of one who cheats his friends at play, is himself cheated by his own servant,

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servant, and breaks a few jests upon other people's conduct and affairs.

Article of HELVETIUS.

Id. pag. 233. **T**HIS man was father of a true philosopher, who gave up the place of farmer general of the king's revenues, to follow the study of the belles lettres, and who shared the fate of most philosophers, that of being persecuted for their writings and their virtues.

At the End of the Article of LA MOTTE HOUDART.

Id. pag. 267. **I**T is possible, after all, that *Saurin* might have been the author of the stanzas imputed to *Rousseau*; and though this latter was proved to have written the five first, which were equally severe, yet *Saurin* might have added the two last in order to ruin him, though there was no rivalry between these two writers; and though *Saurin* had been for a long time busied in algebraic calculations, and was himself most cruelly handled in these two stanzas; and though all the injured parties unanimously charged *Rousseau* with them, and that *Saurin* was acquitted by a solemn decree: all this, I say, is within the bounds of possibility; but most certainly it exceeds all probability. *Rousseau* indeed accused him with it to the end of his life, and even continued the charge in his last will; but pro-

fessor Rollin, to whom Rousseau shewed his will at the time that he came privately to Paris, obliged him to scratch out this accusation; and Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence, even on his death bed, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either during the course of the law suit, during the remainder of his own life, or in his last moments; but confined himself to writing verses against him. (See the article *Joseph Saurin*).

After the Article NICOLE.

Id. p. 270. **N**IVELLE DE LA CHAUSSE'E. He has written some comedies in a new and affecting manner, which have had success. It is certain however that he wanted the true comic genius so essential to this kind of production. There are many persons of taste who cannot suffer comedies in which there are not strokes of pleasantry and humour; but there is nevertheless no small degree of merit in knowing how to touch the heart, to treat morality in a pleasing manner, and to write verse with elegance and purity; and herein our author particularly excels. He was born during the reign of Lewis XIV. and died in the year 1750.

At the End of the Article ROUSSEAU.

Id. pag. 283. **T**HERE is neither richness, beauty, sentiment, nor invention in Rousseau's writings; he was very happy at turning an injurious epigram, or a loose stanza. His epistles are written with a pen of steel dipped in the most offensive gall. He stiles the daughters of Mr. Louvancourt, who were three truly amiable sisters, a *leash of hungry she-wolves*; and Rouillé, a counsellor of state, a *snarling venomous boorish mautebank*, after having lavished a heap of fulsome praises on him in a very indifferent ode. The expressions of *Booby*, *Puppy*, and *Scoundrel*, in these epistles, are such as would disgrace any writings. It is doubtless the mark of a noble mind to oppose our enemies with becoming courage; but such low abuse, without even the merit of pleasantry, rather bespeaks a base and ignoble soul.

For the stanzas which occasioned him to be banished, see the articles La Motte and Saurin in the 9th Vol. of this work.

I shall here content myself with observing, that Rousseau, by acknowledging himself the author of four of these unlucky stanzas, incurred the guilt of having written all the others, both in the opinion of his judges, and that of every man of honour and understanding. His behaviour after his sentence was far from being a proof in his favour, and I have in my hands letters from the Sieur Medine, of Brussels, dated May 7, 1737, wherein that gentleman

thus expresses himself, "Rousseau had no other table than mine, no other asylum but my house; he took me in his arms an hundred times, with all possible expressions of gratitude, the very day that he persuaded my creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage which Rousseau made to our lady of Hall, and then let any one judge whether he is a person to be credited on his own bare word in relation to the stanzas in question.

At the End of the Article DE LA RUE.

Ibid. **H**E has left several tragedies and comedies of his writing. The tragedy of Sylla was offered to the players and refused by them. He is thought to have wrote a great part of the *Andrienne*. He was very intimately connected with the famous player Baron, of whom he learnt to declaim. There were two sermons of his, the one called *the Dying Sinner*, and the other *the Dead Sinner*, which were so much admired that they were wont to be advertised every time he was to preach them.

After

After the Article JAMES SAURIN.

Id. pag. 293. SAURIN (*Joseph*) was born in the neighbourhood of Orange in the year 1659. He was a member of the academy of sciences, and a person of an universal genius : we have nothing of his except some extracts from the *Journal des Sçavans*, some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Faſtum* against Rousseau. This piece, so unhappily famous, made him enemies for the rest of his life, and subjected him to the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, during his retreat in Swisserland, having come to the knowlege that his adversary had been a pastor of the reformed church at Bercher in the Bailliwick of Iverdun, used every possible means to procure witnesses against him. You must know that Joseph Saurin, having taken a distaste to the ministerial function, and being addicted to philosophy and the mathematics, he preferred his native country France, the city of Paris, and the academy of sciences, to living in the village of Bercher. In order to compass his design, he returned again into the bosom of the Romish church, and made his recantation in the year 1690. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, thought he had converted a pastor, whereas he was only an instrument of the private views of a philosopher. Saurin made a journey to Swisserland several years afterwards, in order to gather in some monies due to his wife, whom he had persuaded to embrace the Catholic religion at the same time with himself. The magistrates of

the place ordered him to be seized as an apostate priest who had made his wife an apostate as well as himself. This happened in the year 1712, after Rousseau's fatal affair, and Rousseau himself was at Soleure just at that time. It was then that the most disgraceful accusations appeared against Saurin. He was charged with crimes that deserved the halter; there was a letter produced against him said to be written by himself many years before, in which he had made a full confession of all his crimes to a minister of his acquaintance. In fine, to crown his shame and to brand him with perpetual ignominy, his adversaries had the mean cruelty to print these accusations, together with this very letter, in several journals in the supplement to Bayle's dictionary, and that of Moreri. This was a new method industriously invented to disgrace a man in the opinion of all Europe. It is strangely debasing literature to make a dictionary the register of crimes, and to sully, with the most abusive reflections, works that are designed to be the repositories of science. It was certainly contrary to the original intention of the first authors of these archives of learning, that they should become the propagators of scandal and falsities. The art of writing is in several countries made an infamous traffic, by which booksellers who can scarcely read, pay so much per sheet for falsities to a set of hireling scriblers, who have made literature the vilest of all professions. I have had an opportunity, by being on the spot, to examine nicely into the validity of the accusations published against Joseph Saurin. I have spoken in person to the lord of the manor of Bercher, where

where Saurin was minister. I have interrogated every individual of the family of this gentleman, who, as well as the lord himself, declared to me with one accord, that they had never seen the letter charged upon Saurin, and all joined in expressing the highest indignation at the scandalous abuse inserted in the supplement above-mentioned; and this may be sufficient to engage every man of candour and probity to treat the story as it deserves.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was perfectly sensible of the nothingness of all worldly matters, and was filled with a just contempt for all the idle prejudices, disputes, and errors, which add a fresh weight to the already numberless miseries of human life.

He has left behind him a son of real merit, who is author of a tragedy called *Spartacus*, in which there are strokes equal to the most nervous and admired in Corneille.

At the End of the Chapter of celebrated Artists.

Vol. IX. ch. 215. **T**HE work of the Encyclopædia was begun by Messieurs d'Alembert and Diderot, in spite of the opposition and persecution that every great or useful undertaking always meets with from envy and ignorance. It is to be wished that some foreign hands had not disfigured this important work by puerile declamations, and insipid common place; notwithstanding which, it must be acknowledged to be of the greatest utility to mankind.

GENERAL VIEW

OF

EUROPE,

AFTER THE

DEATH of LEWIS XIV.

Beginning of the CHAPTER.

Vol. VIII. ch. 187. **W**E have given a pretty extensive idea of the age of Lewis XIV. the age of great men of the fine arts and of politeness; it was marked indeed, like all others, with calamities, public and private; calamities which are inseparably annexed to human nature: but, at the same time every blessing that could comfort mankind under the wretchedness of their weak and frail condition, seems to have been lavished on them in this age. Let us now take a review of the times that followed this reign, which was so turbulent in its beginning, so brilliant and illustrious for the space of fifty years, which was afterwards dashed with such a mixture of great misfortunes, and some little success; and which finally terminated in a deep gloom, after having been ushered in by turbulence and faction.

End

End of the Chapter concerning Law and his System.

Vol. VIII. ch. 188. **T**HE world still speaks with astonishment of these times of insatiation and political abuse; but how inconsiderable was this scourge, in comparison of the civil wars, and those on account of religion, which so long drenched Europe in blood, and those between nation and nation, or rather between prince and prince, which still continue to lay waste so many countries. The whole affair was, that there were impostors at London and Rotterdam who made dupes of unthinking people.

To begin the Chapter, intitled, Continuation of the General View of EUROPE till the Year 1756.

Vol. VIII. ch. 199. **W**E must not pass over unnoticed the administration of cardinal Dubois. This man was the son of an apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, a town in the government of Auvergne. His first rise in life was being chosen preceptor to the duke of Orleans, and afterwards, by being the complaisant instrument to the pleasures of his pupil, he became his confidant; a middling share of wit, a great stock of libertinism, the most submissive adulation, but chiefly his master's fondness for singularity, gained him an immense

immense fortune. Had this cardinal prime minister been a man of serious character, his sudden rise would have excited indignation, whereas it only caused ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans himself made a jest of him, and in this resembled the pope, who made the person who carried about his monkey, a cardinal. Every thing was made a subject of laughter and burlesque under the regency of this merry prince; and the same spirit prevailed as in the times of the league, setting aside a civil war, that is to say, this regent revived the true spirit of the French nation, which had been damped by a series of melancholy events in the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois died the victim of a long course of debauch. He fell upon an expedient to prevent his being fatigued in his last moments by those exercises of devotion for which it is well known he had very little regard. He pretended that there was a particular ceremony in regard to cardinals, by which they were excused from receiving the extreme unction and viaticum, like common people. The curate of Versailles thereupon preferred an information against his eminence; but Dubois cut short all proceedings by his death, which, agreeable to the character of our nation, was like his administration only made a matter of laughter.

The duke of Orleans now took the title of prime minister upon himself; for the king being at age, his office of regent ceased of consequence; but he did not long survive his favourite the cardinal. He was a prince whose only fault seemed to be an unbounded taste for pleasure and novelty.

Of all the race of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans resembled that monarch the most in his courage, goodness of heart, openness, gaiety, affability, and freedom of access, and with an understanding better cultivated.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded him almost instantaneously in the ministry, without having recourse to any other intrigues than that of causing the patent to be immediately made out, and waiting upon the king with it to be signed at the same time that he acquainted him with the death of the duke of Orleans. But it seems to have been always the fate of the Condé family to be obliged to yield to priests. Henry of Condé had been oppressed by cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was driven into banishment by cardinal Fleury.

This latter was a native of Languedoc, born without fortune or expectations. He had been almoner to the dauphiness, a princess of the house of Bavaria, and we have a letter written by madame de Maintenon in the year 1716, in which she thus expresses herself: "This is certainly not a person to be so soon made a bishop."

* * *

Cardinal de Fleury took the earliest opportunity to resign his bishopric of Frejus, after having by his oeconomy saved money enough to pay off a considerable number of debts, and having done a great deal of good by his mild and conciliatory disposition. These were the two prevailing parts of his characters; he alledged to the people of his diocese as an excuse for quitting

quitting them, the bad state of his health, which would not permit him to attend properly to the care of the flock committed to his charge. Luckily for him however he never knew a day's illness.

The bishopric of Fréjus, which was situated at a considerable distance from the court, and in a country not the most agreeable, had been always disliked by him : he had taken a distaste to his spiritual spouse ; and in a humorous letter which he wrote to cardinal Quirini, he signed himself, *Fleury, by the Divine displeasure, bishop of Frejus.*

He resigned at the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of what passes in other churches, knew that the free and absolute resignation which Fleury had made of his bishopric, was founded on a view of being made preceptor to the young dauphin, the present king of France. Pope Clement XI. who was very clear in this, declared it openly, and marshal Villeroy, after abundance of solicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. actually to nominate the bishop of Frejus preceptor to his son by a codicil to his will. However, let us see how the new preceptor expresses himself on this event in his letter to cardinal Quirini.

“ I have more than once,” says he, “ regretted my peaceable solitude of Frejus. On my arrival here I learnt that his late majesty had done me the honour to nominate me preceptor to his grandson ; had he been in a condition to have heard me speak, I should have earnestly besought him to ease me of a burthen the weight of which makes me tremble ;

“ tremble ; but as he was dead, all I could say
 “ made no impression. This has thrown me
 “ into a fit of sickness, and nothing can com-
 “ fort me for the loss of that liberty I had aimed
 “ at by my resignation.”

But he insensibly found comfort in applying himself to form the mind of his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity ; and preserved in the midst of the hurry and agitation of the court, during the minority, the good graces of the regent and the esteem of the public : he never made a merit of his own services, nor complained of others, and by never engaging in cabals or intrigues of the court, he never subjected himself to the mortification of a denial. He privately endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom at home, and its political interests abroad. In a word, the circumspection of his conduct, and the amiableness of his disposition, made all France wish to see him at the head of the administration. He was the second preceptor who had governed that kingdom, and was satisfied with being absolute in his place, without taking the title of prime minister. He was less thwarted and envied in his ministry than either Richieu or Mazarin in the most peaceable part of theirs. His exaltation made no change in his manners ; and every one was surprized to find in a prime minister the most engaging, and at the same time the most disinterested courtier. Happily, his spirit of moderation, and the interest of the nation, were for a long time in accord. France stood in need of that peace of which her minister was so fond, and it was the
 opinion

opinion of all the foreign ministers, that it would never be broken so long as he held the reins of government.



Some writers of other countries have confounded this minister with the Abbé Fleury, author of the history of the church, and some excellent discourses which far exceed that work. This Abbé Fleury was confessor to Lewis XIV. he lived unknown in the midst of a court; a man of real modesty. The modesty of the other Fleury was that of an ambitious man of parts.

At the End of the CHAPTER.

Id. pag. 30. **A**LL was peaceable between the powers of Christendom, if we except the disputes which began to arise about this time between the crowns of Spain and England, concerning the trade to the West Indies. France continued to be considered as the arbiter of Europe.

The emperor made war upon the Turks, without consulting the other princes of the Empire. This war proved unfortunate; but France saved him from the precipice by its mediation, and Mr. de Villeneuve, her ambassador at the Ottoman court, went into Hungary in 1739, and there concluded a peace with the Turkish visier, which proved a very seasonable relief to the emperor.

France.

France almost at the same time compromised matters for the government of Genoa, which was threatened with a civil war, and quelled for a time the rebellious Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of that republic. The country of Corsica, which has for a considerable time taken the title of kingdom, was towards the end of the thirteenth century brought under subjection to Genoa. A country less extensive and less warlike than the other; but superior in riches. The Corsicans, who had always been an undisciplined and restless people, were at the this time in open rebellion, having taken up arms ever since the year 1725, on pretence of having been tyrannically treated by their masters. A gentleman of the county of La Mark, in Germany, named Theodore Neuhoff, having travelled through all Europe, in hopes of making his fortune, happened to be at Leghorn in the year 1736. Here he entered into a correspondence with the Corsican malecontents, and offered them his service. He made a voyage to Tunis, where he exerted himself so effectually in their behalf, that he returned to Corsica loaded with arms, ammunition, and money. At his arrival he was proclaimed king of Corsica, and crowned with a wreath of laurel, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the island. He put himself at their head, and carried on the war. The senate of Genoa set a price upon his head; but not being able either to get Theodore into their hands, or to subject the rebels, they had applied to the emperor for his protection. But this was thought a dangerous step, inasmuch as the emperor, who looks upon himself as lord-paramount of all Italy,

Italy, was hereby made sovereign judge between the state of Genoa and her rebellious subjects. The senate therefore had recourse to France, who successively sent generals and troops over to Corsica, who drove Theodore out of the island, reduced the malecontents to submission, and put every thing upon a peaceable footing, at least for some time. King Theodore went to London, where he died in a prison neglected and despised.

While the court of France was thus acting as the benefactress of Genoa and Corsica, she at the same time interposed her good offices between the courts of London and Madrid, who had just begun a war the more ruinous, as the possessions for which they disputed were of little or no advantage to either side. In 1735, the same crown had employed its mediation between those of Spain and Portugal; so that France was generally respected by all her neighbours, who had none of them any cause to complain of her, and was considered by all nations as their common mother and mediatrix.

DEATH

DEATH of the EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

The Imperial Succession disputed by four Powers. The Queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her father's dominions. Silesia seized by the King of Prussia.

Vol. VIII. ch. **T**HE emperor Charles VI. died 190. pag. 30. in the month of October, 1740, aged fifty-five years. It is necessary for all crowned heads, whose lives are of so great consequence to the peace and happiness of their people, to know that this monarch was the cause of his own death, by over-eating himself, at an entertainment *; an excess which cost him his life, and brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, was the cause of great commotions, it may readily be imagined that of Charles VI. who was the last prince of the house of Austria, must have occasioned far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy had a prospect of acquiring that independance to which she had always aspired. Several petty states, reputed fiefs of the empire, pretended to deny this subjection. Rome in particular, that had been sacked by Charles the fifth, severely treated by his successors, oppressed and obliged to pay a ransom by Joseph, the brother of this Charles VI. now flattered herself with the hopes of being for ever freed from

* He died by eating too heartily of a dish of mushrooms.

the pretensions of the German emperor, who have all, since Otho the first, imagined themselves successor to the rights of the ancient Cæsars : agreeable to which, the German chancery does to this day look upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces rent from the empire, and in their protocol they gave the title of majesty to no king whatever : the elector of Cologne styles himself chancellor of Italy ; and the elector of Triers assumes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, elected at Francfort, is there declared king of the Romans, tho' he has not the least jurisdiction in Rome ; and as such exacts a tribute from all the provinces of Italy, wherever he is powerful enough to obtain them. This multiplicity of doubtful rights had, for upwards of seven hundred years, been the source of all the calamities and oppression, that Italy had experienced during that period. Now it appeared highly probable that the troubles into which Germany would be plunged, by the sudden death of Charles VI. would restore these people to that liberty which they had so long wished for in vain. The new revolution which every one foresaw would be the consequence of the extinction of the house of Austria, whenever it should happen, might not only annihilate the rights, and even the name of Roman empire ; but it also appeared a matter of doubt whether Germany might not be divided among several princes, so powerful as sooner or later, to refuse to acknowledge a supreme head, or, at least, to leave that head but a very small share of the authority of his predecessors.

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The inheritance of the house of Austria, therefore, seemed on the point of passing into several hands. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms, that, after having been for a long series of time, elective, had been made hereditary by the princes of this house; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria anterior; of the upper and lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four forest towns, Brisgau, Friuli, Tirol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the dukedom of Parma; as to the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they were already in the hands of don Carlos, son to Philip V. king of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the natural right of inheritance, solemnly confirmed by the pragmatic sanction, and guaranteed by almost all the European powers. On the other hand, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession, by virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V.

Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, alledged rights of a more recent nature; the rights of his own wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of the deceased emperor.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to all the dominions of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and from whom he (Philip V.) was descended. Here was already a great revolution in the affairs of Europe; to see the house of France laying claim to the whole patrimony of that of Austria.

Austria. Lewis XV. had as just a pretension to this succession as any one, as being descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wives of his great grand-father and grand-father, Lewis XIII. and the XIV. but it appeared most prudent for him to act the part of umpire and protector, rather than that of a claimant; for he might, by that means, be able to determine this controverted succession, and that of the empire in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he made only pretension to it himself, he was certain to have all Europe against him. This great cause of so many crowned heads, was argued before the tribunal of Christendom, in a multitude of public manifestos and memorials. Princes and private persons alike interested themselves in the dispute, so that a general war was looked upon as inevitable; but, to the amazement and confusion of human policy, the storm began from a quarter that no one so much as thought of.

A new kingdom had been created at the beginning of the present century; the emperor, Leopold, availing himself of a right, which the German emperor had always exercised, that of creating kings, had in 1701, erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was then no better than a vast desert; but Frederick William II. the second king, whose politics were different from those of all the princes his co-temperaries expended near twenty-five millions of our money, in clearing lands, and building towns, and peopling them. He sent for several families from Suabia and Fran-

conia, to settle there; and also invited above sixteen thousand persons from Saltzburg, all of whom he supplied with what was necessary for their subsistence, and to set them to work. While he was thus forming a new state, he made to himself, by œconomy, a power of a new kind; he laid by every month about sixty thousand German crowns, which composed an immense treasure in the course of a reign of eight and twenty years. What he did not thus put into his coffers, he made use of to raise an army of near eighty thousand chosen men, whom he disciplined himself, after a new manner, though he never availed himself of their service. But his son, Frederick III. made use of all those preparations of his father's. It was well known to all Europe, that this prince, who had tasted deeply of adversity, during his father's reign, had employed his leisure hours in cultivating his understanding, and improving the singular gifts he had received from nature; he was universally admired for talents which would have done honour to any private person; but he was not yet known to possess those of the monarch and the soldier; and Austria had no more apprehension of him than it had of the late king, his father, whom he succeeded three months before the imperial succession, and that of the house of Austria became vacant. Frederick foresaw the general confusion which that event occasioned, and he did not lose an instant to enter sword in hand into Silesia, one of the richest provinces belonging to the daughter of Charles VI. He laid claim to four dutchies, (in that province) which his ancestors had formerly been possessed of, by

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purchases and family compacts, and to which they indeed renounced all claim by repeated public acts, as being too weak to support it; he, on the contrary, knowing himself sufficiently powerful, revived those pretensions anew.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony had been for some time busied in making a new emperor. Bavaria pressed France to procure for him some share in the Austrian succession. This elector laid claim to all those dominions by his manifestos, but he did not dare to claim them all by his ministers. In the mean time Maria Theresa, who had married the Grand Duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homage of the Austrian states at Vienna, November 7, 1740. Bohemia and the provinces of Italy swore allegiance to her by their deputies, and she won the affections of all the Hungarians, by submitting to take the ancient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in the year 1222, and which was as follows: "If I, or any of my successors in time
"to come, shall attempt to violate your privileges, it shall be lawful for you and your
"descendants, in virtue of the promise I now
"make you, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The aversion which the ancestors of the arch-dutchess had always shewn to enter into these engagements with their subjects, and the prudent step she took on this occasion, endeared her infinitely to the Hungarians, insomuch that they who had always been endeavouring to throw off the yoke of the house of Austria, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and, after two hundred

hundred years of sedition, quarrels, and civil wars, they became on a sudden devoted to a family for which they had formerly expressed so much hatred. The queen was crowned at Presburg the 24th of June, 1741; this was not till some months after her accession: however, she was not the less considered as a sovereign, and she had already established her reign in all hearts, by an affability and popularity which few of her ancestors had ever exercised. She banished from her court that form and restraint which frequently renders princes hateful, without ever procuring them more respect. Her aunt the arch-dutcheß, governess of the Low Countries, never suffered any person to eat at table with her; Maria Theresa, on the contrary, admitted to her's all her ladies and officers of distinction: the deputies of the state were permitted to speak to her with freedom; she never refused audience to any one, and no person ever departed from her presence dissatisfied.

Her first care was to make her consort the grand duke of Tuscany, the partner of all her dignities and possessions, under the title of Co-Regent, without lessening her own sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction: she mentioned this her intention to the Austrian states the same day she received their homage, and soon after put it into execution. She flattered herself, even then, that the dignities with which she adorned her royal consort, would have prepared the way for him to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were not only greatly diminished, but dispersed

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in the different parts of her extensive dominions

The king of Prussia caused a proposal to be made to her, to yield the Lower Silesia to him, and, in return, offered to assist her with his whole interest, with his arms and five millions of our livres, in order to secure to her the possession of all the rest, and to obtain the empire for the Grand Duke her consort. Some statesmen of no small abilities thought that the Germanic constitution was now on the point of being overturned; but this princess, whose veins were enriched with the blood of so many emperors, disdained even the thought of sacrificing any part of her patrimony; and though weak she was undaunted. Numbers of Austrians, considering only the grandeur of the court of Vienna and not its weakness, declared loudly, that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire. Even the ministers of that monarch were daunted at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw clearly that it was no more than a name, and that from the state of Europe at that time he was sure to have allies, entered Silesia at the head of his troops in the month of December, 1740.

At first it was proposed to put the words *Pro Deo & patriâ* (for God and my country) on his colours by way of device; but he struck out the two first, saying, that he would not have the name of God blended with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. He caused the Roman eagle, displayed in relief, to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and to be carried before

fore his own regiment of guards. This air of novelty laid him under a kind of necessity of being invincible. He also harangued his soldiers, to resemble in every respect the antient Romans. As soon as he entered Silesia, he made himself master of almost all that province of which they had refused him a part: but hitherto things remained in an uncertain state.

General Neuperg marched to the relief of the invaded province with an army of 24,000 Austrians, and obliged the king of Prussia to come to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. There it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than that of the Austrians, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was given for lost, all the king's baggage was pillaged, and he himself, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the croud that surrounded him: but his second line of infantry retrieved the fortune of the day, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed, by their incessant fire (which they repeat at least five times in a minute) and by charging their muskets with their iron ramrods in a moment. In a word, they gained the victory, and this event became the signal of an universal flame.

The King of FRANCE unites with the Kings of PRUSSIA and POLAND, to advance CHARLES ALBERT, Elector of BAVARIA, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared a Lieutenant-General in the Service of FRANCE. He is elected Emperor. His Successes and rapid Losses.

AT the time that the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France; but in this they were mistaken, as is frequently the case with those who argue only from appearances. It is certain, that by this step the king of Prussia hazarded a great deal, as he himself has acknowledged; but then he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the interest of that crown to favour her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had lost his all in fighting her cause, after the battle of Hockstet. This very Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, had also been made prisoner by the Austrians, when a child, and his very title of Bavaria taken from him. France now found it her interest to avenge him. It seemed no difficult matter to procure him at once the empire, and a part of the Austrian succession. By this step of the new house of Lorrain, Austria would be deprived of that superiority which the old one had affected to have over the other princes of Europe; and moreover it would abolish the old rivalry subsisting between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria, which would be effecting

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ing more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever hoped to compass.

The king of Prussia foresaw this revolution even before it was begun, at the time that he set out for Silesia; and it is so true, that he had not concerted any measures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquiss of Beauveau, who had been sent to Berlin, to compliment the new king on his accession, knew not on the first movement of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, as he was going to set out, "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we'll share the winnings."

This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance. The French ministry were for some time in dispute which side to take. Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was not for staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The pragmatic sanction signed, and authentically guaranteed was a curb upon him; but then, on the other hand, former treaties, made with the house of Bavaria, offered him encouragement. It is certain, that this war was loudly demanded, both by court and city, notwithstanding that they afterwards joined in condemning it. I heard a man of great distinction say, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words, which came to the minister's ears, piqued him sensibly; but did not make him change his opinion.

It was the count, afterwards marshal duke of Belleisle, and his brother, nephew of the fa-

mous Fouquet, who, without having any share in public affairs, or as yet any access to the king, nor any power with the cardinal, brought him to a resolution.

Marshal Belleisle, tho' he had not done any thing extraordinary, had a great reputation; and tho' he had neither been a minister, or a general, was thought better qualified than any one to conduct either the army or the state: he saw things in all their points of light, and was the only courtier perfectly acquainted with the interior springs of government, and almost the only officer who kept up military discipline. He was naturally fond of glory and of business, without which there can be no true glory; he was exact and indefatigable, and had a taste alike for the business of negotiation, and that of the cabinet and the field: but a very bad state of health frequently destroyed the fruits of these great talents. Always in action, and always full of projects, the strength of his body was not sufficient to support the efforts of his mind. He was alike admired for his politeness as a courtier, and for his honest frankness as a soldier. He found the means to persuade, without the gift of eloquence, by always appearing to be persuaded himself. He wrote in a plain and common style; and to read his dispatches, one would not suppose him to be possessed of such strong and active ideas.

The chevalier de Belleisle, his brother, had the same ambition and the same views, but somewhat deeper; this was the result of a hale constitution, which enabled him to support the greatest fatigues of business. His air was more gloomy than that of his brother, and not so engaging;

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engaging; but he subdued those hearts into which his brother had insinuated himself. His eloquence was like his courage; and under an appearance of reserve and deep thoughtfulness, one might perceive something very powerful; in a word, he was capable of planning, undertaking, and executing any thing.

These two men, not more united by the ties of blood than by the parity of ideas, undertook to change the face of all Europe. The cardinal opposed their plan of operations: he even delivered his opinion against it to the king in writing; and now, if he had been desirous to have ended his career in a truly glorious manner, he should have retired from business; but he had not resolution enough to quit the ministry, and to live retired, though on the very brink of the grave: in a word, the marshal and his brother had the management of all the necessary dispositions, and the old cardinal seemed to preside at the head of an undertaking which he disapproved.

Every thing in the beginning seemed to favour the scheme: marshal Belleisle was sent to the king of Prussia, then in his camp at Frankfort, and from thence to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which the concurrence of so many princes seemed to render infallible. He in every thing agreed with the king of Prussia, who promised, by a private writing, not to make peace without the knowledge of his allies. Belleisle from thence went into Saxony, where he gained such an ascendancy over the minds of that court, that they promised him, as he himself has told me, to march a body of troops even before the signing of the

treaty. The marshal also negotiated in all the courts of Germany, and was the life and soul of that body which was to procure the empire, and the hereditary crowns of the house of Austria, for a prince who could do nothing for himself. France furnished the elector of Bavaria at one and the same time with money, allies, votes, and arms; he had promised twenty thousand of his own troops, but could hardly raise twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent him the army he had promised him, and, at the same time, by letters patent, * created him his lieutenant general, whom he was about to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa could, with difficulty, make head against the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city, governed by its bishop. This place separates Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was now spread, the whole city was in confusion, and they prepared for a siege with all expedition; one whole suburb and a palace, bordering on the fortifications, are entirely destroyed. The Danube is covered with vessels transporting the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria

* These letters were not signed till the twentieth of August, 1741.

even sends a summons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had long pretended. The states-general kept a profound silence on seeing marshal Maillebois' army, which was then in Westphalia; and this same army over-awed the king of England, who trembled for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succour Maria Theresa, and at the head of this very army, he was obliged to abandon her and sign a neutrality. His domesticks were furnished with passports for their persons and baggage by the French general, to carry them to London, and the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland.

At that time there was not one prince, either within or without the empire, who supported that pragmatic sanction which so many of them had guarantied. Vienna weakly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon that city as good as taken, by which the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe. And even cardinal de Fleury was so much encouraged by those favourable dispositions in a project, for which he had in the beginning so great a repugnance, that he said to some officers, who waited

on him late to take leave, "Gentlemen, " this will not be a long business, and I hope " to see you again very soon."

The courage and resolution of Maria Theresa seemed to encrease with the difficulties she had to surmount; she had quitted Vienna to throw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presbourg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, then an infant in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, which tongue she spoke perfectly well, she expressed herself nearly in these words: "Forsoaken by " my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and " attacked by my nearest relation, I have no " other resource but your fidelity, your courage, " and my own constancy: to your care I " surrender the daughter and son of your " kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, and, at the same time, animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out with one voice, *Moria-mur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa*, "Let us " die for our king Maria Theresa;" for it is to be observed, they always give the title of king to their queens; and never in fact did princess better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her, her eyes alone were dry; but when she withdrew with her maids of honour, those tears, which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst forth in abundance. She was at this time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the dutchess of Lorrain, these

these words; "I, as yet, know not whether
 " I shall have a single town left wherein to be
 " brought to bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians. England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money; she corresponded with all the states of the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England took part in her distresses. The English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they give theirs. Some private persons proposed a free-gift for this princess. The dutches of Marlborough, whose husband had fought for Charles VI. assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance, for this cause, an hundred thousand pounds sterling, herself subscribing forty thousand of the sum. The queen of Hungary had the greatness of soul to decline accepting of this money, which was so generously offered her, resolved to wait for such sums as should be granted by the nation in parliament assembled.

It was generally believed, that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have marched to the siege of Vienna; what the enemy fears should be always carried into execution. This was one of those decisive strokes, one of those lucky opportunities, which fortune presents once, and if neglected, is never to be recovered afterwards. The elector of Bavaria had entertained thoughts of taking Vienna; but he had made no preparations for the siege, and had neither artillery nor ammunition. Cardinal

dinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to put that capital into the elector's hands ; he generally confined himself to projects of a middling nature ; he was for dividing the spoils before he had them, and did not intend that the emperor of his making should enjoy the whole succession.

The French army commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague in Nov. 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as his real worth and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. His great reputation induced the people of Courland to elect him their duke ; but Russia, having wrested from him what he had received from the unanimous suffrages of a whole people, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a nation, which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprise abandoned. They were in want of provisions, the season was far advanced, and the town, tho' poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attack. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place with a garrison of 3000 men, and the grand duke was in full march with an army of 30,000 to its relief, and on the 25th of November was actually within five leagues of it, when that very night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town.

They

They made two attacks under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, which drew the attention of the whole garrison to that side. In the mean time, count Saxe silently had a single ladder fixed to the rampart of the New Town, in a part very distant from that where the assault was given. It happened that the ladder was not long enough, which obliged them to make up the deficiency by hand-barrows. Monsieur de Chevert, at that time Lieut. Col. of the regiment of Beaulieu, was the first man that mounted. He was followed by marshal Broglie's eldest son. They reach the rampart, and find only one sentinel at some distance. They are soon followed by numbers, and make themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison lay down their arms, and general Ogilvy with his 3000 men surrender prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged, and, what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell-mell for three days; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the streets in common without distinction and without shedding a drop of blood. Thus Prague was taken by escalade.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just arrived at the camp, transmitted an account of this success to the king, in such terms as a general would address the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the grand duke finding he had not been able to save the town, and that subsistence failed in the quarters which
he

he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain.

During these transactions the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province that lies between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed overpowered on all sides. Her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Lintz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, from whence he went to Francfort to receive the imperial diadem, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while that province remained in the possession of the queen of Hungary, on pretext, that a woman had no right of suffrage. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might at the instant of election have made use of the vote of Bohemia in his own favour; but, as he had no need of it, he suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belleisle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than as the ambassador of France. He managed all the votes, and directed all the negotiations; he received all the honours due to the representative of a king who bestowed the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who is president of the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace, and the ambassador, on the contrary, gave the right hand in his own house to electors only, taking place of all other princes. His instructions as plenipotentiary were delivered to the German Chancery in French, although that court had formerly required all such papers to be

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be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman empire.

Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on the 4th of January, 1742. He now appeared covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but fortune soon put on a different aspect, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth.

Rapid disasters which followed the successes of the Emperor CHARLES ALBERT of BAVARIA.

Every thing retrieved again by LEWIS XV. and Marshal SAXE.

THE fault that had been committed in not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belleisle was sick at Francfort, and besides he could not at one and the same time conduct negotiations, and command an army at a distance. Misunderstandings began to arise among the allies, the Saxons complained greatly of the Prussians, these of France, and these latter cried out likewise in their turn.

Maria Theresa was supported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice, by loans on Flanders, but above all, by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness,

ness and desertions ; their leaders had but little credit, and recruits were difficult to be got. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than 10,000 men, yet in a short time found his forces encreased to 30,000, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to 45,000 men, consisted on its leaving France of no more than 32,000, and in this number there was but 8000 horse. Every day then weakened the victorious French, and added new strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of 35,000 effective men. The country was in his interest, and he began a defensive war very successfully, by keeping the enemy in continual alarms, cutting off their convoys, and harrassing them perpetually on all sides, by swarms of hussars, croats, pandours, and talpaches.

The pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave, and the Save ; they wear long cloaks, and in their girdles they carry pistols, a sabre, and a poignard.

The talpaches are Hungarian infantry ; they go armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre.

The croats, called in France *cravates*, are the militia of Croatia.

The hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are extremely swift and hardy. These fall upon, and cut off, advanced posts that are weak and not properly
sup-

supported with cavalry, which was every where the case of the French and Bavarian troops.

The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops would be sufficient to secure a vast extent of country, which it was imagined the queen of Hungary was in no condition to retake; but herein he was deceived. Every thing was retaken, and the seat of war was at length transported from the Danube to the Rhine.

Cardinal Fleury, on seeing all his hopes disconcerted, and so fair a beginning succeeded by such a train of disasters, wrote a letter to general Königseck, which was delivered to him by marshal Belleisle. In this letter the cardinal excuses himself on the score of the war, which, he says, was undertaken against his consent; and acknowledges, that he had been hurried out of his own measures. "Many people, says he, know how strenuously I opposed the resolutions which have been taken; and that I was, in a manner, compelled to acquiesce in them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the person who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league so contrary to my liking and my principles."

The only answer the queen of Hungary made, was by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to foresee the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place the whole blame of the war was thrown upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with count Königseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiations successful.

Secondly,

Secondly, this letter plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry ; and he must have had a very slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that advantage would be taken of this weakness, that the allies of France would grow cool upon it, and her enemies gather more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains to the Austrian general, and says, " That he shall not hereafter write his mind so freely to him." This second letter did him more harm than the first. Indeed, he disavowed them both in the public papers ; and this disavowal, of which no one was the dupe, crowned all those imprudent proceedings that milder judges excused in an old man of eighty-seven, worn out with a series of ill success. At length, the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly to secularize the two bishoprics in dispute in favour of Hanover ; but the English ministry, not thinking the emperor's interposition in the least necessary towards obtaining these bishoprics, insulted his proposals by making them public, and the emperor found himself reduced to the necessity of disavowing his offers of peace, as cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now became warmer than ever ; France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to grasp the ballance of Europe sword in hand. Holland at length declared in favour of Maria Theresa. Germany, Flanders, and Italy, were alternately the theatre of war, as happened in the year 1701 : and the
house

house of Bourbon was, for the second time, obliged to support a war against almost all the powers of Europe.

At the beginning of the Chapter concerning the War between France and England in the Year 1756.

Vol. VIII. ch. 196. **E**UROPE, in general, never beheld such glo-

rious days as from the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to the beginning of the year 1756. Trade flourished from Petersbourg to Cadiz, the fine arts were every where cherished, and a mutual intercourse subsisted between all nations; so that Europe resembled a large family reconciled, after having been long at variance. The new misfortunes which were about to befall this part of the world, seemed foretold by the dreadful earthquakes which were felt in divers of its provinces, but more terribly in Lisbon than elsewhere. The greatest part of that capital was thrown to the ground, and buried in its ruins upwards of thirty thousand of its inhabitants. This fearful scourge extended itself to Spain; the little town of Setubal (commonly called St. Ubes) was almost wholly destroyed, and others considerably damaged. The sea, making a breach over the walls of Cadiz, carried away every thing it met in its passage. These shocks were not confined to Europe alone, the opposite continent of Africa had its share in the desolation; and the same day that the misfortune befel Lisbon, a whole nation of
Arabs

Arabs in the neighbourhood of Morocco were swallowed up by the opening of the earth, and the cities of Fez and Mequinez were even greater sufferers than Lisbon.

This dire disaster should have made mankind look into themselves, and consider, that, as the common victims of fate, they ought to comfort, instead of oppressing, each other. The Portuguese imagined they should deprecate the wrath of Heaven, by burning the Jews and others of their fellow creatures at an *Auto da Fé*, or *Act of Faith*, as it is called, which other nations look upon as an act of inhumanity, and even at that time the other powers of Europe were preparing to stain with blood the earth that as yet trembled under their feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had been changed to a republic, in which the sovereign was no more than the principal magistrate. He was obliged to comply with the majority of votes in the senate; the states which were composed of the nobles, the burghers, the clergy, and the peasants, had a power of altering the laws of the senate, but the king could not.

Certain of the nobles, more attached to the person of their prince than to the new laws of the country, entered into a conspiracy against the senate in his favour, the plot was discovered, and the conspirators punished with death. And what in a government purely monarchical would have passed for a virtuous and meritorious deed, was deemed an infamous and treasonable act in a country become free. Thus the same actions are virtuous or criminal according to times and places.

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This affair alienated the minds of the Swedes from their king, and was partly the occasion of their declaring war against Frederick, king of Prussia, whose sister had been married to the king of Sweden.

The revolutions which the king of Prussia and his enemies were preparing at that time, were like a flame smothering beneath the embers, that soon afterwards burst forth with fury to the desolation of Europe; but the first sparks came from America.

The WAR in GERMANY.

An Elector of Brandenburg alone opposes the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, and the Empires of Germany and Russia.

MEMORABLE EVENTS.

LEWIS XIV. has been admired for making head alone against Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, joined in league against him. We have seen an event still more extraordinary: an elector of Brandenburg, who alone has stood against the united forces of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, Russia, Sweden, and one half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which can only be attributed to the excellent discipline of his troops, and the superior genius of their leader. Chance may decide the fate of one battle; but when we see the weaker party resisting those so much superior to him, for the space of seven years together, in a country altogether open, we can no longer

longer suppose this to be the work of fortune ; and, in this respect, the present war differs from all those which have hitherto ravaged the face of the earth.

We have already taken notice that the second king of Prussia, who was the only sovereign of Europe possessed of a treasure, and who had brought his troops to good discipline, established a new kind of power in Germany. We have seen also how the preparations made by the father emboldened the son alone to brave the Austrian power, and seize upon Silesia.

The empress queen was waiting with patience for a favourable opportunity to repossess herself of that province. It would formerly have been a matter of indifference to the other powers of Europe, whether a petty country annexed to Bohemia belonged to one house or to another ; but politics, like the other ideas of the human mind, having been refined rather than improved of late, this trifling dispute has put arms into the hands of above half a million of men. There never had been so great a number of effective fighting men, either in the crusades, or in the irruptions of the conquerors of Asia. The following is the manner in which this great scene opened:

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, was closely allied with the empress queen Maria Theresa, by ancient treaties, by their common interest, which united them against the Ottoman empire, and by a mutual inclination. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, who had been reconciled to the empress queen, and was naturally attached to Russia, to whom he

was indebted for his title of king of Poland, was intimately connected with both princesses. These three powers had each their subjects of complaint against Frederick king of Prussia. Maria Theresa saw Silesia rent from her patrimony. Augustus and his council wanted reparation for the ravages committed in Saxony, by the king of Prussia, in the war of Forty-one, and there were some complaints of a personal nature between that monarch and the empress Elizabeth.

These three powers, all equally exasperated against the king of Prussia, entered into the most intimate correspondence, the effects of which were greatly feared by that prince. Austria was augmenting her forces, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing; his electoral finances were exhausted, and he had no place of any strength to stop the Prussians from marching to Dresden. And as order and œconomy had rendered Brandenburg a formidable state, dissipation and neglect had enfeebled Saxony; and the Saxon council were not easily to be persuaded to enter into measures that might have proved of fatal consequences to the state.

The king of Prussia, without any hesitation, and without consulting any one, took himself the resolution, in the year 1755, to be before hand with those powers whose proceedings had given him so much umbrage. He began by making an alliance with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he secured the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the house of Brunswick; and thus gave up his alliance with France.

It was at this period, as we have elsewhere observed *, that the ancient feuds between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, which had subsisted ever since the time of the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France, gave place to a reconciliation and friendly union, which appeared sincere and permanent, and which greatly surpris'd all Europe. This union was, by the English parliament, called *an unnatural alliance*; but when the English wanted to reign masters, it was a very natural one, and in no wise contravened the peace of Westphalia. It appeared highly probable that these two powerful houses, thus united and seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several of the German powers, might keep the rest of Europe in awe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles, between Lewis XV. and Maria Theresa. The abbé de Bernis, afterwards cardinal, had the sole honour of bringing about this famous treaty, which overturned all the edifice of cardinal Richelieu, and, in all appearance, erected another, more noble and extensive on its ruins. De Bernis was soon afterwards made minister of state, and almost as soon disgraced.

This step only served to make the king of Prussia more alert to take the field. He march'd his troops into Saxony, which was in a manner defenceless, designing to make this province a kind of rampart against the Austrian power, and a way to come at her more effectually. He immediately made himself master of Leipstick, and a part of his army appeared before the gates

* See Vol. VIII. chap. cxcv. pag. 73.

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of Dresden. King Augustus thereupon retired, as his father had done before the victorious Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went to his camp at Pirnau, in the neighbourhood of Konigstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the borders of the Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederick then enters Dresden as a master, though under the name of a protector. The queen of Poland, daughter to the emperor Joseph, had refused to join her consort in his flight, and remained in the city. They demanded of her the keys of the public archives; and upon her refusing to deliver them up, prepared to break open the doors. The queen then places herself in their way, hoping that they would respect her person and courage; but, without regarding either, they forcibly opened, in her sight, the sacred deposits of the state. It was especially necessary for the king of Prussia to get into his hands authentic proofs of the designs of the elector of Saxony against him. He succeeded, and found sufficient testimonies of the apprehensions they had of him; and yet these very apprehensions, which ought to have induced the court of Dresden to put itself in a posture of defence, only served to make it the victim of a powerful neighbour; and it was too late perceived, that Saxony, considering the situation in which it had been for such a number of years, ought to have given all its attention to warlike concerns instead of pleasure. There are certain situations, in which the only alternative left is to prepare for resistance, to conquer or to perish.

On the first news of this invasion, the aulic council of the empire declared the king of Prussia a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was not easy to give this denunciation any weight against a prince who had an hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered their edicts by giving battle to the Austrian army; whence he marched to that on the confines of Bohemia, near a village called Lowositz.

This first battle was not decisive, as to the numbers slain on either side; but it proved so with respect to its consequences. The king, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Austrians, blocked up the Saxons in their camp at Pirnau; and the king of Poland's little army, consisting only of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war, in a week after the battle.

Augustus, in this very extraordinary capitulation, which was the only military event that happened between him and the king of Prussia, only requested that his own regiment of guards might not be made prisoners; but he was answered by Frederick, "that he could not grant that request, for that he was very certain these guards would serve against him, and he did not chuse to be at the trouble of taking them twice." This reply was a terrible lesson to all princes to make themselves powerful, when they have a powerful neighbour.

The king of Poland, having thus lost his electorate and his army, was necessitated to apply to his enemy for passports, to carry him into Poland, which were very readily granted; and

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and they had moreover the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses. He went then from his hereditary into his elective dominions, where he found not a single person willing to take up arms to support their sovereign. The whole electorate of Saxony was put under contribution, and the king of Prussia found sufficient supplies in the countries he had invaded, to defray the expences of carrying on the war. The queen of Poland, who had not followed her husband, remained behind in Dresden, where she died a short time afterwards of grief. All Europe pitied the sufferings of this distressed family; but in the course of these calamities, there were a thousand other families that experienced as great sufferings, though not of so public a nature. The civil magistrates of Leipstick made remonstrances against the contributions which the victor had imposed on them, and which they declared themselves utterly incapable of raising: they were answered by being thrown into prison, and they paid the sums demanded.

Never have so many battles been fought as during the course of this war. The Russians entered the Prussian territories by the way of Poland. The French, now auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, fought for the recovery of Silesia; a country, which a few years before, they had assisted to take from her, when allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had formerly shewn himself the most zealous supporter of the house of Austria, was now become its most formidable enemy. Sweden, that in the preceding war, had struck at the very existence of that house, now sent

its forces to serve in its armies against the king of Prussia, for a subsidy of nine hundred thousand franks: these troops were guilty of the least ravages of any.

Germany now beheld itself torn to pieces by many more national troops than in the famous thirty years war.

While the Prussians were marching through Poland to the assistance of the empress queen, the French entered Germany, by the duchy of Cleves, and by Wesel, which had been abandoned by the Prussians, and took all the country of Hesse; they then bent their march towards the electorate of Hanover, in order to give battle to an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the same duke of Cumberland who had attacked Lewis XV. at Fontenoy.

The king of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and at the same time left a considerable body of troops to make head against the Russians. The troops of the empire, called the army of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, now entirely in the possession of the Prussians. Thus Germany was at once a prey to six formidable armies, that devoured her very vitals.

The king of Prussia marched immediately to attack prince Charles of Lorrain, the emperor's brother, and general Brown, near Prague. The battle was bloody; but the Prussian army proved victorious, and obliged a part of the Austrian infantry to take shelter in the city of Prague, in which they were blocked up by the victorious troops, for above two months. There were a great number of princes in the town.

town. Provisions began to grow scarce, and it was generally believed that Prague would fall a sacrifice, and that the house of Austria would suffer more from Frederick than it had done from Gustavus Adolphus.

But the conqueror lost all the fruits of his success, by grasping at every thing at once. Count Caunitz, prime minister of the empress queen, a man as active in the cabinet, as the king of Prussia was in the field, had already assembled an army under the command of marshal Daun. The king of Prussia did not hesitate an instant to attack this army, in hopes that the reputation of his late victories would strike a terror into the enemy's troops. This army once dispersed, Prague must necessarily capitulate after a short bombardment; and he was then absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun had entrenched his army on the brow of a hill. The Prussians attacked the trenches seven different times, with incredible fury, and were as often repulsed. Frederick lost near twenty-five thousand men, killed wounded, runaways, and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was shut up in Prague, made a sally, and pursued the Prussians. The change in the face of things was now as great as the king of Prussia's hopes and exploits had been before this event.

The French, on their side, powerfully supported Maria Theresa. The marechal d'Estrées who commanded their army, had already passed the Weser, and followed close upon the duke of Cumberland, who was marching towards Minden; he came up with that general at Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete

victory. The princes of *Condé* and *la Marche* *Conti* gave the first proofs of their military talents in this battle, and the blood-royal of France disputed the honour of the field with that of England. And here let us observe, that, by some intrigues at court, the marshal d'Estrées had been removed from the command of the army, and the orders were already gone forth to put this affront upon him, when he gained this victory. The courtiers pretended to find fault with him for not having conquered the whole electorate of Hanover, and not having marched as far as Magdebourg. They thought that every thing was to be terminated in a single campaign. Such was the confidence of the French court in the year 1741, when, after having made an emperor, it thought to dispose of all the dominions of the house of Austria; and in the beginning of the age of Lewis XIV. when that monarch and Philip V. of Spain, having made themselves masters of Italy and Flanders, and being seconded by two electors, thought to give laws to all Europe, and found themselves miserably deceived.

CONTINUATION of MEMORABLE EVENTS.

The English Army obliged to capitulate. The Affair of Rosbach. Revolutions.

THE French ministry had dispatched marshal Richelieu to take the command of the army from d'Estrées, before it was acquainted with the important victory that general had gained. Marshal Richelieu, remarkable for the charms

charms of his person and understanding, and famous by the defence of Genoa and the taking of Minorca, marched to give the duke of Cumberland battle, whom he obliged to retreat before him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, where he compelled him to capitulate with his whole army. This capitulation was more singular and glorious than the most complete victory would have been. By the articles of the convention, the duke of Cumberland obliged himself to retire beyond the Elbe, and to leave the country open to the operations of the French against the king of Prussia.

The ruin of that monarch now seemed inevitable. The severe defeat he had met with before Prague, and another where his troops had suffered near Landshut on the confines of Silesia, and lately a battle, which he had hazarded with the Russians, and in which neither side had the victory, had weakened him almost beyond a possibility of recovery.

He was in danger of being hemmed in on one side by the army under marshal Richelieu, and by that of the empire on the other, while the Austrians and Russians were marching into the heart of Silesia. His destruction now seemed so certain, that the Aulic council no longer kept any measures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire, and to have forfeited all his fiefs, rights, privileges, immunities, &c. Nay, he himself seemed to think his situation altogether desperate, and that nothing was left him but a glorious death. On this occasion, he made a kind of a philosophical testament; and so little was his mind affected with this series of misfortunes, that he wrote it in

French verse. I am persuaded this anecdote is altogether new, and singular in its kind.

The prince of Soubise, a general of intrepid courage, great prudence, and regularity of conduct, marched to give him battle in Saxony, at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had further reinforced by a part of that under marshal Richelieu. This army was joined by that of the circles, commanded by the prince of Hildebourghausen.

Frederick, thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, advanced with a resolution to sell his life dear, and perish in the midst of Soubise's ranks, at the same time that he took all the necessary precautions to gain the victory. He went to reconnoitre the joint armies, and then made a retreat, in order to secure an advantageous position for his own. The prince of Hildebourghausen was for attacking him without delay. This resolution was necessarily followed by the French; who acted only as auxiliaries; and they advanced into the neighbourhood of Rosbach and Marsbourg, and marched towards the Prussians, who were concealed under their tents; when, on a sudden, the tents are struck, and the whole Prussian army is seen advancing in order of battle between two hills lined with artillery.

At this unexpected sight the French and imperial troops were struck with astonishment. The French soldiery had for some years been taught the Prussian exercise, which had been afterwards altered in several of its evolutions, so that the men no longer knew what they were at, their former way of fighting was a hazard, and they were not sufficiently masters of the

new method. When they saw the Prussians advancing towards them in this extraordinary disposition, which was utterly unknown to all other nations, they thought they beheld their masters. The Prussian artillery was likewise much better served than that of the combined army. The imperial troops gave way almost at the first onset. The French cavalry was broke by the Prussian cannon; a general pannic prevailed; the whole body of French infantry retreated before six battalions of the enemy: in short, it could not be called a battle, but a powerful army that presented itself in a posture to fight, and then ran away. The event of next day is unparalleled in history, only two regiments of Swiss remain on the field of battle. The prince of Soubise rode up to those, and putting himself at their head, made them file off by slow degrees. This extraordinary day's work once more changed the face of affairs.

At this very time fresh disasters beset the army under marshal Richelieu, which had been greatly weakened by the draughts the ministry had made from it. The court of France refused to ratify the convention which the marshal had obliged the duke of Cumberland to subscribe. The English court therefore thought themselves (not without justice) released from their engagements. The ratification, afterwards signed at Versailles, did not arrive till five days after the misfortune at Rosbach, and the English in a short time retook the whole electorate of Hanover.

Extraordinary and unprecedented as was the affair of Rosbach, it was not more so than what

was done by the king of Prussia after that unexpected victory. He hastened into Silesia, where his troops had been beaten by the Austrians; who had made themselves masters of Schweidnitz and Breslau. But for this great diligence of his, Silesia had been wholly lost, and the battle of Rossbach would have been of no advantage to him.

In about a month's time he came up with the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with the greatest fury. The engagement lasted upwards of five hours, when victory declared wholly in favour of Frederick, who immediately took possession of Schweidnitz and Breslau. After this there followed a continual vicissitude of battles, lost and won. The French were, for the most part, always unfortunate; but their court was not in the least discouraged: on the contrary, it exerted itself to the utmost to send fresh supplies of troops into Germany.

The king of Prussia, on his side, was weakened by the numerous battles he fought; inasmuch, that the Russians took from him the whole kingdom of Prussia, and laid waste all Pomerania, while he was ravaging Saxony. The Austrians and Russians successively enter Berlin. Almost all the treasure his father and himself had amassed was necessarily spent in this war, alike ruinous to all parties; and he was obliged to have recourse to the English for subsidies. The Austrians, French, and Russians, without being discouraged by their bad successes, followed him wherever he went. His family dared not to remain in Berlin, which was continually exposed to the insults of the enemy; and as to himself, after a series of fortunate

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fortunate events, he was, in 1762, intrenched under the cannon of Breslau. Maria Theresa seemed on the eve of recovering all Silesia; Frederick had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders upon Bohemia; the king of Poland flattered himself with the hopes of recovering his hereditary dominions, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, gave a new turn to the face of affairs, which had already undergone so many changes.

The new emperor, Peter III. had for a considerable time been secretly a friend to the king of Prussia. He now not only made peace with him the instant he came to the throne; but became his ally against the empress-queen, whom his predecessor Elizabeth had so warmly and constantly befriended. Thus, by a sudden change, the king of Prussia, who had been so hardly pressed by the Austrian and Russian forces in concert, now prepared to enter Bohemia with the assistance of those very Russians who had fought against him but a few weeks before.

But this new state of affairs was again overturned almost as soon as formed, by a sudden revolution in those of Russia.

The new czar wanted to repudiate his wife, which stirred up the whole nation against him, whose affections he ought to have endeavoured to gain. His wife obviated the design against her, the army and the people declared in her favour, and Peter III. was confined in prison; where he died, in a few days after, of a violent fit of the cholera, to which he was subject.

The king of Prussia, though left to himself, resolved to continue the war. But what would have been the consequence of this chaos of events?

vents? The spilling of a prodigious quantity of blood; the raising numerous armies, which would have done much more mischief than great exploits; the exhausting whole nations for quarrels with which they had nothing to do; the destruction and plundering of numberless towns; and, lastly, the ruining the finances of those princes who had a share in the war.

And what are become of the prodigious sums that have been lavished in this bloody contention? Why, they are hidden in the coffers of two or three hundred private persons, who acted as pay-masters and commissaries to the respective armies; the contractors and bankers of Frankfort, Hamburgh, Dantzick, and Holland, have made immense fortunes; and the Germans are better soldiers and richer tradesmen than they ever were before. Those disasters, which made every one tremble, will speedily be forgotten, and lost in the croud of general events, or swallowed up in a succession of new changes.

The ENGLISH VICTORIOUS in the Four Quarters of the WORLD.

WHEN marshal Richelieu, in 1756, laid siege to Port Mahon, the capital of the island of Minorca, the English sent out admiral Byng, with a strong naval force, to drive the French fleet off the island, and raise the siege.

The English, who looked upon themselves as masters of the sea, were incensed at admiral Byng for not having beaten the French fleet: they accused him with having kept at too great

a distance from the French admiral: he was tried for his life by a council of war, called in that country a *court-martial*, who condemned him to be shot. The sentence was unanimously confirmed by the king and council. Never, perhaps, was there an instance of a more severe sentence.

At this time there appeared a book, intituled, "An Estimate of the Manners of the Times," of which there were no less than five editions printed off in London in the space of three months. In this treatise, the author proves, that the English nation was entirely degenerated; that the more extensive its trade, the nearer it was to its ruin; that it was wrong to make use of the riches it possessed; that its inhabitants were no longer so robust and hardy as in former times; that its soldiers had lost their courage; and that this was owing to the great number of philosophers, who were so wicked and senseless as to acknowledge only one God, and to be neither Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Quakers, Memnonists, nor Anabaptists. We often meet with writings of this kind in France, of which no one takes any notice: but this roused the sensibility of the English nation, and produced the following consequences.

They attacked, almost at one and the same time, all the sea-coasts of France, and her possessions in Asia, Africa, and America.

The first conquest they made was of Chandanagore, an important post the French possessed at the entry of the Ganges in the East-Indies. This was the great warehouse for all the curi-

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ous merchandizes we have out of the mogul's country.

The English and French East-India companies, as has already been observed, had for a considerable time carried on their trade in that part of the world sword in hand, and had engaged in their quarrels the nabobs or rajas of the country, who are kind of viceroys, or rather petty kings, sometimes independent, and at others subject to the great mogul, according to the greater or less abilities of that emperor; that is, as he was more or less powerful.

After taking the town and fort of Chandernagore, the English continued without intermission to ruin the French trade in India. The mogul government was so bad and weak, that it could not prevent the European traders from forming alliances, and making war upon each other, even in the heart of the empire. The English in particular had the boldness to attack Surat, one of the finest and largest trading cities in India; and which belonged to the emperor, which they took and plundered, destroying all the French warehouses, and carrying off an immense booty; an act for which every Englishman ought to have been driven out of the country: but such was the inability of the weak, though splendid court of the great mogul, that it did not even dare to take any notice of this flagrant outrage*.

* This is only one instance of many, in the course of this work, in which Mr. de Voltaire has evidently departed from the impartiality of an historian, to indulge a national bias.

At length, after having forcibly taken almost all the ships belonging to the French East India company, they laid siege to Pondicherry, which was not defended as in the time of its governor M. Dupleix; but surrendered at discretion: so that the French had nothing then left in that part of the world, but the regret of having expended immense sums, during the space of forty years, to support a company that had never been of the least advantage to the state, had not even made a single dividend to the proprietors or creditors out of the produce of its trade; that had subsisted altogether by under-hand dealings, and had been supported only by a part of the farm upon tobacco, which had been granted to it by the king: a memorable, though perhaps useless, example of the little knowledge the French have hitherto had of the extensive and ruinous trade to India.

While the English were thus ruining the French, both by sea and land, in the East, they likewise drove them out of the West-Indies. The French were in possession of the river of Senegal, one of the branches of the Niger, where they had several forts, and carried on a considerable trade in elephants teeth, gold dust, and negroes, which latter were sold by their princes like beasts of burden, and who sometimes sell their own children, or even themselves, for slaves to the Europeans, who carry them over to America. The English took all the forts the French had built in these countries, together with all the valuable commodities they were possessed of, to the value of three millions of livres.

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The last settlement the French had now left in this part of Africa was Goree, which soon after surrendered at discretion ; and France was now stripped of all her possessions in that part of the world.

But her losses in America were still greater. Without entering into a detail of the several engagements between the two nations, and the taking of all our forts one after another, let it suffice to say, that the English made themselves masters of Louisburgh for the second time ; that place being as ill fortified, and badly provided, as it had been the first. In short, the English, almost at the same time, took Surat, at the mouth of the river Indus, and made themselves masters of Quebec, and all Canada, at the extremity of North-America ; the French troops, who had run the risk of an engagement in order to save Quebec, having been defeated, and almost all cut in pieces.

At the same time, likewise, that the English were thus vigorously attacking the French on the continent of America, they cast their eyes upon the islands belonging to that crown ; and Guadaloupe, a small but flourishing settlement, where the best sugars are made, fell into their hands almost without striking a blow.

They afterwards took Martinico, which was the best and richest of all the French colonies.

France could never have met with such a series of misfortunes, had she not lost almost all the ships she sent out to prevent them ; no sooner did a fleet put to sea, but it was either taken or destroyed ; new ships were put upon the stocks, or fitted out to repair the former
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loss: but this was only working for the English, into whose hands they were certain of falling, almost as soon as they had left their harbours.

When the government, in order to revenge itself for so many losses, meditated a descent upon Ireland; this project, after costing immense sums, proved abortive; for no sooner had the fleet designed to make this descent, left the port of Brest, than the ships, of which it consisted, were all of them dispersed or taken by the enemy, or lost in the mouth of a little river called the Villaine, whither they had run in vain for shelter. The English after this took the island of Belleisle in sight of the French coast, from whence no succours could be sent to its assistance.

Never had the English so great a superiority by sea, though they have always been masters over the French in that element. They ruined the French navy in the year 1741, and utterly destroyed that of Lewis XIV. in the war for the Spanish succession. They were masters of the sea in the reign of Lewis XIII. and Henry IV. and still more so in the unfortunate times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If you look back to former times, you will find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip of Valois could never make head against those of Henry V. and Edward III.

But what can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is the essential element of the English; whereas the French can upon occasion do without it, and that every nation (as we have elsewhere observed) always succeeds best in those things of which it stands

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absolutely in need? May it not arise from the capital of England being a sea-port, whereas Paris, the metropolis of France, sees only a few boats passing upon the Seine? Or, lastly, may not the English climate and soil produce men of a more vigorous and robust habit of body, and minds more fitted to labours and fatigues, than that of France, in the same manner as it produces dogs and horses more proper for the chase? But then, on the other hand, we know that the inhabitants of all that part of the coast of France, from Bourdeaux to Picardy and Flanders, are capable of undergoing the hardest labours; and the province of Normandy alone has heretofore conquered all England.

Affairs were in this deplorable situation both by sea and land, when there arose a person of an active and enterprising genius, who undertook to retrieve all. He was sensible that France was not able, by her own strength alone, to repair the losses she had sustained. He therefore engaged the court of Spain to espouse her quarrel: he united all the branches of the house of Bourbon in one common cause; and made the interests of Spain, Austria, and France, the same. Portugal was in fact a kind of province to England, who drew from thence near five millions yearly: it was therefore thought advisable to strike the first blow here; and don Carlos, lately become king of Spain, by the death of his brother, determined to invade the Portuguese territories. This was, perhaps, one of the greatest strokes in politics that is to be met with in history.

THE
INTERIOR GOVERNMENT
OF
FRANCE.

Disputes and Encounters, from the Year 1750
to the Year 1762.

A Considerable time before the breaking out of this war, as also during its course, the interior government of France had been disturbed by the old and inextinguishable dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as the limits of neither have not as yet been properly ascertained, as is the case in England, and many other countries, particularly in Russia: this will prove the source of dangerous dissensions, so long as the rights of the crown, and those of the different orders of the state, remain in dispute.

In the year 1750 we had a minister of the finances, who had the courage to order the clergy and religious orders, to deliver in a state of their effects, in order that the king might see from their revenues what they owed to the government. Nothing could be more just and equitable than this proposal; but it was attended with consequences that had the appearance of sacrilege. The old bishop of Marseilles wrote

wrote to the comptroller-general as follows, "Do not put yourself under the necessity of disobeying either God or the king; you cannot but know to whom you owe the preference."

This letter, sent in the name of a superannuated prelate, who could not write, was, in reality, the work of a Jesuit, named *le Maire*, who had the direction of the conscience of him and his household, and was a fanatic from principle, which are ever the most dangerous kind of people.

The minister then was obliged to drop his design, which he ought not to have undertaken, unless he could have gone through with it. Some of the clergy took advantage of this, and endeavoured to cut out work for the government by founding the alarm upon spiritual matters, hoping that the general confusion would prevent any attack being made upon their temporals. They knew that the bull *Unigenitus* was held in abhorrence by the common people; they accordingly resolved to oblige all dying persons to give a certificate or billet of confession, which billets were to be signed by those priests who were sticklers for the bull, without which there could be no extreme unction, nor administration of the sacrament in the last moments; and these two comforts were refused without pity to all those who were appellants (that is, who objected to the bull) or who confessed themselves to appellants. The archbishop of Paris joined in this scheme more through a dogmatical zeal than the spirit of cabal.

And now every family was alarmed, all schism was renounced, those who were called Jansenists began to declare openly, that if it was
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so difficult to obtain the sacraments, people would very soon learn to do without them, as well as they did in so many other countries.

The curate of St. Stephen du Mont, a little parish in Paris, having refused the sacrament to a counsellor of the Chatelet, the parliament threw the curate into prison.

The king, observing these beginnings of a little civil war between his parliament and the clergy, forbade his courts of judicature to concern themselves in matters relating to the sacraments, reserving the cognizance thereof for his privy council. The parliaments complained that this order took from them the exercise of the general police of the kingdom, and the clergy could not with patience suffer that the royal authority should pretend to decide in religious controversies.

Matters began now to grow warm on all sides, when the place of superior to an hospital for young women falling vacant, and the archbishop of Paris pretending that he had the sole right of nomination, the flames of discord began to break out with fury.

The parliament opposed the archbishop's pretensions; and the king having given it in his favour, the parliament desisted from its functions, and refused to administer justice. The king found himself under the necessity of sending his musqueteers with letters de cachet to all the members of that court, commanding them to resume their functions, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

Upon this the chambers continued to sit as usual, but when any causes came to be tried, there was no advocate found to plead. This

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resembled in some manner the times of the league, but without the horrors of civil war. It was rather a matter of folly and ridicule.

This folly, however, was perplexing. The king determined to extinguish by moderation these sparks which might have lighted up a dangerous flame, and to this end exhorted the clergy not to make use of unwarrantable severities. The parliament likewise resumed all its functions.

But it was not long before the billets of confession made their appearance again, and some fresh refusals of the sacraments set all Paris a murmuring. The curate of St. Stephen's before mentioned being found guilty of a second prevarication, was sent for before the parliament, who prohibited him, and all other curates from giving the like cause of scandal for the future, under pain of forfeiting their temporalities. By the same arret the archbishop of Paris was invited to exert his authority in putting an end to this cause of complaint. The term *invited* seemed to agree with the plan of moderation adopted by the king. But the archbishop, not bearing that a secular court of justice should even pretend to the right of inviting him to do any thing, went to complain of it at Versailles. He was encouraged in this step by the old bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, who was appointed by the ministry to present proper persons for having church-livings to the king. This man had formerly been a Theatine, was afterwards made a bishop, and then became a minister; he was a person of very narrow conceptions, but a zealous stickler for the rights of the clergy. He looked upon the bull as an article of faith, and making use of all the influence which

which his place gave him, he persuaded the court that the parliament had made an attack upon the privileges of the church; upon which their arret was annulled. On this occasion that body made some very strong and pathetic remonstrances.

The king very prudently ordered them to confine themselves to giving him an account of all the informations they should receive on these subjects, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose offensive zeal might sow the seeds of schism among his subjects. He likewise forbade, by an arret of his council of state, any one to give another the name of Innovator, Jansenist, or Semipelagian. This was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, at the instigation of the archbishop, presented a petition to the king in favour of the billets of confession. Immediately upon this the parliament suspended the curate of St. Jean en Grève, who had drawn up the petition. The king again annuls their proceedings, and the parliament again desists from its functions, and persists in the remonstrances; the king on his side continues to exhort both parties to peace. But it was all labour in vain.

The parliament ordered a letter of the bishop of Marseilles, which had been laid before them, to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner, and condemned a book wrote by the bishop of Amiens. The assembly of the clergy, who sat at that time in Paris, as they do every five years, to pay their subsidies to the king, came to a resolution to wait upon him with their complaints, dressed in their canonicals;

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but the king would not permit this extraordinary ceremony.

The parliament, on the other hand, condemned one of the porters who carry the host, to make the *amende*, to ask pardon on his knees, and to receive a reprimand; and a vicar of a parish to be banished. The king annulled this arret also.

These kind of proceedings became every day more common; the king still recommended peace, the bishops still continued to refuse the sacraments, and the parliament to condemn their proceedings.

At length, the king gave the parliament permission to give sentence in the affair of the sacraments, in case any cause of that kind should be brought before it; but he, at the same time, forbade it to seek out for such causes. The parliament then resumed its functions a second time, and the several parties, whose law-suits had been neglected for these affairs, were again at liberty to ruin themselves as usual.

Nevertheless, the flame was not so entirely quenched but that it continued to smother in private. The archbishop had given orders to refuse the sacraments to a couple of poor old nuns of St. Agatha, who having formerly heard their confessor say that the bull *unigenitus* was the work of the devil, were afraid of being damned if they subscribed to this bull on their death-bed, and were also afraid of being damned if they should die without receiving extreme unction. The parliament thereupon sent their register to the archbishop to desire him not to refuse these two women the usual comforts. The archbishop answered in his usual manner,
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that he was accountable for his conduct to God only; in consequence of which answer the parliament seized upon his temporalities, and invited the princes of the blood and the peers to come and take their seats in the house.

The dispute had now the appearance of becoming serious, and people began to fear a renewal of the times of the league. The king forbade the princes and peers to go and vote in the parliament of Paris on matters which he had reserved for the cognizance of his privy council. The archbishop had also interest enough to get the little community of St. Agatha dissolved for entertaining so bad an opinion of the bull *unigenitus*.

All Paris murmured at these proceedings, which affected the peace of several other parts of the kingdom, in particular the city of Orleans, which was in confusion on account of the refusal of the sacraments: the parliament gave the same decrees in regard to that city as to Paris, and schism was advancing with large strides. A curate in the diocese of Amiens took it in his head one Sunday in the middle of his sermon, to desire all those of his congregation, "who were Jansenists to leave the church," "and that he should be the first who would wash his hands in their blood." He had even the audaciousness to mention some of his parishioners by name, who were thereupon pelted with stones by some of the most zealous constitutionists as they came out of church, though it is very certain that neither the one nor the other knew any thing at all of what the bull or jansenism meant.

An outrage of this kind was punishable with death. The parliament of Paris, in whose jurisdiction Amiens is, contented itself with sentencing the factious and blood thirsty priest to perpetual banishment; and the king approved of the sentence, as it did not relate to a crime merely spiritual, but to the illegal act of a seditious and turbulent person, and a disturber of the public peace.

During these commotions Lewis XV. acted like a father who endeavours to part his children when fighting with each other. He forbade all manner of insult or abuse; he reprimanded some, and exhorted others; he enjoined silence, forbade the parliament from passing sentence on spiritual matters, and recommended to the bishops to use circumspection in regard to the bull, which he looked upon as a law of the church, but would not have this dangerous law made the subject of contest. But all this paternal care proved of little effect on minds heated with opposition and fears. The parliaments pretended that they could not separate the *spiritual* from the *civil*, seeing that *spiritual* disputes necessarily introduced with them disputes of state.

It summoned the bishop of Orleans to appear for having refused the sacraments. It ordered all the books and papers, which had disputed its jurisdiction, to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, excepting only the king's declarations. It sent some of its counsellors to have its decrees registered at the Sorbonne, and concluded with desisting a third time from the exercise of its functions, of trying causes between individuals, in order to

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give its attention wholly to the affair of the sacraments.

The king, on his side, sent a third time his letter of jussion, commanding them to proceed to the exercise of their duty, and no longer to make his subjects suffer in their private concerns for these general disputes; observing, that the law-suits of individuals had nothing to do with the bull *unigenitus*.

The parliament returned for answer, that they could not acknowledge the king's letters patent, without violating the oath they had taken; neither could they *obtemperate*. When they came to enquire at Versailles into the meaning of this word, it was, to the surprize of every one, found to mean *obey*.

The king then was obliged to order all the members of the court of Inquests (*Enquêtes*) into banishment; some were sent to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and others to Auvergne; and three of the most violent were imprisoned.

The great chamber was spared, but its members thought their honour concerned not to accept of this indulgence; and therefore persisted in not hearing causes, and continued their proceedings against the curates. The king upon this banished them to Pontoise, a village about six leagues distance from Paris, whither the duke of Orleans had before sent them during his regency.

The parliament of Normandy followed the example of that of Paris, in relation to the sacraments. It summoned the bishop of Evreux to appear and to desist from his functions. The king sent an officer of his guards to cancel the

registers of this parliament, which at length became more tractable than that of Paris.

The stop put to distributive justice in the capital, would have been productive of great happiness to mankind, had they been either wise or just; but as they are neither, and that there is a necessity for law, the king commissioned certain members of his council of state, to sit and terminate the several causes depending *en dernier ressort*; the court endeavoured to get the erection of this new Chamber registered in the Chatelet, as if the authority of an inferior court of justice was necessary to establish that of the sovereign. This custom of registering had always had its inconveniencies; but the omission of this ceremony would have been attended with others still greater. The Chatelet refused to register till forced to it by letters of justice. The Royal Chamber then began to sit; but the advocates would not plead, and this court was the jest of all Paris, and indeed, of itself; agreeable to the known disposition of the French, who laugh the next day, at what filled them with dread the day before. The clergy, likewise, joined in the laugh, but it was for having got the victory.

Boyer, the old bishop of Mirepoix, who, without knowing it, had been the original cause of these disturbances, being now grown childish, and worn out with age, every thing seemed to promise fair for a reconciliation. The ministry entered into an amicable discussion of matters with the parliament; that body was recalled, to the general satisfaction of the whole city, who received them at their return with all possible demonstrations of joy; the populace shouting as they

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they passed, *Vive le parlement*; so that they returned in perfect triumph. The king wearied out with the obstinate inflexibility of the clergy, and of the parliament, enjoined peace and silence, and permitted the secular judges to proceed against all such who should be found troubling the public peace.

Notwithstanding these salutary precautions, the spirit of schism broke out from time to time in Paris, and the provinces; and several bishops, in spite of the king's orders in regard to the sacrament, strove to make a merit with the court of Rome, by refusing them. The bishop of Nantes, in particular, having set this example of disobedience and offensive rigour in his city, was, by the simple president-court at Nantes, condemned in a fine of 6000 franks, which he was obliged to pay; nor did the king interfere, being heartily tired of these disputes.

Numberless scenes of this kind happened throughout the kingdom, which, though they might be melancholy for those interested in them, were, in general, matters of amusement to the idle multitude. At Orleans, an old Jansenist canon, being upon his death-bed, his brethren refused to give him the sacraments, for which the parliament of Paris fined them twelve thousand livres; and ordered that the sacrament should be given to the sick man. In consequence of this order, the lieutenant-criminal disposed every thing for this ceremony, as if it had been for an execution; in the mean time, the canons managed matters so well, that their brother died without having the sacrament, and they buried him as privately as possible.

Nothing was more common at this time than receiving the sacrament by act of parliament. The king, who had banished the judges for refusing to *obtemperate*, was willing to hold the balance even, by banishing, in their turns, the clergy, for persisting in their schism. He accordingly began with the archbishop of Paris, whom he ordered to retire to his house at Conflans, three leagues distant from the city: a very candid sentence, and that had more the air of a fatherly admonition than a punishment.

The bishops of Orleans and Troyes were, by the like mild sentence, banished to their country-houses. The archbishop of Paris being found as inflexible in his country-house, as in his episcopal residence, was banished to a farther distance from the capital.

The parliament, who now found itself at liberty to act, reprimanded the Sorbonne, who, though it formerly held the bull in detestation, now looked upon it as an article of faith. This latter threatened to desist from giving lessons; and the parliament, who had itself desisted from more important functions, ordered the faculty to continue theirs; in so doing it maintained the rights of the Gallican church. The king approved of this proceeding, but when it would go further, he put a stop to it; and while he confirmed such of its decrees which tended to the public good, he annulled others in which he thought he saw want of proper circumspection.

Thus was this monarch continually in the midst of two powerful and incensed parties, like the Roman emperors between the white and green factions: his attention was also engaged by the hostilities which the English had begun

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begun against him at sea; and a land war seemed unavoidable. This was therefore no time to dispute about bulls.

He was likewise under the necessity of quieting the contests between the great council and his parliaments; for as they are few or no positive laws in France to determine any particular point, as the rights and privileges of the several orders, are unsettled; and that of the clergy have always endeavoured to extend its jurisdiction. As the Chambers of accounts have disputed many of the privileges of the parliaments, and the peers have frequently pleaded theirs against the parliament of Paris, it is not to be wondered that the great council should have disputes with that body likewise.

This great council was originally the council of the kings of France, and accompanied them wherever they went; but, as every thing has changed by degrees in the public administration, the great council underwent a change also. In the reign of Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature: it now determines concerning appeals, the qualifications of judges, and all causes relating to benefices within the kingdom, excepting those of the *Regale*. It has also the privilege of judging its own officers.

A counsellor of this court having been brought before the Chatelet for an affair of debt, the great council called the cause before them, and annulled the sentence of the Chatelet. Upon this the parliament takes the alarm, and annuls the decree of the great council, and the king sets aside the arret of the parliament. This occasions such remonstrances and disputes, that all the parliaments attack the great council, and

the public take different sides. The parliament of Paris again invites the peers to be present at this dispute between the two bodies; and the king again forbids them *to associate*: this affair remains like many others undecided.

The king, in the mean time, was occupied with matters of greater importance. He had a burthen some war to carry on against the English, both by sea and land. At the same time, he laid that memorable foundation of a military school, which forms the noblest monument of his reign; and which the empress-queen has since imitated. He wanted supplies to carry on all those operations, and the parliament was very backward in registering the edicts for levying two *vingtiemes*; though they have since been obliged to grant three, for in time of war, the subjects must either fight, or pay those who do: there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, to which he summoned the princes of the blood, and peers, together with the parliament of Paris, and here he caused his edicts to be registered; but, as soon as the parliament returned to Paris, it protested against this registering; pretending, that not only it had not been permitted the necessary liberty of enquiry, but also that this edict required such modifications, as might not be injurious to the interest of the king, nor those of the state, which were one and the same, and which by its oath it was bound to defend: adding furthermore, that its duty was not to please, but to serve. Thus zeal was at variance with obedience.

The old leaven of schism was mixed with this important affair of the taxes. A counsellor of the

the parliament being taken ill at his country-seat, in the diocese of Meaux, desired to have the sacraments administered to him ; but was refused by a curate as being an enemy to the church, and he died without having this ceremony performed : upon this the curate was proceeded against, who made his escape.

The archbishop of Aix had made a new formulary on the bull, for which the parliament of Aix sentenced him to pay a fine of ten thousand livres to the poor, which he was obliged to comply, and so got clear, with the loss of his formulary and his money. The bishop of Troyes having raised some disturbances in his diocese, the king sent him into confinement among the monks of Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to his house at Conflans, declared all such persons excommunicated who should read the arrets and remonstrances of the parliaments, concerning the bull and billets of confession.

Lewis XV. whom these variances greatly perplexed, carried his circumspection so far as to send to pope Benedict XIV. (*Lambertini*) for his advice ; a person of as moderate disposition as himself, beloved by all Christendom for his mild and pleasing carriage, and whose loss we at present more and more regret. He never interfered in any affair but with a view to make peace. His secretary of the briefs, cardinal Passionei, managed every thing. The cardinal, who was the only one in the sacred college at that time who was a man of letters, had too exalted an understanding not to despise all these disputes ; he hated the jesuits for having drawn up this bull, and could not keep himself from blaming

the ill-advised conduct of the court of Rome, in condemning, by this bull, maxims in themselves virtuous, unalterably true, and suitable to all times, and every nation; such, for instance, as the following: "The fear of excommunication ought not to prevent any one from acting agreeable to his duty." A maxim that is the support and defence of virtue throughout the world. Both antients and moderns have, in all times agreed, that our duty ought to prevail over the fear of punishment.

But strange as this bull might appear in more than one article, neither cardinal Passionei, nor the pope, could repeal a constitution which was looked upon as a law of the church. Benedict XIV. therefore, sent the king a circular letter for all the bishops of France, in which he does, indeed, consider this bull as an universal law, which is not to be opposed, "without endangering our eternal happiness;" but then he concludes with this decision, that, "in order to avoid scandal, the priest should acquaint some dying persons who are suspected of being Janesists, that they will be damned, and then administer the sacrament to them at their own risk and peril."

The same pontiff, in his private letter to the king, recommended the episcopal rights to his protection. Whoever consults a pope in any age must expect that he will answer as a pope ought to do.

But Benedict XIV. at the same time that he observed every thing that was due to his station, was not wanting in what he owed to peace, good order, and the authority of the prince. The pope's brief to the bishops was printed, when the parliament

parliament had the courage, or, if you will, the temerity to publish an arret, condemning it, and ordering it to be suppressed. This step was the more offensive to the king, as he himself had sent this brief to the bishops, in which there was nothing that concerned either the liberties of the Gallican church, or the rights of the sovereign, which the parliament have, in all times, been the protectors and avengers; so that the present censure passed by that body seemed to favour more of ill humour than moderation.

The council now thought it had found a new reason to condemn the conduct of the parliament of Paris: several other superior courts, who have the names of parliaments, were called, *Classes of the parliament of the kingdom*; a title which had been given them by the chancellor de l'Hopital, and signified no more than the union of the several parliaments in the knowledge and maintaining of the laws. The parliament did not pretend to represent the whole state, as divided into different companies, which, altogether, making one body, constituted the general states of the kingdom; this would indeed have been a grand idea, but it would have been too much so, and might have proved offensive to the royal authority.

These considerations, joined to the difficulties made in regard to the registering the money-edicts, determined the king to hold a bed of justice, and there make an alteration in the parliament of Paris.

However private the ministry kept this design, it got wind; and, when the king came to Paris, he was received with a mournful silence. The common people consider the parliament merely as the opposer of taxes, without ever examining
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whether these taxes are necessary, or once reflecting, that the several commodities in which they deal, sell at a higher price in proportion to those taxes; and that the burthens at length falls on the rich. These latter again complain in their turn, and, by their murmurings, encourage those of the populace.

The English have been more burthened than the French in this war; but in England the nation taxes itself, and knows what fund is established for the payment of the sums raised. On the contrary, the French are taxed without ever knowing on what the funds destined for such payment are to be assigned. In England there are no private persons who contract with the government for furnishing the sums to be raised by the taxes, and who enrich themselves at the expence of the nation, which is the case in France. The French parliaments have made repeated remonstrances to their kings against this abuse; but there are certain times in which those remonstrances, and the difficulties about registering, are more dangerous than even the taxes, by reason that the exigencies of war demand instant supplies; whereas the abuse of these supplies is not to be amended but with time.

The king then came to the parliament, and caused an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of that body, and several officers. He ordered due respect to be paid to the Bull Unigenitus, forbade the secular judges to prescribe the administering the sacraments, leaving them at liberty only to take cognizance of the abuses or crimes committed under such administration. He enjoined the curates to observe

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serve moderation and discretion, and desired that all past disputes *might be buried in oblivion.*

He ordered that no counsellor should be admitted to consultation under the age of twenty-five, and that no person should be entitled to vote in the assembly of the chambers, till he had served ten years; and he concluded with laying the most strict injunctions that no one should, *on any pretext whatsoever, interrupt the customary business of the court.*

The chancellor, for form's sake, demanded the opinions of the members, but every one kept profound silence. The king said he would be obeyed, and that he would *severely punish any one who should depart from his duty.*

The next day, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their office in court: an hundred and twenty members of the parliament followed their example soon afterwards. Upon this, there was an universal murmuring throughout the city; but these commotions were soon swallowed up in a general consternation, occasioned by an unexpected and shocking accident. The king was stabbed on the 5th of January in his own court, at Versailles, in presence of his son, and surrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened in the manner following.

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damiens, born in a little village, in the neighbourhood of Arras, had lived a considerable time as a servant in several houses in Paris: this man was of a passionate and gloomy disposition, approaching to a degree of madness.

The general murmurings which he had heard in public places, and in the great hall of the parlia-

parliament-house, had heated his indignation. He set out for Versailles, like a man who knew not whither he was going; and in the agitations of mind which must necessarily have attended the horrible design he had conceived, he desired, while at the public-house where he lodged, that a surgeon might be sent for to bleed him. Physical prepossessions have so great an influence upon the human mind, that this man said, upon his examination, that "had he been bled when" he desired it, he was convinced he should not "have committed this horrible crime."

The design he had formed was the most extraordinary that had ever entered into the head of any monster of this kind. He had no intention to kill the king, as he himself absolutely declared after he was apprehended, (and which indeed he had but too fair an opportunity to do) but only designed to wound him, as appears by the following declaration, which he made before the parliament, at the time of his trial.

"I had no intention to kill the king, which I might have done, had I been so inclined: I only did it, that God might touch the king's heart, and work on him, to restore things to their former footing, and give peace to his kingdom. The archbishop of Paris is the sole cause of all these troubles."

This notion had got such a thorough possession of his mind, that, in another of his answers, he says;

"I mentioned the names of some counsellors of the parliament, because I was formerly servant to one; and that they are almost all to a man furiously incensed against the archbishop."

In

In short, this unhappy wretch was so lost in fanaticism, that, in the examination he underwent at Versailles, we find the following passage.

“ Being interrogated what motives had induced him to make an attempt upon the person of his sovereign, he replied, *It was for religion's sake.*”

All those who have attempted the lives of christian princes have made use of this pretext. The king of Portugal had not been assaulted, but for the decision of three jesuits. It is sufficiently known, that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics; but there was this difference between them and Lewis XV. that they were murdered, because they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and he was stabbed for having seemed desirous to oblige the pope.

The assassin had provided himself with a clasp knife, one side of which had a long sharp-pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long. He waited for the instant the king was to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near six o'clock in the evening, the day-light was shut in, the weather was excessively cold, so that almost all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks, called *redingotes*. The villain, who wore one of the same, pushes through the guards, brushes the dauphin as he passes by him, gets in between the body-guard and the king, strikes him with his pen-knife under the fifth rib, returns his knife into his pocket again, and remains in his place with his hat upon his head. The king, finding himself wounded, turns about his head, and seeing a strange man standing close by him, with his hat on, and his eyes staring wildly, cries out,
“ That

"That is the person who has wounded me, secure him ; but let no one do him any hurt."

While every body was in amazement and horror, and they were carrying the king to his bed, and sending for the surgeons to examine if the wound was mortal, or the weapon had been poisoned, the assassin cried out several times, "Look to the dauphin ! do not suffer him to stir abroad all day."

Upon this, the general terror is redoubled ; no one doubts but that there is a plot formed to cut off the royal family, and that the most bloody and premeditated horrors are about to ensue.

Happily the king's wound was but slight ; but the apprehensions of the public were far from being so ; and the whole court was filled with fear, distrust, and intrigues. The grand provost of the household, who, by his office, is to take cognizance of all crimes committed within the king's palace, immediately took the murderer into custody, and proceeded to bring him to trial, in like manner as had been observed in the case of the murderer of Henry III. at St. Cloud. An exempt of the provost's guard, having, in appearance or reality, gained some kind of confidence over the disordered mind of this miscreant, persuaded him to have the insolence to write a letter to his majesty from his prison *.

* The letter was as follows :

S I R E,

I am extremely sorry that I have been so unfortunate as to approach your sacred person ; but if you do not take the part of your people, before many years are passed, both you and the dauphin and some others, will come to an untimely end. It
would

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The letter is that of a madman, and is wrote in a stile agreeable to his abject condition ; but it

would be a pity that so good a prince should be in danger of his life, on account of the too great indulgence he shews to the clergy, in whom alone he seems to put all his confidence ; and if you are not so good as to alter this in a short time, very fatal consequences will follow, your kingdom not being safe ; because, unfortunately for you, your subjects have given you their dismission ; this affair coming altogether from them. And if you have not the goodness for your people to order that the sacraments be administered to them when they are dying, which comfort you have refused them since holding your bed of justice, and the Chatelet having sold the goods of the priest who made his escape ; I repeat to you, that your life is in danger, on the information (which is very true) that I take the liberty of acquainting you with, by the officer who brings this letter, and in whom I have placed all my confidence.

The archbishop of Paris is the cause of all the disturbance about the sacraments, by having refused them. After the cruel crime I have lately committed against your sacred person, the sincere confession I now take the liberty of making, will, I hope, entitle me to your majesty's goodness and clemency.

Signed DAMIENS.

On the back of this letter was written, in a flourish, *ne varietur*, by, and according to the desire of the examination of the aforesaid Francis Damiens, dated this 9th of January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven, at Versailles, the king being there.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

A little lower was written ;

To the KING.

Here follows the tenor of a writing, signed DAMIENS,

Copy of the Note.

MESSIEURS

Chagränge ; Seconde.

Baïsse de Lisse.

discovers the real cause of his madness: it is evident that the complaints of the parliament and of the public against the archbishop, had turned the brain of the criminal, and had stirred him up to this attempt. It appeared, by the names of the members of parliament, mentioned in his letter, that he knew them, but not that they had ever made him acquainted with their sentiments; much less that they had ever spoke a word, that could have encouraged him to the commission of this crime.

Accordingly, the king made no scruple to put the examination of the prisoner into the hands of those members of the great chamber who had not resigned. He even would have the princes and peers be present at this trial, in order to render it more solemn and authentic in the eyes of the prying and distrustful multitude, who always see more than the truth in these shocking events. But, indeed, truth never appeared more manifest. It is evident, that this madman had

De la Guionye.

Clement.

Lambert.

The President de Rieux Bonnainvillers.

The President de Mazi, and almost all.

He must reinstate his parliament, and protect it, with a promise not to do any thing to the underwritten and company.

Signed DAMIENS.

Lower again was written;

In a flourish, *se variatur*, by, and according to the desire of the examination, this ninth January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

The said letter, as well as the said writing, annexed to the minute of the examination.

no accomplice ; he constantly declared, that he did not design to kill the king, but that he had formed the design of making an attempt upon his person, ever since the banishment of the parliament.

While undergoing the torture, he declared, that “ he imagined he was doing a meritorious act in the sight of God ; and I have heard all the priests about the court of justice say the same.”

He persisted to the last, in saying, that it was the archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the banishing of the parliament, that had induced him to make this attempt : he declared the same to his confessor, and died with the same sentiments in the midst of the same tortures that had been inflicted upon Ravallac.

His father, his wife, and his daughter, though innocent, were banished the kingdom, on pain of being hanged, if ever they came back again ; and by the same arret, all his relations were obliged to lay aside the names of Damiens, now become execrable.

This accident made an impression for some time on the minds of those, who, by their ill-timed disputes about religion, had been the cause of this atrocious crime. They saw but too plainly the direful effects of the spirit of dogmatizing and enthusiastic fury. No one could have imagined that a bull and billets of confession, would have had such fatal consequences ; but we generally find the follies and the wickedness of mankind thus connected with each other ; and that the spirit of Poltrot and James Clement, which was thought long ago extinct, still subsists. Reason in vain makes its way to the minds of the better part of the nation, the populace will
always

always be the dupes of fanaticism, and perhaps there is no other remedy against this contagion, but by enlightening the minds of that populace; whereas they are generally trained up in ignorance and superstition, and afterwards we are amazed to see the effects such an education produces.

During these transactions, sixteen counsellors, who had resigned their seats, were sent into banishment; and one of them, who was a clerk, founded a perpetual mass of thanksgiving to God, for having saved the life of the monarch who had banished him.

Several officers of the parliament of Bezançon were also confined in different towns, for having not only refused to register the edict for raising a second *vingtieme*, but having also issued a writ to seize the person of the intendant of the province.

The king, notwithstanding the attempt made upon his life, and the destructive war he had to support, applied himself strenuously to put an end to the disputes between the parliaments and the clergy; endeavouring to confine each order within its respective bounds. He again banished the archbishop of Paris for having disobeyed his injunctions, only in the election of the superior of a convent, and afterwards recalled him, thus rendering his authority more respected by his moderation. At length these heats subsided of themselves, and those members of the parliament of Paris who had resigned their seats returned to them again, and resumed their functions. Every thing now wears the appearance of tranquillity in the interior part of the kingdom, till a mistaken zeal, and a spirit of party, give birth to new troubles.

PLOT

PLOT to assassinate the King of **PORTUGAL**.
The Jesuits driven out of that Kingdom, and
great part of **FRANCE**.

A Religious order is not a subject for history. No one of the historians of antiquity have entered into a detail of the institutions of the priests of Cybele or Juno; but it is one of the unhappineſſes of our European policy, that the monks, whose very institution seems to seclude them from the notice of the world, have made as much noise in it as the greatest princes, as well on account of their immense riches, as through the commotions and troubles they have continually raised since their first foundation.

The jesuits, as we have already shewn, were absolute lords in Paraguay, though they acknowledged the king of Spain as their sovereign. The court of Madrid having by a treaty of exchange ceded certain districts in that country to Joseph of Braganza, king of Portugal, the jesuits were accused of having opposed this cession, and having stirred up those villages, that were to pass under the dominion of the Portuguese, to revolt. This complaint, joined to many others, occasioned the jesuits to be banished from the court of Lisbon.

Some little time afterwards, the family of Tavora, and in particular, the duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young countess Ataïda d'Atouguia, the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, her father and mother, and likewise her own husband, the count of Ataïda, and one of the brothers of this unfortunate lady, having, as they thought,

received an irreparable affront from the king, resolved to be revenged. Revenge and superstition, for the most part, act in concert with each other. Those of our communion, who meditate the commission of any great crime, generally seek for casuists and confessors to quiet their scruples. The family who thought itself injured applied to three jesuits, named *Malagrida*, *Alexander*, and *Mathos*, who gave it as their opinion, that killing the king was no more than a *venial* sin.

The better to understand this opinion, you are to know, that casuists make a distinction between **sins** for which a man goes immediately to hell, and those for which he goes only into purgatory for a certain time; between those for which a priest can give absolution, on saying certain prayers, or paying a sum of money in alms, and those which may be absolved without making satisfaction; the first of these are called *mortal*, the second *venial* sins.

Auricular confession gave rise to regicide in Portugal, as it had before done in many other countries. Such is the deplorable state of human nature, (as we have too often had occasion to shew in the course of this history) that an institution, which was in its origin intended as an expiation for crimes, has been made use of to encourage the commission of them.

The conspirators being provided with their pardons for the next world, lay in wait for the king as he was returning from one of his country-seats alone, without any guards, and in the night-time, when they fired upon his coach, and wounded him desperately.

All the accomplices in this horrid affair were taken, except one domestic. Part of them were

were broke alive upon the wheel, and the others beheaded. The young countess of Ataïda, whose husband had been executed among the rest, was, by the king's order, confined to a monastery for life; there to lament, in a sorrowful retirement, the fatal ills, of which she was supposed to have been the cause.

Portugal not having as yet received the same lights as most of the other European nations, payed a more implicit submission to the authority of the see of Rome, than any of them; inso-much, that the king could not give his judges authority to pass sentence of death upon a priest, who had attempted the life of his sovereign, without first sending to the pope for his consent. Thus, while other nations lived in the enlightened times of the 18th century, Portugal seemed to be buried in all the darkness of the 12th.

Posterity will hardly believe that the king of Portugal was two whole years soliciting the permission of the see of Rome to try jesuits who were his own subjects, without being able to obtain it at last.

The courts of Lisbon and of Rome were at open variance for a considerable time; inso-much that there was room to believe that Portugal would at length throw off that yoke, which the English, its protectors and allies, had long since trampled under their feet; but the Portuguese ministry had too many enemies to venture upon an undertaking that the others had accomplished; and therefore gave at one and the same time a proof of the greatest resolution and most extreme condescension.

Such of the jesuits who were deemed most culpable, were in prison at Lisbon, where the

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king suffered them to remain, and sent all the rest of that order to Rome, banishing them the kingdom for ever, but did not dare to put to death the three who had been accused and convicted of having a hand in the plot against his life.

He had therefore no other expedient but that of delivering one of them, *Malagrida*, over to the inquisition, as a person suspected of having formerly advanced certain rash propositions, bordering upon heresy.

The Dominicans, who are the judges of the holy office, and assistants to the grand inquisitor, never loved the jesuits; and therefore they were more ready to serve the king than the court of Rome had been. On this occasion, they brought to light a little book, entitled, *The Heroic Life of St. Anne, the mother of Mary, dictated to the reverend father Malagrida, by St. Anne herself*; in which that saint tells him, that she was born without sin, as well as her daughter; that she had wept and spoke in her mother's womb, and that she had made the cherubims weep. All the writings of *Malagrida* were equally sensible; he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of being troubled with nocturnal pollutions in his prison at the age of 75, was none of the least.

All these things were brought in charge against him at his trial, and he was condemned to the flames for these only, without being asked a single question concerning the attempt against the king's life, because this is only a crime committed against a layman; whereas, the others were crimes against God. Thus folly and absurdity were joined to the most horrible wickedness.

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An assassin was tried only for being a propher, and was condemned to be burnt only as a mad-man, and not as an assassin.

This affair of the jesuits in Portugal, and their expulsion from that kingdom, revived the old hatred against them in France, where they have always been powerful, and always detested. It happened that one La Valette, a professed monk of their order, who was chief of the missions at Guadalupe, and one of the greatest traders in all the French islands, broke for above three millions. The creditors applied for redress to the parliament of Paris. On enquiry, there appeared some reasons to believe, that the general of the jesuits order, residing at Rome, managed the effects of the society as he pleased; upon which, the parliament of Paris condemned the general and the rest of the order to pay all the debts of La Valette, with costs and charges.

This trial, which incensed the whole kingdom against the jesuits, brought on an enquiry into the very extraordinary institution, which could render an Italian, the general of an order, absolute master of the persons and fortunes of a company of French traders. In the course of this scrutiny it appeared, to the surprize of every one, that the jesuits order had never been formally admitted into France by any of the parliaments of the kingdom; the constitutions of the order were next subjected to examination, and all the parliaments agreed, that they were incompatible with the laws in being. All the old grievances and former complaints against this society, were revived on this occasion, together with upwards of fifty volumes of theological

decisions, which seemed to render the lives of crowned heads unsafe.

Against all these accusations the jesuits made no other defence, than that the Jacobines and St. Thomas had wrote in the same manner ; but this only proved the Jacobines to be as blameable as themselves : as to St. Thomas d'Aquinas, he has been made a saint of ; but there are some decisions in his *ultramontane Summary*, for which the parliaments of France would order his book to be burnt on his very festival, was any one to attempt to put them in practice, to the disturbance of the government's tranquillity. Such is the following assertion, which occurs in many places of his book, that the church has a right to depose a prince, who is unfaithful to the church ; and that in this case, regicide is lawful. With such maxims as these, a man may have the chance of obtaining heaven and a halter.

The king condescended to interest himself in this affair of the jesuits, and endeavoured, as he had done in all the other disputes, to terminate them peaceably. With this paternal view, he would, by an edict, have made a reformation in the order ; but it is said, that pope Clement XIII. having declared, that the order must either remain as it was, or not exist at all, this speech proved the ruin of the jesuits. And being moreover accused of holding private meetings, the king gave them over to the parliaments of the kingdom, who, almost all, one after another, have taken from them their colleges and their effects.

The parliaments condemned them wholly on account of certain rules of their institution, which the king might have altered by his authority,

rity, and also indeed for certain horrible maxims, but what were despised, and had most of them been published by jesuits of other countries, but formerly disavowed by those of France.

In all great affairs there is ever a pretext set forth to the view of the world; and a real cause, which is kept secret. The pretext for punishing the jesuits was the dangerous tendency of those wicked writings, which nobody read: the cause was the ill use they had made of their great influence and credit. It happened to them in an enlightened and refined age, as it had done to the Knights Templars in times of barbarism and ignorance: pride was the ruin of both. The jesuits, however, have met with lenity amidst their disgraces; whereas the Templars were treated with the greatest cruelty.

It was neither the maxims of Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor yet the absurd doctrines of the casuists, that proved the destruction of the jesuits; it was father Le Tellier and the bull that caused the almost total expulsion of this order in France.

The destruction of Port-Royal, which Le Tellier so unweariedly laboured after, has at the end of threescore years produced the same effects; and the persecution, which that designing and revengful priest raised against a set of obstinate men, has rendered the jesuits execrable in France: a memorable example! but which, nevertheless, will not be found sufficient to warn any future confessor of a crowned head, if he is, what almost every courtier is, of an arbitrary and intriguing disposition, and has the direction of a prince of weak intellects, rendered still more feeble by age.

Of a remarkable Circumstance relating to LITERATURE.

THE principal end of this *Essay on History* being to follow the human mind in the various progresses it has made, and the obstacles it has had to encounter ; I cannot, after having taken notice of the disgrace of the jesuit, omit a kind of persecution which the learned have of late undergone. The body of *Literati* begins to challenge much more attention than any of the religious orders, whose disputes we have related, as its members are spread throughout all nations. Those who are distinguished by their superior knowledge and understanding, insensibly govern others almost without perceiving it themselves, or exercising the prerogative of that empire they have acquired over the mind ; prerogatives which are held so dear by all bodies in the state. This secret authority, which good writers obtain, has always been an eye-sore to those who have in vain attempted to usurp it.

A set of men, of great genius and true erudition, which cannot subsist without true philosophy, undertook, in the year 1652, to compile an immense dictionary of human knowledge, whose limits some amongst them had contributed greatly to enlarge. This undertaking met with the approbation and encouragement of all Europe, and the work itself became an important article of trade.

Several volumes had already appeared, which had given great satisfaction to the public ; especially, those articles which were written by the persons who had the chief management of the work.

work. The book was published with all the necessary forms that could ensure its sale. The subscribers of all countries, who had advanced their money, thought it perfectly safe under the authority of the king's own seal, and expected to reap the profits of their subscription without any difficulty; for though the authors of this work intended it as a *free gift* to the human understanding, it was considered by the subscribers and booksellers as a kind of bargain in trade, which ought to have been duly fulfilled.

Envy, however, at length broke loose, and was quickly seconded by fanaticism. These two eternal foes to reason and learning, moved the parliament of Paris against this Dictionary, which, in itself, was by no means an object of judicial enquiry; and besides, by being licensed under the royal signet, seemed to be secured against any attempts.

The jesuits were the first who began the attack, in which they spared no pains to vilify this noble work, because they had applied for their body to have the doing of the theological articles, and had been refused. They little thought, at that time, that they themselves, would, ere long, be condemned by the very courts whom they endeavoured to incense against the *Encyclopaedia*.

The Jansenists effected what the jesuits had begun; they found that those who had dedicated their labours to this work, made impartiality their fundamental law; and consequently, could be neither friends to jesuits nor jansenists, and that having devoted themselves wholly to investigate and represent truth, they would raise an aversion in mankind to fanaticism.

These two parties, who were the most deadly enemies to each other, joined together on this occasion like banditti, (if I may be allowed the comparison) who suspended their private quarrels, to share in a general plunder. They put on the usual mask of religion, and represented several of the articles as impious and heretical; and, by a refinement in wickedness, not unexampled, even in the greatest rage of religious controversies; finding that they could not attack, with any success, those articles in the *Encyclopedie* which most disgusted them, they pretended that the referring of one head, or article, to a future one, was done with a design to fill the last volumes of this work with a poison which was not to be found in the first; they, likewise, inveighed against other theological articles, which were found to be perfectly orthodox, merely from a supposition that they were written by those persons whom they wanted to destroy.

But how could the parliament find time to try seven large volumes in folio already printed, and prejudice those that were not yet published? The prosecutors put their memorial into the hands of the attorney-general, who had still less leisure to examine this prodigious collection of arts and sciences, which no one single person can possibly comprehend.

Unhappily this lawyer gave credit to the malicious calumnies contained in the memorial he had received, and drew up his report accordingly. The article of the *soul* was particularly attacked in these memorials, as it was supposed to have been written by those whom they were desirous to render suspected. This article was represented as tending to establish the doctrine of
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Materialism; upon enquiry, it was found to be a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was well known for his orthodox principles; and who, instead of being a favourer of Materialism, had opposed it even so far, as to contradict the opinion of the great Locke with more piety than philosophy.

This very extraordinary blunder was soon made known to the public, but not till after the parliament had passed an arret, appointing commissioners to make amendments in the work, and prohibiting the sale thereof in the mean time. However, the public still remained in hopes that it would at length be indulged with this work, which it wished for the more impatiently on account of the opposition it had met with.

This very singular anecdote, in the history of the human mind, which seemed a revival of the arrets that had been issued against Aristotle's Categories, may serve to shew us that every professions should keep within its own proper bounds, and that the civil law ought not to molest philosophy.

It would, however, have been very happy for the government, had it experienced no other disputes but of this kind, which are only inconveniencies and not disasters: nay, these slight perplexities, which have their source in the improvement of learning, and can never happen among an illiterate people, form a kind of panegyric on the age, which, however, it would be better that we could do without.

CONCLUSION, and Review of this
Historical Portrait.

I.

WHILE France was taken up with these domestic events, the war continued in Europe. The alliance between France and Spain seemed to promise those two crowns the greatest advantages over the English; and the house of Austria, whose hands this alliance had also strengthened, was not without hopes of triumphing over its enemy the king of Prussia. Formerly it was thought impossible, that the houses of Bourbon and Austria could ever be united; and now that they were, it was imagined that they would be an over-match for all Europe, and yet the three petty German provinces of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Hesse, did, to the astonishment of Europe, counterbalance all the united forces of France and Austria.

England, by her navy alone, rendered this union of no effect; and Portugal, which seemed on the point of falling a prey to the Spanish arms, was saved from destruction. Thus, what was thought the least probable came to pass; of which we have had an hundred instances in the course of this extensive history, where we have seen the greatest events turn out directly contrary to the designs or expectations of mankind.

At one time we see an army of 100,000 French not able to preserve Cassel from falling into the hands of the enemy; at another, the king of Prussia taking Schweidnitz in Silesia, in spite of the whole Austrian army; and no sooner had

had Spain declared war against England, than the latter took from her the large island of Cuba, with a treasure amounting to more than an hundred millions, at that time in the Havannah.

France, now in a manner exhausted, and who had already made proposals of peace to the British court, was obliged once more to renew those proposals; and Spain was constrained to follow her example, and sit down contented with its losses. This war had begun about some contested lands which the English laid claim to in America, and they now remained masters of all the immense country of Canada, and that part of the continent which is on the left-side of the river Mississippi.

To these vast possessions they have likewise added Florida; so that at length the English and Spaniards have got the whole continent of America between them.

This is the most remarkable event of this war, which is the one thousandth that the princes of Christendom have made upon each other since the dismembering of the Roman empire.

Let those historians, whose countries have been at war, transmit to posterity a detail of the evils suffered, with all the ravages, losses, mistaken measures, and inadequate resources on each side.

As I only consider the manners, and spirit of nations, in this general confusion, I shall remark, that, in the midst of the cruelties inseparable from the hostile exercise of arms, we have had several instances in which a spirit of humanity and politeness has smoothed the rigours of war. The French who were made prisoners by the king of Prussia experienced the mildest treat-

ment from that monarch and prince Henry his brother ; and the two princes of Brunswick have distinguished themselves as much by their generosity as their victories. The princes, generals, and other officers among the French, have given shining proofs of that true nobility which forms their character.

The English made a collection for the support of the seamen they had taken prisoners ; and this generous act proceeded from no other principle than that of an humane philosophy, which began to gain ground in most nations, and which will in all probability at length put a stop to religious wars at least, if it cannot prevent those that are the effects of an unhappy state-policy.

It is to this humane spirit that we owe the increase of academies in several kingdoms and republics, that have enlarged the human understanding by increasing its knowledge ; and this same spirit, which easily communicates itself, has induced many learned men to apply themselves to agriculture, in order to render the earth fruitful ; while others, of an ambitious turn, were bathing it in blood. In a word, there is the greatest room to hope, that reason and industry will continually make new advances ; that the useful arts will multiply ; that false prejudices, which are in the number of the greatest evils that attend mankind, will every day diminish among the princes and great men of the earth ; and that sound philosophy, being universally diffused, will prove a ready consolation against the calamities incident in all times to human nature.

In

In this view, and with these hopes, this *Essay on General History* is offered to the public. Humanity dictated it, and Truth held the pen. There are some persons who are to be looked upon only as the enemies of society, that have accused the painter of this complicated piece with having thrown too deep a shade upon the crimes of mankind, particularly those of religion, and thereby rendered enthusiasm hateful, and superstition ridiculous.

The only reproach the author has to make himself on this head is, that he has not said enough ; and the very charge of these enthusiastic bigots shew the necessity there was for such an history, since it proves that there are still some unhappy wretches troubled with this malady of the soul, who are afraid of being cured.

There will always be some uncivilised minds, even in the most polished nations and enlightened times. One of these has lately made his appearance in a considerable work (published by authority too) in which he defends the story of the nuns of Loudun, who were possessed with an evil spirit : and another madman like himself has pretended to prove, in another book, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not a designed fact, palliates all the horrors exercised on that day, commends the cruelties practised towards the Albigenes, and applauds the sentence passed upon John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, as just ; but this excess of folly may serve as a proof of what has been advanced in former parts of this history, namely, that reason and sound judgment have been greatly improved of late years among the thinking part of mankind, since these writers, who, a century ago,

ago, would have been esteemed as persons of exemplary zeal and piety, are now looked upon with contempt and detestation.

II.

It is impossible, in so extensive an history, but that some errors must have crept in, and that the author has been sometimes mistaken in dates, or may have altered names, and even circumstances; but he ventures to assert, that all the principal facts are true. He has dwelt chiefly upon great events; and when he takes notice of lesser ones, it is because they marked the characters he was about to draw.

There are several points in history that have been contested, especially in the middle age: in this case he thought he could not do better than to adopt that side which appeared most agreeable to reason.

For instance: Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, tells us, that Pepin made a donation of the exarchate to St. Peter*; but we find Charlemagne, by his will, bequeathing presents to *his* cities of *Rome* and *Ravenna*: then if Rome and Ravenna were really *his* cities, they could not be under the dominion of the pope. Therefore, by the words *made a donation to St. Peter*, we are to understand only a religious ceremony, or pious oblation, which could not confer any right, since Pepin had none himself upon the exarchate: for should any one pretend to say, This is mine, and I hold it from such a person, to whom it did not belong? certainly such a plea would not hold good either before God or man. After all, this is a very idle dispute; for it is not upon this donation, the

* See Vol. I, chap. vi.

original title of which never appeared, that the popes found their claim to the sovereignty of Rome and Ravenna, but on the concession of Rodolph of Hapsburg, which is preserved and shewn at Rome, and which is by far the most advantageous title.

A writer, equally ignorant and evil-minded, pretends to assert, that the kings Clotharius, Gontran, Cherebert, Sigibert, and Chilperic, had never any more than one wife at a time. Is it possible he could be ignorant that Clotharius I. married two sisters, Rugonda and Aregonda, as also Gonduica his sister-in-law, and three other wives besides her; and that he had almost always three at once, which was not at that time a custom with the kings of France? Is there any one ever so little conversant in history, who does not know that when his son Chilperic married a sister of queen Brunehaut, that his ambassadors were obliged to swear, in their master's name, that he would not marry any more during his wife's lifetime, which sufficiently shews that Chilperic had not then laid aside the practice of polygamy. Caribert gave three wicked rivals to this queen Ingoberga, and they all three have the name of wives. Gontran had two at one time, Marcatrude and Austregele: it should seem that he repented of his sin, for he has been ranked in the number of saints. There is not a French annalist who does not allow, that Dagobert I. married in the same year three wives, Nantilda, Usfgonda, and Bertilda. This fact is much better attested than the throne of massy gold, which St. Eloy is said to have made for them.

III.

Many things might be added to this *Essay on General History*; but it was necessary to keep within bounds. The judicious and learned reader will make many in his own mind that are not to be met with even here. I shall therefore confine myself, with submitting the following conjecture on the antient Egyptians, which may serve for the history of other antient nations.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. p. 249. *After the words*, Egypt remained under this government for almost three hundred years,

Add what follows :

Here we have opened to us a vast field for historical conjecture. We see Egypt a long time kept in subjection by the people of antient Colchis, inhabitants of those barbarous countries, now known by the names of Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. These people must undoubtedly have been much more respectable formerly than they are at present, since we find the first voyage of the Greeks to Colchis forms one of the small epochs of the Grecian history. It is certain that the customs and manners of the people of Colchis, resemble greatly those of the Egyptians, from whose priests they had taken even the practice of circumcision. Herodotus, who had travelled into Egypt and Colchis, and who wrote for Greeks of learning and knowledge, leaves us no room to doubt of this conformity. Tho' an exact and faithful writer, he is nevertheless charged with having been imposed upon, in all that he relates after others. The Egyptian priests had persuaded him, that their king Sesostris formerly left his dominions with

with a design to make the conquest of the world, and that having taken Colchis in the course of his conquests, the practice of circumcision had been retained in that country ever since.

In the first place, the design of making the conquest of the whole world is a romantic notion, that could never have entered into the head of a man in his right senses. To make war first upon their neighbours, either to extend their own dominions or for the sake of plunder; after this, to push their conquests further and further as opportunity or a faint resistance made the way easy to them, has always been the progress of all conquerors.

Secondly, it is not probable that a sovereign of so fertile a country as Egypt, should waste his time and pains in conquering the dreary lands of mount Caucasus, inhabited by a race of hardy men as warlike as they were poor; an hundred of whom were more than sufficient to have checked the progress of the greatest armies of the soft and effeminate Egyptians.

It is nearly the same as if we were to suppose a king of Babylon, to have left Mesopotamia in order to make the conquest of Swisserland.

A necessitous people, bred up in wild and barren countries, where they live wholly by hunting, and are as savage as the beasts of their unhospitable regions, may quit those regions to go in search of, and attack more wealthy nations, but these latter never leave their agreeable and convenient dwellings, to make irruptions into uncultivated countries.

The barbarous inhabitants of the north have in all ages made irruptions into the southern countries. You have seen that the people of
Colchis,

Colchis, held Egypt under subjection for near three hundred years, to begin at the reign of St. Lewis. You see also, that in every age, Egypt has fallen an easy prey, to whom soever chose to make the conquest of it. It is therefore extremely probable, that the barbarous nations of mount Caucasus might have subjected the countries bordering on the Nile, but very little so, that Sesostris ever conquered those about Caucasus. In the third and last place, how comes it that, of all the nations whom the Egyptian priests pretended to have been conquered by their king Sesostris, did the Colcheans alone retain the practice of circumcision? It must have passed thro' Greece and Asia Minor to have come to the country of Media. The Greeks, who were great imitators, would certainly have adopted this ceremony first; and one should imagine that Sesostris himself would have been more attentive to secure his dominion over so fine a country as Greece, and have subjected it to his laws, than in going to cut off the fore-skins of the Colcheans. Upon the whole, it is much more agreeable to the common order of things, that the Scythians, who inhabited the borders of the Phasis and Araxis, and were always a half-starved and warlike people, made irruptions into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, after having settled about Thebes and Memphis, in these early ages, as they did afterwards in the time of St. Lewis, had carried back with them into their own country some part of the religious rites, and the customs of the Egyptians.

It is now for the intelligent reader to weigh these several arguments, ancient history furnishing

nishing us only with doubts and conjectures in regard to all the nations under the sun.

VI.

In modern history there is more certainty, and the picture of our weaknesses, our errors and superstitions, is likewise more interesting. It is by this history of our own follies, that we are taught wisdom, and not by the dark discussions of a vain antiquity. We have observed, in the course of this essay, that in all those countries where exorcisms began to be laid aside, they no longer heard of witchcrafts nor persons possessed by the Devil.* It is true that they were much scarcer there than in other countries, but it would be doing too much honour to human nature to suppose that the belief of witchcrafts and possessions ceased entirely among the dissenters from the Romish communion.

Such is the weakness of the mind of man, and such the inconsistency of his thoughts, that a considerable time after exorcisms had been abolished among the reformed, they sometimes admitted witchcrafts and possessions by evil spirits. There were some persons burnt as force-rers in Denmark, Sweden, Pomerania, and Holland: you will find a very authentic account of them all, in the *enchanted world* of Beker, and you will even find more than one protestant minister who believed, or pretended to believe, in these possessions and witchcrafts, lest, by entirely rejecting them, they should seem also to reject a part of christianity, which is founded on this belief; for, said they, if we allow that the devil inspires us with thoughts, and that these thoughts act upon our bodies, why may not the

* See Vol. IV. p. 64.

devil have the same power over our bodies, as over our minds? This way of reasoning might be applied to such who were said to be possessed, but could never be a proof of the power of forcerers or magicians. But this is not the place for discussing these questions. Suffice it to know, that tho' human reason is freed from this prejudice, it retains several others, and often forms new ones; and that the number of wise men is very circumscribed, even in the most enlightened times.

V.

Vol. IV. chap. 135.] *After these words, An imprudent zeal, abolished in the course of time what prudence had established,*

Add what follows.

One of the most horrible abuses of the monastic state, but which falls only upon those who having had the imprudence to enter into that state, have the misfortune to repent of it afterwards, is the licence which the superiors of convents assume to exercise the office of civil magistrates within their own precincts, which they carry to such a length as to shut up in a dungeon, for their lives, such of the monks whom they have a dislike to, and imagine they have reason to distrust. There have been numberless examples of this ecclesiastical tyranny in Italy and Spain; there have been some likewise in France. This is called, in the monkish jargon, *being in pace; with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish.*

In the history of the common law, which was partly composed by Mr. D'Argenson, minister for foreign affairs, a man of much more learning and philosophy than was generally imagined:

imagined: in this history, I say, you will find that the intendant of Tours set a person, who had been thus confined, at liberty, whom he with great difficulty found out, after the most exact search. You see also, that Monsieur de Coaler, bishop of Orleans, delivered one of these unhappy monks, who was shut up in a cistern, the mouth of which was covered with a great stone. But what you will not find there, is, that a severe punishment was inflicted on the superiors, for their inhuman insolence in assuming the royal authority, and exercising it in so tyrannical a manner.

VI.

Historical truth has obliged us to say, that Opas, the archbishop of Seville, was, in concert with count Julian, the first instrument which the Moors made use of to subject the kingdom of Spain *. This is so well known a fact, that it would have been as shameful to have passed it over in silence, as it is to contradict it. The chronological abridgement of the history of Spain calls bishop Opas *the wickedest priest, and worst subject in the kingdom*.

With regard to Mahomet, it is of little signification, whether his father was the tenth or twelfth son of Abdal Moutaleb, or how long he was factor to the widow Cadische, to whom he was afterwards married †. Some think that he could neither write nor read, and that this makes his successes the more wonderful. They found this opinion on certain passages of the Alcoran, wherein Mahomet calls himself the *ignorant prophet*, and insinuates that he cannot write. The sense

* See Vol. I, chap. 18,

† Vol. I, chap. 4.

of which passage seems to be no more than this, that in himself he was ignorant and incapable of reading or writing well, but that the angel Gabriel had exalted him above himself; for it is hardly probable that he, who had been a merchant, and afterwards became a law-giver, he who was a poet and a musician, and who, on his death-bed, desired that the proper things might be brought him to write, should have been ignorant of what was known to every child in Mecca.

As to what relates to Christianity, it is a point of a more delicate nature. The author has never set up to act the divine, he has confined himself to historical truth, and he has delivered facts as he found them, leaving the learned and sensible reader to draw his own inferences. If Calvin absolutely suffered Servetus to perish at the stake*, after having declared in his writings, that no man ought to be punished for following the opinion of Servetus; the author was obliged to relate this fact, without fear of displeasing a fanatic or an impostor. He was under the same necessity to set to view the ambition, cruelty, and abandoned lives of several of the pontiffs. They were men, and he wrote the history of mankind; besides, their vices serve as foils to set off the virtues of those of the present age.

VII.

In examining this history, we find some letters attributed to queen Christina †. She wrote one to cardinal Mazarine, on the subject of Monaldeschi's murder, in which she thus expresses herself:

* Vol. IV. chap. 113. † Vol. VI. pag. 147.

“ Be it known to ye all, servants and masters,
 “ that it has pleased us to act in this manner.
 “ I would have you to know likewise, that
 “ Christina cares very little for your court, and
 “ still less for you. My will is a law that is to
 “ be respected. Silence is your duty. Know
 “ that wheresoever Christina is, she is Queen.”

This letter has no date. If Christina really wrote it, she can be looked upon only as a murderer gone mad. This princess had a great share of understanding, and acquired no small glory by the contempt she shewed for a throne; but then she sullied all that glory by her conduct. If this letter is fictitious, it can be only the work of one of those grovelling slaves, who imagined that a Swedish woman, because she had reigned at Stockholm, had a right to cause an Italian to be murdered at Fontainebleau. On this occasion silence was so far from being the duty of cardinal Mazarine, that, as prime minister, he ought to have made Christina feel the whole weight of the royal indignation. It was the duty of the attorney-general to prefer an information against these ruffians who had been hired to murder a foreigner in the royal palace; and, indeed, they ought to have obliged queen Christina to be present at the execution of the assassins whom she had kept in pay; and afterwards to have quitted the kingdom herself: nay, there are many persons of strict justice who would have gone to more rigorous lengths.

VIII.

The author of this *Essay* cannot have been influenced either by regard, hatred, or interest; and it is by no means from an inclination to flatter any one, that he has, in the age of Lewis

XIV. taken

XIV. taken some pains to refute the mistaken notion which had been broached in public, that the clergy of France were in possession of the third part of the revenues of the nation. What had a layman and a recluse to hope from the favour of the clergy? He only meant to do honour to the truth he loves. The clergy have not eighty millions income, and that body has done its duty by assisting the necessities of the state, in proportion to its income. The French bishops have acquired the public esteem by their conduct, and by those extensive charities, which cannot fail to make them dear to their flock in particular. In general, the body of clergy, both dignified and others, in England and France, have done as much good, as religious disputes formerly did harm, in those two kingdoms.

Several wise and moderate persons seem to wish that a general toleration might take place in France, as well as in England. An indulgence of this kind, say they, at once peoples and enriches a country; and a wise administration may always prevent the evil effects arising from a mixture of different faiths, especially as the superior understandings of the principal citizens would be a check upon the extravagance or absurdity of the lower class.

IX.

In treating of Jansenism and Molinism, I have exhibited them in that ridiculous light which is the characteristic of their disputes, and have endeavoured to shew that, what is in itself contemptible, frequently becomes dangerous, from not being sufficiently despised. In proportion as the understandings of mankind are impressed with a proper notion of the bad tendency

dency and absurdity of these disputes, the public peace will be secured from any attempts to injure it.

We have shewn France happy and unhappy; successful and unfortunate; her military discipline encouraged and neglected; her revenues copious and exhausted; her navy respectable and ruined; and her trade flourishing and languid. These are vicissitudes inseparable from human affairs: but we have not presumed to lay down rules for military discipline, or the better management of the revenue, the marine, or commerce. We write history, and not systems.

There are certain anecdotes in the age of Lewis XIV. of which the author was certain, and which have been in vain contested. That of the man of the steel mask,* which gave birth to so many strange conjectures, is not more extraordinary than true. The author has, very lately, been favoured with a letter from the lord of Palteau, a chateau near Villeneuve le Roi, wherein it is confirmed that this prisoner lodged in this chateau; that several persons saw him come out of his litter; that he wore a black mask; and that he is still very well remembered in the neighbourhood. There was no necessity for this fresh proof; but nothing ought to be omitted that tends to ascertain the truth of a fact so much out of the common road.

Another singular circumstance which relates to philosophy, and which is, perhaps, more remarkable in the history of the human mind, is the manner in which these two learned prelates,

* Vol. VIII, pag. 88.

Fenelon and Huet †, thought in their last moments. The treatise on *the Weakness of the Human Mind*, by which the bishop of Avranches finished his career, leaves no room to doubt what were his last sentiments. These verses of the archbishop of Cambray,

*Jeune j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir, &c. †*

have been denied to be his: but it is so certain they were written by him, that his nephew, while ambassador at the Hague, caused them to be printed at the end of a folio edition of *Telemachus*, together with some other of his fugitive pieces. The copies which have these verses in them are very scarce, but they are to be met with in some libraries.

To conclude: in writing the history of *the Age of Lewis XIV.* the author was forty years seeking the truth, and he has delivered it.

† The first archbishop of Cambray, the other bishop of Avranches.

† Vol. IX. chap. 209, at the end.

END of the TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME.

831. a. 36

36

THE *Handwritten*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

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OF

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Translated from the French

WITH

Notes, Illustrations and

By T. S. Arthur

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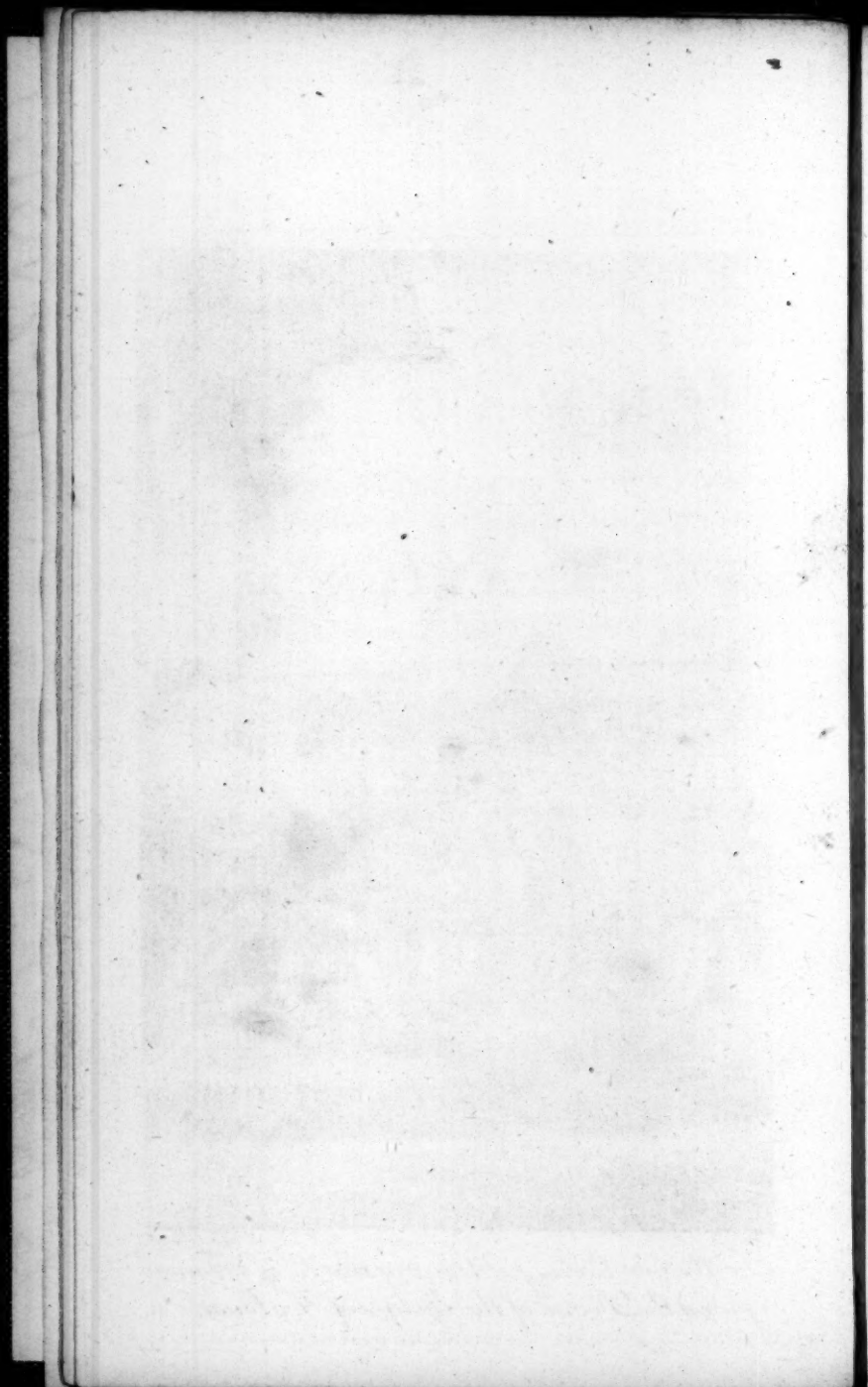




*Head of John Calas,
Executed at Toulouse 1762.*



J. Mallet del. S. Hall sculp.
*The Widow Calas, petitioning the K. of France,
against the Decree of the Judges of Toulouse.*



A
TREATISE
UPON
TOLERATION, &c.

CHAP. I.

A brief ACCOUNT of the Death of JOHN
CALAS.

THE murder of John Calas, committed at Toulouse with the sword of justice, the 9th of March 1762, is an event, which, on account of its singularity, calls for the attention of the present age, and that of posterity. We soon forget the croud of victims who have fallen in the course of innumerable battles, not only because this is
B a destiny

a destiny inevitably connected with a life of warfare, but because those who thus fall might also have given death to their enemies, and did not lose their lives till after having first stood in their own defence. Where the danger and the advantage are equal, our wonder ceases, and even pity itself is in some measure lessened; but where the father of an innocent family is delivered up to the sword of error, prejudice, or enthusiasm, where the accused person has no other defence but his conscious virtue; where the arbiters of his destiny have nothing to hazard in putting him to death, but the having been mistaken, and where they may murder with impunity under the sanction of a judicial process; then every one is ready to cry out, every one brings the case home to himself, and sees with fear and trembling, that no person's life is in safety in a court erected to watch over the lives of the subject; the public unite in demanding vengeance.

In this strange affair, we find religion, self-murder and parricide blended. The object of enquiry was, whether a father and a mother had murdered their own son with a view to please God, and whether a brother had murdered his brother, or a friend his friend; or whether the
judges

judges had to reproach themselves with having publicly executed an innocent father, or with having acquitted a guilty mother, brother, and friend.

John Calas, a person of sixty-eight years of age, had followed the profession of a merchant at Toulouse for upwards of forty years, and had always borne the character of a tender parent in his family and neighbourhood: he was himself by religion a protestant, as was also his wife, and all his children, one son only excepted, who had abjured heresy, and to whom the father allowed a small annuity; indeed, the good man appeared so far from being infected with that absurd zeal, which destroys the bands of society, that he even approved of the conversion of his son Lewis Calas: he had for above thirty years kept in his house a maid servant, who was a zealous catholic, and who had brought up all his children.

Another of his sons, whose name was Mark Anthony, was a man of letters, but, at the same time, of a restless, gloomy, and impetuous disposition. This young man finding, that he had no prospect of getting into business as a merchant, for which indeed he was very unfit,

nor of being admitted to the bar as a lawyer, as not being able to obtain the requisite certificates of his being a catholic, resolved to lay violent hands upon himself, and gave some intimation of his design to one of his friends: in order to confirm himself in the resolution he had formed, he carefully collected every thing that had been written upon the subject of suicide, all which he read with great attention; at length, one day having lost all his money at play, he chose that as a most proper opportunity for putting his design in execution. One Lavaisse, a young man of nineteen years of age, the son of a lawyer in great repute at Toulouse, and who was esteemed by every one who knew him, happened to come from Bourdeaux the evening before *; when he went by chance to sup with the Calas family at their house, being an acquaintance of that family's, and of Mark Anthony Calas in particular. Old Calas, his wife, Mark Anthony their eldest son, and Peter their second son, supped all together that evening; after supper was over, they retired into another room, when Mark Anthony suddenly disappeared. After some time, young Lavaisse took his

* 12 October, 1761.

leave, and Peter Calas accompanied him down stairs; when they came to the warehouse they saw Mark Anthony hanging in his shirt behind the door, and his coat and waistcoat folded up and laid upon the counter; his shirt was not in the least rumpled, nor his hair, which he had dressed that day, in any wise disordered; there was no wound upon his body, nor any other mark of violence †.

We shall not here enter into all the minute circumstances with which the lawyers have filled their briefs; nor shall we attempt to describe the grief and distraction of the unhappy parents; their cries were heard by the whole neighbourhood. Lavaisse and Peter Calas, almost beside themselves, ran, the one to fetch a surgeon, and the other an officer of justice. While they were thus employed, and old Calas and his wife in all the agonies of grief, the people of the town gathered in crouds about the house: The Toulousians are a superstitious and

† After the body was carried to the town-house indeed, there was found a little scratch upon the end of the nose, and a small black and blue spot upon the breast; but these were probably occasioned by some carelessness in removing the corpse.

6 TREATISE upon TOLERATION.

head-strong people, and look upon every one, even their own relations, who are not of the same religion of themselves, as monsters and objects of detestation. It was at Toulouse that a solemn thanksgiving was ordered for the death of Henry III. and that the inhabitants took an oath to murder the first person who should propose to acknowledge that great and good prince Henry IV. for their sovereign; and this same city still continues to solemnize, by an annual procession, illuminations, and bonfires, the day in which about two hundred years ago, it ordered the massacre of four thousand of its citizens for being heretics. In vain has the council issued six arrears, prohibiting the keeping this detestable anniversary, the Toulousians still continuing to celebrate it as a high festival.

Some one among the mob, a greater enthusiast than the rest, cried out, that John Calas himself had hanged his son; this cry became in an instant unanimous: some persons taking occasion to observe, that the deceased was to have made his abjuration as the next day, and that his own family and young Lavaisse had murdered him, out of the hatred they bore to the catholic religion, no sooner was this opinion broached, than it was fully believed by every

every one ; and the whole town was persuaded, that it is one of the articles of the protestant religion, for a father or mother to murder their own son, if he attempts to shew any inclination to change his fath.

When the minds of the populace are once put into a ferment, they are not easily appeased ; it was now imagined, that all the protestants of Languedoc had assembled together the preceding night, and had chosen by a plurality of voices, one of their sect for an executioner ; that the choice had fallen upon Lavaisse ; that this young man had, in less than four and twenty hours, received the news of his election, and had come from Bourdeaux to assist John Calas, his wife, and their son Peter, to murder a son, a brother, and a friend.

The sieur David, capitoul of Toulouse, instigated by those rumours, and being desirous to make himself be taken notice of, by the ready execution of his office, took a step contrary to all the established rules and ordinances, by ordering the Calas family, together with their catholic maid servant and Lavaisse, to be put in irons.

8 TREATISE upon TOLERATION.

After this a monitary was published, which was as erroneous as the former step. Nay, matters were carried still farther; Mark Anthony Calas had certainly died a Calvinist, and as such, if he had laid violent hands upon himself, his body ought to have been dragged upon a hurdle; whereas it was interred with the greatest funeral pomp in the church of St. Stephen, notwithstanding the curate entered his protest against this profanation of holy ground.

There are in Languedoc four orders of penitentiaries, the white, the blue, the grey, and the black, who wear a long capuchin or hood, having a mask of cloth falling down over the face, in which are two holes for the sight. These orders wanted the duke of Fitz-James to become one of their body, but he refused them. On the present occasion the white penitenciers performed a solemn service for Mark Anthony Calas as for a martyr; nor was the festival of a real martyr ever celebrated with greater pomp by any church: but then this pomp was truly terrible. Beneath a magnificent canopy was placed a skeleton, which was made to move by springs; this skeleton was to represent Mark Anthony Calas, holding in one hand a branch of palm, and, in the other, the pen.

pen with which he was to sign his abjuration of heresy ; or rather, as the sequel proved, the death-warrant of his father.

And now nothing more remained to be done for this wretch who had been his own murderer but the office of canonization ; the people, already to a man, looked upon him as a saint, some invoked him, some went to pray at his tomb, some besought him to work miracles, while others gravely recounted those he had already performed ; a monk pulled out one or two of his teeth, in order to have some lasting relics ; an old woman, more pious than the rest, but unhappily troubled with a deafness, declared, that she had heard the sound of bells very plain at his interment ; and a priest was cured of an apoplectic fit, after taking a stout emetic : verbal processes were drawn up of these stupendous miracles ; and the author of this account has in his possession an affidavit, to prove, that a young man of Toulouse, had his brain turned, on having prayed several nights successively at the tomb of the new saint, without having been able to obtain the miracle he requested of him.

NO TREATISE UPON TOLERATION.

Among the order of the white penitentiaries there were some magistrates of justice; the death of John Calas seemed then inevitable.

But what more particularly hastned his fate, was the approach of that singular festival; which, as I have already observed, the Toulousians celebrate every year, in commemoration of the massacre of four thousand Hugonots; the year 1762, happened to be the *annum seculare* of this execrable deed. The inhabitants were busied in making preparations for the solemnity; this circumstance added fresh fuel to the heated imagination of the populace: every one cried out, that a scaffold for executing the Calas family upon, would be one of the greatest ornaments of the ceremony; and that heaven itself seemed to have brought them thither as victims, to be sacrificed to our holy religion. Twenty persons were ear witnesses to these speeches, and to others still more outrageous. And this, in the present age! this at a time when philosophy has made so great a progress! and while the pens of an hundred academies are employed in inculcating humanity and gentleness of manners! It should seem, that enthusiasm, enraged at the late
suc-

success of reason, fought under her standard with redoubled fury.

Thirteen judges met every day, to try this cause: they had not, they could not, have any proof against this unhappy family; but mistaken zeal held the place of proofs. Six of the judges continued a long time obstinate, being resolved to sentence John Calas, his son, and Lavaisse, to be broke upon the wheel, and his wife to be burnt at the stake; the other seven judges, rather more moderate, were at least for having the accused examined; the debates were frequent and long. One of the judges, convinced in his mind of the innocence of the parties, and of the impossibility of the crime laid to their charge, spoke warmly in their favour; he opposed the zeal of humanity to that of cruelty, and openly pleaded the cause of the Calas family in all the houses of Toulouse where misguided religion demanded with incessant cries the blood of these unfortunate wretches. Another judge, well known for his violence and severity, went about the town, raving with as much fury against the accused, as his brother had been earnest in defending them. In short, the contest became so warm, that both

were obliged to enter protests against each other's proceedings, and retire into the country.

But by a strange fatality, the judge who had been on the favourable side, had the delicacy to persist in his exceptions, and the other returned back to give his vote against those on whom he could no longer sit as judge; and it was his single vote which carried the sentence of being broke upon the wheel against them, there being eight voices against five, one of the six merciful judges being at last, after much contestation, brought over to the rigorous side.

In my opinion, in cases of parricide, and where the master of a family is to be devoted to the most dreadful punishment, the sentence ought to be unanimous; inasmuch, as the proofs of so unparalleled of * a crime, ought to be

* I know of but two instances in history of fathers having murdered their children on the score of religion; the first is the father of St. Barbara, as she is called; it seems he had ordered two windows to be made in his bathing-room. St. Barbara in his absence, took it into her head to make a third in honour of the holy trinity: she also with the end
of

proved, in such a manner, as to satisfy all the world; and the least shadow of a doubt in a case of this nature, should be sufficient to make the judge tremble, who is about to pass sentence of death. The weakness of our reason, and the insufficiency of our laws, become every day more obvious; but surely, there cannot be a

of her finger made the sign of the cross upon the marble pillars; which remained deeply impressed thereon: her father, in a violent fury to have his room thus marked, runs after her with his sword in his hand with an intention to kill her; she flies towards a mountain, which very complaisantly opens upon her approach to give her a passage. Her father finds himself obliged to go round about, and at length gets hold of his fugitive daughter, whom he strips and prepares to scourge; but God envelopes her with a white cloud; however, after all, her father caused her head to be struck off. This is the story, as we find it related in the book called, *The Flower of Saints*.

The second instance is of prince Hermenegildus, who raised a rebellion against the king his father, and gave him battle in the year 584, but was himself defeated and slain by one of his father's generals: however, he has been placed among the martyrs, because his father was an Arian.

greater

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greater example of this deficiency, than that one single casting vote should be sufficient to condemn a fellow citizen to be broke alive upon the wheel: the Athenians required at least fifty voices, over and above the one half of the judges, before they would dare to pronounce sentence of death; but to what does all this tend? Why to what we know, but make very little use of, that the Greeks were wiser and more humane than ourselves.

It appeared altogether impossible that John Calas, who was an old man of sixty-eight, and had a long while been troubled with a swelling and weakness in his legs, should have been able by himself to have mastered his son and hanged him, who was a stout young fellow of eight and twenty, and more than commonly robust; therefore he must absolutely have been assisted in this act by his wife, his other son Peter Calas, Lavaisse, and by the servant maid, and they had been together the whole night of this fatal adventure. But this supposition is altogether as absurd as the other; for can any one believe, that a servant, who was a zealous catholic, would have permitted those whom she looked upon as heretics, to murder a young man whom she herself had brought up, for his attachment to a religion.

ligion that she herself was devoted to? That Lavaisse would have come purposely from Bourdeaux to assist in hanging his friend, whose pretended conversion he knew nothing of; or, that an affectionate mother would have joined in laying violent hands upon her own son? And lastly, how could they all together have been able to strangle a young man stronger than them all, without a long and violent struggle, or without his making such a noise as must have been heard by the whole neighbourhood, without repeated blows passing between them, without any marks of violence, or without any of their cloaths being in the least disordered!

It was evident, that if this murder could in the nature of things have been committed, the accused persons were all of them equally guilty, because they did not quit each other's company an instant the whole night; but then it was equally evident that they were not guilty, and that the father alone could not be so, and yet, by the sentence of the judges, the father alone was condemned to suffer.

The motive upon which this sentence was passed, was as unaccountable as all the rest of the proceeding. Those judges who had given
their

their opinion for the execution of John Calas, persuaded the others, that this poor old man, unable to support the torments, would, when upon the wheel, make a full confession of his own guilt, and that of his accomplices: but how wretchedly were they confounded, when yielding up his breath upon that instrument of execution, he called God as a witness of his innocence, and besought him to forgive his judges!

They were afterwards obliged to pass a second decree, which contradicted the first, namely, to set at liberty the mother, her son Peter, young Lavaiffe, and the maid servant; but one of the counsellors having made them sensible that this latter decree contradicted the other, and that they condemned themselves, inasmuch, as it having been proved that all the accused parties had been constantly together during the whole time the murder was supposed to be committed, the setting at liberty the survivors was an incontestible proof of the innocence of the master of the family whom they had ordered to be executed; upon this, it was determined to banish Peter Calas the son, which was an act as ill-grounded and absurd as any of the rest; for Peter Calas was either guilty or not guilty of the

the murder : if he was guilty, he ought to have suffered in the same manner as his father ; if he was innocent, there was no reason for banishing him. But the judges, frightened with the sufferings of the father, and with that affecting piety with which he had resigned his life, thought to preserve their characters by making people believe, that they shewed mercy to the son ; as if this was not a new degree of prevarication, and that, thinking no bad consequences could arise from banishing this young man, who was poor and destitute of friends, was not a very great additional act of injustice, after that which they had been already so unfortunate to commit.

They now began to go to work with Peter Calas in his confinement, threatening to treat him as they had done his father, if he would not abjure his religion. This the young man has declared upon oath, as follows :

“ A Dominican friar came to me to my cell,
 “ and threatened me with the same kind of
 “ death if I did not abjure ; this I attest before
 “ God this 23d day of July, 1762.”

PETER CALAS.

As

As Peter was going out of the town, he was met by one of the abbé's with a converting spirit, who made him return back to Toulouse, where he was shut up in a convent of Dominicans, and there compelled to perform all the functions of a convert to the catholic religion : this was in part what his persecutors aimed at, it was the price of his father's blood, and due attonement now seemed to be made to the religion, of which they looked upon themselves as the avengers.

The daughters were next taken from their mother, and shut up in a convent. This unhappy woman, who had been, as it were, sprinkled with the blood of her husband, who had held her eldest son lifeless within her arms, had seen the other banished, her daughters taken from her, herself stript of her effects, and left alone in the wide world destitute of bread, and bereft of hopes, was almost weighed down to the grave with the excess of her misfortunes. Some certain persons who had maturely weighed all the circumstances of this horrible adventure, were so struck with them, that they pressed Mrs. Calas, who now led a life of retirement and solitude, to exert herself, and go and demand justice at the foot of the throne. At this
time

time she was scarcely able to drag about the remains of a miserable life; besides, having been born in England, and brought over to a distant province in France when very young, the very name of the city of Paris frightened her. She imagined, that in the capital of the kingdom, they must be still more cruel than at Toulouse: at length, however, the duty of revenging the death of her husband, got the better of her weakness. She set out for Paris, arrived there half dead; and was surpris'd to find herself received with tenderness, sympathy, and offers of assistance.

At Paris reason always triumphs over enthusiasm, however great; whereas in the more distant provinces of the kingdom, enthusiasm almost always triumphs over reason.

Mr. De Beaumont, a famous lawyer of the parliament of Paris, immediately took her cause in hand, and drew up an opinion, which was signed by fifteen other lawyers.. Mr. Loiseau, equally famous for his eloquence, likewise drew up a memorial in favour of this unhappy family; and Mr. Mariette, solicitor to the council, drew up a formal state of the case, which struck every one who read it with conviction.

These

These three noble defenders of the laws and of innocence, made the widow a present of all the profits arising from the publication of these pieces *; which filled not only Paris but all Europe with pity for this unfortunate woman, and every one cried aloud for justice to be done her. In a word, the public passed sentence on this affair, long before it was determined by the council.

The soft infection made its way even to the cabinet, notwithstanding the continual round of business, which often excludes pity, and the constant habitude of beholding miserable objects, which too frequently steels the heart of the statesman against the cries of distress. The daughters were restored to their disconsolate mother, and all three in deep mourning,

* It is necessary for the English reader to understand, that in Paris it is customary for the great lawyers or counsellors employed in any remarkable case, to publish their pleadings on each side. On this occasion however, our author observes, " That these publications were pirated in several towns, by which Mrs. Calas lost the advantage that was intended her by this act of generosity."

and

and bathed in tears, drew a sympathetic flood from the eyes of their judges before whom they prostrated themselves in thankful acknowledgements.

Nevertheless, this family had still some enemies to encounter ; for it is to be considered, that this was an affair of religion. Several persons, whom in France we call *devots* *, declared publicly, that it was much better to suffer an old calvinist, though innocent, to be broken alive upon the wheel, than to expose eight counsellors of Languedoc to the mortification of being obliged to own, that they had been mistaken : nay, these people made use of this very expression ; “ That there were more “ magistrates than Calas’s :” by which it should seem they inferred, that the Calas family ought to be sacrificed to the honour of the magistracy. Alas ! they never reflected, that the

* *Dé vot*, or as we call it in English *devotee*, comes from the Latin word *devotus*. The *devoti* of ancient Rome were such persons who devoted themselves to death for the safety or good of the republic ; as the Curtii and Decii.

honour of a judge, like that of another man, consists in making reparation for the faults he may have committed.

In France no one believes that the pope, even when assisted by his cardinals, is infallible: ought they then to have believed that eight judges of Toulouse were so? Every sensible and disinterested person did without scruple declare, that the decree of the court of justice of Toulouse, would be looked upon as void by all Europe, even though particular considerations might prevent it from being declared so by the council.

Such was the state of this surprising affair, when it occasioned certain impartial, but sensible persons, to form the design of laying before the public a few reflections upon toleration, indulgence, and commiseration, which the abbé Houteville in his bombastic and declamatory work, which is false in all the facts, calls a *monstrous doctrine*, but which reason calls the portion of human nature.

Either the judges of Toulouse, carried away by popular enthusiasm, caused the innocent master of a family to be put to a painful and ignominious

minious death, a thing which is without example; or this master of a family and his wife murdered their eldest son, with the assistance of another son and a friend, which is altogether out of nature. In either case, the most holy of all religions has been perverted to the production of an enormous crime. It is therefore the interest of mankind to examine how far charity or cruelty is consistent with true religion.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Consequences of the Execution of JOHN CALAS.

IF the order of White Penitentiaries had been the cause of the punishment of an innocent person, and of the utter ruin and dispersion of a whole family, and of branding them with that ignominy which is annexed to those who suffer, when it ought properly to fall only upon those who pass an unjust sentence; if the frantic hurry of these penitentiaries in celebrating as a saint, one whom they ought to have treated as a self-murderer, brought a virtuous, an innocent fellow citizen to the scaffold; surely, this fatal mistake ought to make them true penitents for the rest of their lives; and both them and the judges ought to have their eyes continually filled with tears, without wearing a white cloak, or a mask on their face to hide those tears. We have a proper respect for all religious orders; they are edifying; but will all the good they have ever been able to do the state, compensate for the shocking disaster of which they had been the cause? Their institution seems to have been the work of that
zeal

zeal which animates the catholics of Languedoc against those we call Hugonots. One would be tempted to imagine, that they had made a vow to hate their brethren ; and that, tho' men have religion enough to hate and persecute, they have not to love and cherish each other. But what would be the case, if these orders were governed by enthusiastic superiors, as were certain congregations, among whom, to use the words of one of our most eloquent and learned magistrates, the custom of seeing visions was reduced into an art and system ? Or, that their convents had in them those dark rooms, called meditation rooms, which were filled with pictures of frightful devils, armed with long horns and talons, flaming gulphs, crosses, and daggers, with the holy name of Jesus in a scroll over them ? Edifying spectacles, doubtless, for eyes already blinded with fanaticism, and for imaginations no less filled with mistaken zeal, than with abject submission to the will of their directors !

There have been times, and we know it but too well, in which religious orders have been dangerous to the state. The Frérôts and the Flagellants have excited troubles in the kingdom. The league owed its origin to such as-

C

sociations.

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fociations. But wherefore should any set of men thus distinguish themselves from the rest of their fellow-citizens? Is it that they think themselves more perfect? If so, it is offering an insult to the rest of the community: or are they desirous that every christian should become a member of their society? Truly, it would be a curious sight to see all the inhabitants of Europe in long hoods and masks, with two little round holes to peep through! Or, lastly, do they seriously think, that this dress is more acceptable to God than the coats and waistcoats we usually wear? No, no, there is something more at the bottom; this habit is a kind of controversial uniform, a signal for those of a contrary opinion to stand upon their guard; and might in time kindle a kind of civil war in our minds, that would terminate in the most terrible consequences, was not the wisdom of the king and of his ministers as great as the folly of these fanatics.

Every one is sufficiently sensible what fatal effects have arisen, since christians have begun to dispute among themselves concerning modes of belief; the blood of the subject has flown in torrents either on the scaffold or in the field,

from

from the fourth century to the present time. But let us confine ourselves only to the wars and disasters which the disputes concerning reformation have excited in France, and examine into their source. Perhaps a short and faithful portrait of these numberless calamities, may open the eyes of some who have not had the advantage of education, and touch those hearts which are not by nature callous.

C H A P. III.

A SKETCH of the REFORMATION in the
Sixteenth Century.

WHEN learning began to revive, and the understandings of mankind became more enlightened, there was a general complaint of errors and abuses ; and every one acknowledged the complaint to be just.

Pope Alexander VI. made a public purchase of the pontifical crown, and his five bastards shared with him the profits. His son, the cardinal duke of Borgia, in concert with the pope his father, caused the noble families of Vitelli, Urbino, Gravina, and Olivaretto, together with an hundred other lords, to be made away with, in order to seize upon their estates. Julius II. full of the same spirit, excommunicated Lewis the Twelfth of France, while he himself, armed cap-a-pée, ravaged a part of Italy with fire and sword. Leo X. in order to raise money to pay the expences of his pleasures, made a sale of indulgences, like goods in a common market. Those who opposed such shameful

ful impositions, were certainly right in a moral view; let us see how far they were so with regard to us, in a political one.

They asserted, that as Jesus Christ had never exacted annates, nor reversions, nor sold dispensations for this world, nor indulgences for the next, they saw no reason why they should pay a foreign prince his price for these things. Supposing that the annates, the law proceedings in the pope's court, and the dispensations which still subsist, were to cost us no more than five hundred thousand crowns a year; it is clear, that since the time of Francis I. that is, in two hundred and fifty years, we have paid a hundred and twenty millions; and if we calculate the different value of the mark of silver, we shall find this sum to amount to about two hundred and fifty millions of the present money. It may therefore, I think, without any blasphemy be allowed, that the heretics in proposing the abolition of these very extraordinary taxes, which will be the admiration of posterity, did, in that respect, no great injury to the kingdom, and showed themselves rather good calculators than bad subjects. Add to this, that they were the only persons who understood the Greek

language, or had any knowledge of antiquity; let us own likewise, without dissimulation, that with all their errors, we are indebted to them for the opening of our understandings, which had been long buried beneath the most barbarous obscurity.

But as they denied the doctrine of purgatory, concerning which no one ought to have the least doubt, and which, moreover, brought in a comfortable revenue to the monks; as they paid no reverence to relics which every one ought to reverence, and which brought in still greater profits; and lastly, as they attacked the most respectable tenets *, their adversaries made

* They revived the opinion of Berengarius concerning the Eucharist; they denied that a body can exist in a thousand different places at one time, even by all the exertion of divine omnipotence; they also denied, that attributes can subsist without a subject; they held, that it was absolutely impossible that what appears to be simple bread and wine to the sight, the taste, and the stomach, can in the very instant of its existence, be annihilated or changed into another substance; in a word, they maintained all those errors for which Berengarius was

them no other reply, than by committing them to the stake. The king, who filed himself

was formerly condemned. They founded their belief on several passages of the antient fathers of the church, and particularly of St. Justin, who says expressly in his dialogue against Typhonius, “ That the offering of fine flour is the figure of the Eucharist, which Christ has ordered us to make in commemoration of his passion ;”
 “ καὶ ἡ τῆς σιμιθδαλεως &c. τύπος ἦν τῷ ἁγρῷ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ παθους &c. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν.”

They revived all that had been advanced in the first ages against the worship of relics, and brought these words of Vigilantius for their authority :
 “ What necessity is there for your paying adoration or even respect to a mass of vile dust ?
 “ Can it be supposed that the souls of deceased martyrs retain after their death an affection for their ashes ? The customs of the antient idolaters are now introduced into the church ; we begin to light tapers at noon-day ; we may, indeed, during our life-time, mutually pray for each other ; but of what service can such prayers be after death.”

their protector, and who kept a body of them in pay in Germany, marched at the head of a procession through Paris, which was concluded by the execution of a number of these unhappy wretches; which was as follows :

They were suspended at the end of a long beam, which played upon a pole erected for that purpose; and underneath them was kindled a large fire, into which they were alternately lowered and then raised up again, by which they experienced the most excruciating torments; till a lingering death at last put a period to the longest and most dreadful punishment that cruelty ever invented.

But they did not take notice how warmly St. Jerom has opposed this passage in *Vigilantius*. In short, they referred wholly to the primitive times of the apostles, nor could they be brought to acknowledge, that as the church became more extended and strengthened, there was a necessity for extending and strengthening its discipline likewise; they condemned every thing that had the appearance of riches or grandeur in religion, which, however, seem absolutely necessary towards supporting the dignity of that worship we pay the Deity.

A short time before the death of Francis I. the members of the parliament of Provence, whom the clergy had incensed against the inhabitants of Mirandol and Cabrière, applied to the king for a body of troops to attend the execution of nineteen persons of that country who had been condemned by them ; with the assistance of this armed force, they massacred about six thousand souls, without sparing sex or age, and reduced thirty villages to ashes. The people who were the objects of these executions, and who had, till then, been in a manner unknown, were doubtless to blame for having been born Vaudois, but this was their only crime. They had been settled for upwards of three hundred years in deserts and on mountains, which they had rendered fertile by incredible labour, and led a pastoral and quiet life, the perfect image of the innocence which we find attributed to the first ages of the world. They had no other acquaintance with the towns or villages round about them, but from carrying the produce of their grounds thither to sell. Totally ignorant of all military operations, they made no defence ; but were slaughtered like timorous animals, whom we

drive into a net, and then knock them on the head †.

* The candid and venerable president De Thou expresses himself thus concerning these innocent and unfortunate persons: “ Homines esse qui trecentis circiter abhinc annis asperum & incultum solum vestigale à dominis acceperint, quod improbo labore & assiduo cultu frugum ferax & aptum pecori reddiderint; patientissimos eos laboris & inediae, à litibus abhorrentes, erga egenos munificos, tributa principi & sua jura dominis sedulò & summa fide pendere; Dei cultum assiduis precibus & morum innocentiam præ se ferre, ceterum rarò divorum templa adire, nisi si quando ad vicina suis finibus oppida mercandi aut negotiorum causa divertant; quò si quandoque pedem inferant, non dei, divorumque statuis advolvi, nec cereos eis aut donaria ulla ponere; non sacerdotes ab eis rogari ut pro se, aut pro pinguorum manibus rem divinam faciant, non cruce frontem insigniri uti aliorum moris est: cùm cælum intonant non se lustrali aqua aspergere, sed sublati in cælum oculis dei opem implorare; non religionis ergo peregrè proficisci, non per vias antè crucium simulacra caput aperire; sacra alio ritu, & populari lingua celebrare;

After the death of Francis I. a prince, whom it must be confessed, was more remarkable for his gallantries and his misfortunes than for his cruelty, the execution of a thousand heretics, and in particular that of Dubourg, a counsellor of the parliament, together with the massacre of Vassy, made the persecuted fly to arms. Their sect multiplied in proportion with the fires lighted for them, and the swords of executioners drawn against them, patience gave way to rage, and they followed the ex-

“ brare ; non denique Pontifici aut Episcopis honorem deferre, sed quosdam è suo numero delectos pro antistibus & doctoribus habere. Hæc uti ad Franciscum relata VI.” Id. Feb. anni &c.

Madame de Cental, who was proprietor of part of the lands thus laid waste and drenched in the blood of their quondam inhabitants, applied for redress to Henry II. who referred her to the parliament of Paris. The solicitor-general of Provence, whose name was Guerin, and had been the principal author of these massacres, was condemned to lose his head ; and was the only one who suffered on this occasion, the punishment due to the other accomplices in his guilt ; because, says De Thou, *aulicorum favore destitueretur*, he had not friends at court.

ample of their enemies in cruelty. Nine civil wars filled France with carnage; and a peace, more fatal than war itself, produced the day of St. Bartholomew, which stands without example in the annals of crimes.

Henry III. and Henry IV. fell victims to the league; the one by the hand of a Dominican friar, and the other by that of a monster who had been a brother of the Mendicant order. There are who pretend, that humanity, indulgence, and liberty of conscience, are horrible things; I would ask such persons seriously, if they could have produced calamities comparable to those I have just related?

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Whether TOLERATION is dangerous ; and
among what Nations it is practised.

SOME people will have it, that if we were to make use of humanity and indulgence towards our mistaken brethren who pray to God in bad French, it would be putting arms into their hands, and we should see revived the bloody days of Jarnac, Moncontour, Coutras, Dreux, St. Denis, &c. I know not how this may be, as I have not the gift of prophecy ; but I really cannot discover the congruity of this reasoning, “ That because these men took up arms against me when I oppressed them, they will do the same if I shew them favour.”

And here I would willingly take the liberty to intreat those who have the reins of government in hand, or are destined to fill the highest stations, for once to examine maturely, whether there is any reason to apprehend, that indulgence would occasion the same rebellions as cruelty and oppression ; and whether, what has happened under certain circumstances, would happen under others of a different nature ; or
whether

whether times, opinions, and manners are always the same ?

The Hugonots, it cannot be denied, have formerly given into all the rage of enthusiasm, and have been polluted with blood as well as ourselves : but can it be said, that the present generation is as barbarous as the former ? Have not time and reason, that have lately made so great progress, together with good books, and that natural softness introduced from society, found their way among those who have the guidance of these people ? And do we not clearly perceive that almost all Europe has undergone a change within the last century ?

The hands of government have every where been strengthened, while the minds of the people have been softened and civilized ; the general police, supported by numerous standing armies, leave us no longer any cause to fear the return of those times of anarchy, when protestant boors and catholic peasants were hastily called together from the labours of agriculture, to wield the sword against each others lives.

Alia tempora, aliæ curæ. It would be highly absurd in the present days to decimate the
body

body of the Sorbonne, because it formerly petitioned for the burning the *Pucelle d'Orleans*; because it declared Henry III. to have lost his right to the throne, and because it excommunicated and proscribed the illustrious Henry IV. We should not certainly think of prosecuting the other public bodies of the nation, who committed the like excesses in those times of error and madness; it would not only be very unjust, but as ridiculous as if we were to oblige all the inhabitants of Marseilles to undergo a course of physic, because they had the plague in 1720.

Should we at present go and sack Rome, as the troops of Charles the Fifth did, because pope Sixtus the Fifth, in the year 1585, granted a nine years indulgence to all Frenchmen who would take up arms against their sovereign? No, surely it is enough, if we prevent the court of Rome from ever being guilty of such excesses for the future.

The rage inspired by a spirit of controversy, and the abuse made of the Christian religion from want of properly understanding it, has occasioned as much bloodshed, and produced as many calamities in Germany, England, and
even

even in Holland, as in France; and yet, at present, the difference in religion occasions no disturbances in those countries: but the Jew, the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the Anabaptist, the Socinian, the Moravian, and a multitude of other sects, live in brotherly harmony together, and contribute equally to the good of society.

In Holland, they no longer fear that the disputations of a Gomar * concerning predestination, should bring the head of a grand pensionary to the block: nor in London, that the quarrels between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalists about a form of prayer and a surplice, should again spill the blood of their kings upon

* Francis Gomar was a protestant divine; he maintained, in contradiction to Arminius his colleague, that God has, from all eternity, predestinated the greatest part of mankind to burn in everlasting flames: this infernal doctrine was supported in the manner most suitable to it, by persecution. The grand pensionary Barneveldt, who was of the party which opposed Gomar, was beheaded on the 13th of May, 1619, at the age of seventy-two, for having (saith his sentence) *used his uttermost endeavours to vex the church of God.*

a scab-

a scaffold †. Ireland, now populous and rich, will not any more behold its catholic inhabitants

† A pompous writer, in his apology for the revocation of the edict of Nantes, speaking of England, has these words : “ These were the natural “ fruits of a false religion ; there remained only “ one to be brought to perfection, which these “ islanders, justly the contempt of all nations, have “ cherished, and adopted to themselves.” Certainly this author has been a little unfortunate in chusing his time for representing the English as a people despicable and despised by all the world : for surely, when a nation gives the most signal proofs of its bravery and generosity, and when its victorious ensigns wave in the four parts of the world, no great credit is to be given to the writer who shall represent it as contemptible and contemned. — But we must observe, that it is in a chapter in favour of persecution, that we meet with this extraordinary passage ; and none but such who preach up persecution can write thus. This detestable book, which seems the work of a madman, was composed by a person who has no ecclesiastical cure ; for what real pastor would write in such a manner ? The author has even carried his enthusiastic fury to such a length, as to justify the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It might be supposed that a production full of such shocking paradoxes, would

sacrificing, as an acceptable offering, the lives of their protestant brethren, by burying them alive, hanging up mothers upon gibbets, and tying their daughters round their neck to see them expire together; ripping up women with child, taking the half-formed infants from the womb, and throwing them to swine or dogs to be devoured; putting a dagger into the hands of their manacled prisoners, and forcing them to plunge it into the breasts of their fathers, their mothers, their wives, or children, thereby hoping to make them guilty of parricide, and damn their souls while they destroyed their bodies: all which we find related by Rapin, who served as an officer in the English service in Ireland, and who lived very near the time of those transactions, and confirmed by most of the English historians. No! such cruelties, as they were never to be paralleled, so they doubtless will never be imitated. Philosophy, the sister of Religion, has herself snatched the poignard from the hands of Superstition, so long bathed in blood; and the human understanding,

would be in the hands of almost every one, were it only on account of its singularity, and yet it seems to be hardly known.

recovered from its delirium, stands amazed at the shocking brutalities into which it has been hurried by enthusiasm.

We ourselves know, that in France there is a rich and populous province, where the protestant religion prevails much more than that of the church of Rome. The university of Alsace consists almost entirely of Lutherans, and they are likewise in possession of most of the civil posts in that province ; and yet the public peace has never once been disturbed by any quarrels about religion, since that province has belonged to our kings. And what is the reason ? Because no one is persecuted there on account of their religion. Seek not to lay a restraint upon the mind, and you may always be sure that the mind will be yours.

I do not mean by this to insinuate, that those who are of a different faith to the prince under whose government they live, should have an equal share in the places of profits and honour, with those who are of the established religion of the state. In England, the Roman catholics, who are in general looked upon to be friends to the Pretender, are excluded from all civil employments, and are even double taxed ; but then,
in

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in every other respect, they enjoy the prerogatives of citizens.

Some of our bishops in France have been suspected of thinking that their honour and interest is concerned, in not suffering any protestants within their diocese, and that this is the principal obstacle to allowing of toleration amongst us; but this I cannot believe. The episcopal body in France is composed of persons of quality, who think and act in a manner suitable to their high birth; and as Envy itself must confess that they are both generous and charitable, they therefore certainly cannot think that those whom they thus drive out of their diocese, would become converts in any other country, but great honour would redound from the conversion of them at home; nor would the prelate be any loser by it in his temporals, seeing, that the greater the number of the inhabitants, the greater is the value of the land.

A certain Polish bishop had a farmer, who was an Anabaptist; and a receiver of his rents, who was a Socinian. Some person proposed to the bishop to prosecute the latter in the spiritual court, for not believing in transubstantiation, and to turn the other out of his farm, because

cause he would not have his son christened till he was fifteen years of age; the prelate very prudently replied, That though he made no doubt of their being eternally damned in the next world, yet he found them extremely necessary to him in this.

Let us now for a while quit our own little sphere, and take a survey of the rest of the globe. The grand seignior peaceably rules over subjects of twenty different religions; upwards of two hundred thousand Greeks live unmolested within the walls of Constantinople; the Musti himself nominates the Greek patriarch, and presents him to the emperor; and, at the same time, allows of the residence of a Latin patriarch. The sultan appoints Latin bishops for some of the Greek isles; the form used on this occasion is as follows †: “ I command such a one to go
“ and reside as bishop in the isle of Chios, according to the antient custom and idle ceremonies of those people.” The Othman empire swarms with Jacobines, Nestorians, Monothelites, Cophti, Christians of St. John, Guebres, and Banians; and the Turkish annals do

† See Ricaut.

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not furnish us with one single instance of a rebellion occasioned by any of these different sects.

Go into India, Persia, and Tartary, and you will meet with the same toleration and the same tranquility. Peter the Great encouraged all kinds of religions throughout his vast empire: trade and agriculture have been gainers by it, and no injury ever happened therefrom to the body politic.

We do not find that the Chinese government, during the course of four thousand years that it has subsisted, has ever adopted any other religion than that of the Noachides, which consists in the simple worship of one God; and yet it tolerates the superstitions of Fo, and that of a multitude of bonzes; which might be productive of dangerous consequences, did not the wisdom of the tribunals keep them within proper bounds.

It is true, that the great Yong-T-Chin, the most wise and magnanimous of all the emperors of China, drove the jesuits out of his kingdom; but this was not because that prince himself was non-tolerant, but, on the contrary, because the jesuits were so.

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They themselves, in their letters, have given us the speech the emperor made to them on that occasion: "I know, says he, that your religion admits not of toleration; I know how you have behaved in the Manillas and at Japan; you deceived my father, but think not to deceive me in the same manner." And if we read the whole of the conversation which he designed to hold with them, we must confess him to be the wisest and most clement of all princes. How could he indeed, with any consistency, keep in his kingdom European philosophers, who, under the pretence of teaching the use of thermometers and œolypiles, had found means to debauch a prince of the blood? But what would this emperor have said, had he read our histories, and had he been acquainted with the times of the league and the gunpowder plot?

It was sufficient for him to be informed of the outrageous and indecent disputes between those Jesuits, Dominicans, Capuchins, and secular priests, who were sent as missionaries into his dominions from one extremity of the globe to preach up truth; instead of which, they employed their time in mutually pronouncing damnation against each other. The emperor, then,

then, did no more than send away a set of foreigners, who were disturbers of the public peace. But with what infinite goodness did he dismiss them! and with what paternal care did he provide for their accommodation in their journey, and to prevent their meeting with any insult on their way! This very act of banishment might serve as an example of toleration and humanity.

† The Japanese were the most tolerant of all nations; twelve different religions were peaceably established in their empire: when the Jesuits came, they made the thirteenth; and, in a very little time after their arrival, they would not suffer any other but their own. Every one knows the consequence of these proceedings: a civil war, as calamitous as that of the league, soon spread destruction and carnage through the empire; till at length the Christian religion was itself swallowed up in the torrents of blood it had set a flowing, and the Japanese for ever shut the entrance of their country against all foreigners, looking upon us as no better than savage beasts, such as those

† See Kempfer, and all the accounts of Japan.
from

from which the English have happily cleared their island. Colbert, the minister, who knew the necessity we were in of the commodities of Japan, that wants nothing from us, laboured in vain to settle a trade with that empire; he found those people inflexible.

Thus then every thing on our Continent shows us, that we ought neither to preach up, nor to exercise non-toleration.

Let us now cast our eyes on the other hemisphere. Behold Carolina! whose laws were framed by the wise Lock; there every master of a family, who has only seven souls under his roof, may establish what religion he pleases, provided all those seven persons concur with him therein; and yet this great indulgence has not, hitherto, been the occasion of any disorders. God forbid, that I should mention this as an example to every master of a family to set up a particular worship in his house: I have only introduced it to shew, that the utmost lengths to which toleration can be carried, have never yet given rise even to the slightest dissensions.

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And

And what shall we say of those pacific primitive Christians, who have, by way of derision, been called Quakers ; and who, though some of their customs may perhaps be ridiculous, are yet remarkable for the virtue and sobriety of their lives, and for having in vain endeavoured to preach peace and good-will to the rest of mankind ? There are at least an hundred thousand of them in Pennsylvania ; discord and controversy are unknown in that happy spot where they have settled : the very name of their principal city, Philadelphia, is a continual memento to them, that all men are brethren, and is at once an example and reproach to those nations who have not yet adopted toleration.

To conclude, toleration has never yet excited civil wars ; whereas its opposite has filled the earth with slaughter and desolation. Let any one then judge, which of the two is most entitled to our esteem, or which we should applaud, the mother who would deliver her son into the hand of the executioner, or she who would resign all right to him to save his life.

In all what I have said, I have had only the interest of nations in view, and, as I pay all due respect to the doctrines of the church, I have in
this

this article, only considered the physical and moral advantages of society. I therefore hope, that every impartial reader will properly weigh these truths, that he will view them in their proper light, and rectify what may be amiss. Those who read with attention, and reciprocally communicate their thoughts, will always have the start of the author †.

† Mr. de la Bourdonnaie, intendant of Rouen, says, that the manufacture for hats at Caudebec and Neufchatel is greatly fallen off since the refugees left that country. Mr. Foucaut, intendant of Caen, says, that trade in general is declined through the whole generality; and Mr. de Maupeou, intendant of Poitiers, that the manufactures for druggets is quite lost. Mr. de Bezons complains, that there is now hardly any trade stirring at Clerac and Nerac. Mr. Miroménil, intendant of Tourain, says, that the trade of Tours is diminished near ten millions per annum, and all this through the persecution raised in that part of the kingdom: *See the memorials of the intendants in the year 1698.* To this if we add the number of land and sea officers, and common sailors, who have been forced to engage in foreign services, frequently with fatal consequences to their own

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country ; we shall then see whether or no persecution has been fatal to the state.

We will not here presume to offer any hints to those ministers, whose conduct and capacity are sufficiently known, and whose greatness of soul and nobleness of sentiment do honour to their illustrious birth : they will of themselves readily perceive, that the restoration of our marine will require some indulgence at least to be shewn to the inhabitants of our sea-coasts.

CHAP.

C H A P V.

In what Cases TOLERATION may be
admitted.

L E T me for once suppose, that a minister equally noble and discerning, that a prelate equally wise and humane, or a prince who is sensible that his interest consists in the increased number of his subjects, and his glory in their happiness, may deign to cast their eyes on this random and defective production. In this case, his own consummate knowledge will naturally lead him to ask himself, what hazard shall I run by seeing the land beautified and enriched by a greater number of industrious labourers, the aids augmented, and the state rendered more flourishing ?

Germany, by this time, would have been a desert, covered with the unburied bodies of many different sects, slaughtered by each other, had not the peace of Westphalia happily procured a liberty of conscience.

We have Jews at Bourdeaux, at Mentz, and in Alsace; we have Lutherans, Molinists, and Jansenists amongst us; can we not then admit protestants likewise under proper restrictions, nearly like those under which the Roman catholics are permitted in England? The greater the number of different sects, the less danger is to be apprehended from any one in particular; they become weaker in proportion as they are more numerous, and are easily kept in subjection by those just laws which prohibit riotous assemblies, mutual insults, and seditions, and which the legislative power will always properly support in their full vigour.

We know that there are several heads of families, who have acquired great fortunes in foreign countries, who would be glad to return to their native country. These require only the protection of the law of nature, to have their marriages to remain valid, and their children secured in the enjoyment of their present property, and the right of succeeding to the inheritance of their fathers, together with a protection for their persons. They ask no public places of worship; they aim not at the possession of civil employments, nor do they aspire to dignities either in church or state; for no Roman

man catholics can enjoy any of these, either in England or in any other protestant country. In this case, therefore, there is no occasion for granting great privileges, or delivering strong holds into the hands of a faction, but only to suffer a quiet set of people to breathe their native air ; to soften the rigour of some edicts, which in former times might perhaps have been necessary, but at present are no longer so. It is not for us to direct the ministry what it has to do ; it is sufficient, if we presume to plead the cause of an unfortunate and distressed people.

Many and easy are the methods to render these people useful to the state, and to prevent them from ever becoming dangerous : the wisdom of the legislature, supported by the military force, will certainly find out these methods, which other nations have employed with so much success.

It is certain, that there is still a number of enthusiasts among the lower kind of Calvinists ; but, on the other hand, it is no less certain, that there is still a greater number among the lower kind of bigotted Roman catholics. The dregs of the madmen of St. Medard are passed

over unnoticed in the nation, while the greatest pains is taken to exterminate the Calvinist prophets. The most certain means to lessen the number of the mad of both sorts, if any still remain, is to leave them entirely to the care of reason, which will infallibly enlighten the understanding in the long run, though she may be slow in her operations. Reason goes mildly to work, she persuades with humanity, she inspires mutual indulgence and forbearance; she stifles the voice of discord, establishes the rule of virtue and sobriety, and disposes those to pay a ready obedience to the laws, who might start from the hand of power when exerted to enforce them. Besides, are we to hold for nothing that contempt and ridicule which enthusiasm every where meets with in the present enlightened age, from persons of rank and education? This very contempt is the most powerful barrier that can be opposed to the extravagancies of all sectaries. Past times are as though they never had been. We should always direct our views from the point where we ourselves at present are, and from that to which other nations have attained.

There has been a time, in which it was thought a duty to issue edicts against all such
who

who taught a doctrine contrary to the cathogories of Aristotle, or who opposed the abhorrence of a vacuum, quiddities, or the whole of the part of a thing. There are above an hundred volumes in Europe, containing the writings of civilians against magic, and the manner of distinguishing real forcerers from pretended ones. The excommunication of grasshoppers and other insects hurtful to the fruits of the earth, was formerly much in use, and is still to be found in several rituals; that custom is now laid aside, and Aristotle, with his forcerers and the grasshoppers, are left to themselves. Innumerable are the examples of these grave follies, which formerly were deemed of great importance; others have succeeded from time to time, but as soon as they have had their effect, and people begin to grow weary of them, they pass away and are no more heard of. If any one was, at present, to take it into their head to turn Eutichean, Nestorian, or Manichean, what would be the consequence? We should laugh at him in the same manner as at a person who should appear dressed after the antient fashion, with a great ruff and slashed sleeves.

The first thing that opened the eyes of our nation was, when the Jesuits Le Tellier and

Doucín drew up the bull *Unigenitus*, and sent it to the court of Rome, imagining they lived still in those times of ignorance, in which people adopted, without examination, the most absurd assertions. They even dared to proscribe a proposition, which is universally true in all cases and in all times, *viz.* “That the dread of an
 “unjust excommunication ought not to hinder
 “any one from doing his duty.” This was, in fact, proscribing reason, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the very foundation of all morality; it was saying to mankind,
 “God commands you never to do your duty,
 “when you are apprehensive of suffering
 “any injustice.” Never sure was so gross an insult offered to common sense, and yet this never occurred to these correspondents of the church of Rome. Nay, they even persuaded that court, that this bull was necessary, that the nation desired it. Accordingly it was signed, sealed, and sent back to France; and every one knows the consequences: assuredly, had they been foreseen, this bull would have been mitigated. Very warm disputes ensued upon it; but however, by the great prudence and goodness of the king, they were at length appeased.

It is much the same with regard to most of those points, in which the protestants and us at present differ; some of them are of little or no consequence, others again are more serious; but even in these latter, the rage of disputation is so far subsided, that the protestants now-a-days, no longer preach upon controversial points in any of their churches.

Let us then seize this period of disgust or satiety for such matters, or rather, indeed, of the prevalence of reason, as an epocha for restoring the public tranquillity, of which it seems to be a pleasing earnest. Controversy, that epidemical malady is now in its decline, and requires nothing more than a gentle regimen. In a word, it is the interest of the state, that these wandering sects, who have so long lived as aliens to their father's house, on their returning in a submissive and peaceable manner, should meet with a favourable reception; humanity seems to demand this, reason advises it, and good policy can have nothing to apprehend from it.

C H A P. VI.

IF NON-TOLERATION is agreeable to the Law
of NATURE and of SOCIETY.

THE law of nature is that which nature points out to all mankind. You have brought up a child, that child owes you a respect as its parent, and gratitude as its benefactor. You have a right over the productions of the earth which you have raised by the labour of your own hands ; you have given and received a promise, that promise ought to be kept.

The law of society can have no other foundation in any case than on the law of nature. “ Do not that to another which thou wouldest not he should do unto thee”, is the great and universal principle of both throughout the earth: now, agreeable to this principle, can one man say to another, “ Believe that which I believe, “ and which thou thyself can’st not believe, or “ thou shalt die ?” And yet this is what is every day said in Portugal, in Spain, and at Goa. In some other countries indeed, they now content themselves with saying, “ Believe as I do, or I will hold thee in abhorrence ; believe like me,

or

“ or I will do thee all the evil I can : wretch,
 “ thou art not of my religion, and therefore
 “ thou hast no religion at all, and oughtest to
 “ be held in execration by thy neighbours, thy
 “ city, and thy province.”

If the law of society directs such a conduct, the Japanese ought then to hold the Chinese in detestation; the latter the Siamese, who should persecute the inhabitants of the Ganges; and they fall upon those of India; the Mogul should put to death the first Malabar he found in his kingdom; the Malabar should poignard the Persian; the Persian massacre the Turk; and, altogether, should fall upon us Christians, who have so many ages been cutting one another's throats.

The law of persecution then is equally absurd and barbarous; it is the law of tygers; nay, it is even still more savage, for tygers destroy only for the sake of food, whereas we have butchered one another on account of a sentence or a paragraph.

C H A P. VII.

If NON-TOLERATION was known among the
GREEKS.

THE several nations with which history has made us in part acquainted, did all consider their different religions as ties by which they were united; it was the association of human kind. There was a kind of law of hospitality among the Gods, the same as amongst men. If a stranger arrive in any town, the first thing he did was to pay his adoration to the Gods of the country, even though they were the Gods of his enemies. The Trojans offered up prayers even to those Gods who fought for the Greeks.

Alexander made a journey into the desarts of Lybia, purposely to consult the God Ammon, to whom the Greeks gave the name of *Zeus*, and the Latins that of Jupiter, though both countries had their Jupiter and their *Zeus* amongst themselves. When they sat down before any town or city, they offered up sacrifices and prayers to the gods of that city or town,

town, to render them propitious to their undertaking. Thus, even in the midst of war, religion united mankind; and though it might sometimes prompt them to exercise the most inhuman cruelties, at other times it frequently softened their fury.

I may be mistaken, but it appears to me, that not one of all the civilized nations of antiquity, ever laid a restraint upon liberty of thinking. They had all a particular religion; but they seemed to have acted in this respect towards men in the same manner as they did towards their gods; they all acknowledged one supreme Being, though they associated with him an infinite number of inferior deities: in like manner, though they had but one faith, yet they admitted a multitude of particular systems.

The Greeks, for example, though a very religious people, were not offended with the Epicureans, who denied Providence and the existence of the soul; not to mention divers other sects, whose tenets were all of them repugnant to the pure ideas we ought to entertain of a Creator, and yet were all of them tolerated.

Socrates, who came the nearest to the knowledge of the true God, is said to have suffered on that account, and died a martyr to the Deity; he was the only one whom the Greeks ever put to death on account of opinion. If this was really the cause of his being condemned, it does very little honour to persecution, since he was put to death for being the only one who gave true glory to God, whilst those who taught notions the most unworthy of the Deity were held in high honour: therefore, I think, the enemies of toleration should be cautious how they lay a stress upon the infamous example of his judges.

Moreover, it is evident from history, that he fell a victim to the revenge of an enraged party. He had made himself many inveterate enemies of the sophists, orators, and poets, who taught in the public schools, and even of all the preceptors who had the care of the children of distinction. He himself acknowledges in his discourse handed down to us by Plato, that he went from house to house, to convince these preceptors, that they were a set of ignorant fellows; a conduct certainly unworthy of one who had been declared by an oracle the wisest of

of mankind. A priest, and one of the members of the Areopagus, were let loose upon him, who accused him I cannot precisely say of what, as his apology to me seems very vague; from which however we learn in general, that he was charged with inspiring the youth of the nation with notions contrary to the religion and government of the country: an accusation which the slanderers of all times and places have constantly made use of; but a court of justice requires positive facts, and that the charge should be circumstantial and well supported, none of which are to be found in the proceedings against Socrates. All we know is, that he had at first two hundred and twenty voices for him; therefore, there must have been two hundred and twenty out of the five hundred judges, who were philosophers; a great many more, I believe, than are to be found any where else. At length, however, the majority were for the hemlock potion. But here let us not forget, that when the Athenians came to their reason, they held both his accusers and judges in detestation; made Melitus, who had been the principal author of the sentence pronounced against him, pay for that act of injustice with his life; banished all the others that were concerned in it, and erected a temple to Socrates. Never
was

was philosophy so nobly revenged, so highly honoured. This affair of Socrates then is, in fact, the most powerful argument that can be alledged against persecution. The Athenians had an altar dedicated to the strange gods, gods they could never know. What stronger proof then can there be, not only of their extreme indulgence towards all nations, but even for their respect for the religion of those nations?

A very worthy person, who is neither an enemy to reason, learning, or probity, nor to his country, in undertaking to justify the affair of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, quotes the war of the Phocians, by them called *the sacred war*, as if that war had been entered into on the score of religion, or a particular point in divinity; whereas it is well known, that it was caused by a dispute about a particular spot of ground, the constant cause of all wars. A few corn-grounds can certainly never be a symbol of belief; it is as certain, that none of the Greek cities ever made war upon each other for the sake of opinion. After all, what would this modest and humane writer drive at? Would he have us undertake a sacred war?

C H A P. VIII.

Whether the ROMANS encouraged TOLERA-
TION.

AMONG the antient Romans, from the days of Romulus to those in which the Christians began to dispute with the priests of the empire, we do not find a single instance of any person being persecuted on account of his sentiments. Cicero doubted every thing; Lucretius denied every thing; and yet, neither one nor the other, underwent the least reproach from their fellow citizens: nay, so far did this licence go, that Pliny the naturalist begins his book by denying the existence of a God, and saying, That if there is one, it must be the sun. Cicero, in speaking of hell, says, *Non est unus tam excors quæ credat*. "There is not even an old woman so silly as to believe it." Juvenal says, *Nec pueri credunt*: "Even our children laugh at it." And the following maxim was publicly repeated on the Roman theatre: *Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil*: "nought after death, even death itself is nought." While we abhor these maxims, let us pardon them in a people, who were

were never enlightened by the holy truths of the gospel ; and, while we own them to be false and impious, let us however confess, that the Romans were great friends to toleration, seeing that such tenets never excited any commotions.

Deorum offensa diis curæ, was the grand principle of the senate and people of Rome ; that illustrious nation employing their attention wholly to conquer, govern, and civilize the universe. They were our legislators as well as our conquerors ; and even Cæsar, who reduced us to his subjection, and gave us laws and games, never attempted to compel us to quit our Druids for him, though supreme pontiff of a nation, whose subjects we were now become.

The Romans themselves did not profess all kinds of religion, therefore they did not give public sanction to all, but they permitted them. Under Numa, nothing material was the object of their worship. They had neither statues nor pictures ; in process of time, however, some were erected to the *Dii Majorum Gentium*, with which the Greeks brought them acquainted. That law in the twelve tables, *Deos peregrinos ne colunto*, was confined to the allowing

no public worship to be paid, except to the superior and inferior deities, approved by the senate. The Egyptian goddess Isis had a temple in Rome to the time of Tiberius, who demolished it, because its priests, having been bribed by Mundus, suffered him to lie with a lady called Paulina in the temple itself, under the name and form of the god Anubis. Indeed this story is to be found only in Josephus, who did not live at that time; and was moreover a credulous and exaggerating writer: and there is very little probability, that, in so enlightened an age as that of Tiberius, a lady of the first distinction in Rome, could be so weak to believe that a god cohabited with her.

But whether this anecdote be true or false, this one thing is certain, that the Egyptian idolatry was in the possession of a temple at Rome with the public consent. The Jews had also lived as traders in that city ever since the Punic war; they had their synagogues there in the time of Augustus, and almost always continued to have them in the same manner as they now have in modern Rome. Can we desire a stronger instance, that the Romans looked upon toleration

tion as the most sacred of all the laws of nations?

We are told, that as soon as the Christian religion began to make its appearance, its followers were persecuted by these very Romans who persecuted no one. This fact, however, appears to me to be evidently false, and I desire no better authority than that of St. Paul himself. In the acts of the Apostles *, we are told, that St. Paul being accused by the Jews of attempting to overturn the Mosaic law by that of Jesus Christ, St. James proposed to him to shave his head, and go into the temple with four Jews, and purify himself with them, “ That all men may know, says he, that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing, but that thou thyself dost keep the law of Moses.”

Accordingly, we find that St. Paul, though a Christian, submitted to perform these Jewish ceremonies for the space of seven days; but before the expiration of this time, the Jews of Asia, who knew him again, seeing him in the

† Chap. 21. 22.

temple, not only with Jews but Gentiles also, cried out, that he had polluted the holy place, and laid hands upon him, drew him out of the temple, and carried him before the governor Felix: they afterwards accused him at the judgment-seat of Festus, whither the Jews came in crowds demanding his death. But Festus answered them, "It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself †."

These words of the Roman magistrate are more remarkable, as he appears to have been no favourer of St. Paul, but rather to have held him in contempt, for, imposed upon by the false lights of his own reason, he took him for a person besides himself; nay, he expressly says, to him, "Much learning hath made thee mad §." Festus then, was entirely guided by the equity of the Roman law, in taking under his protection a stranger, for whom he could have no regard.

† Acts 25.

§ Ibid. 26.

Here then we have the word of God itself declaring, that the Romans were a just people, and no persecutors. Besides, it was not the Romans who laid violent hands on St. Paul, but the Jews. St. James, the brother of Jesus, was stoned to death by order of a Sadducee Jew, and not by that of a Roman judge: it was the Jews alone who put St. Stephen to death †; and though St. Paul held the clothes of those who stoned him, he certainly did not act then as a Roman citizen.

The primitive Christians had certainly no cause of complaint against the Romans; the Jews, from whom they at that time began to

† Though the power of life and death in criminal matters had been taken from the Jews after the banishment of Archelaus into the country of the Allobroges, and that Judea had been governed as a province; nevertheless, the Romans frequently winked at the exertion of a judicial power by these people on any particular occasion that related merely to those of their own sect; such as for instance, when in any sudden tumult, they out of zeal stoned to death the person whom they thought guilty of blasphemy.

sepa-

separate themselves, were their only enemies. Every one knows the implacable hatred all sectaries bare to those who quit their sect. There, doubtless, were several tumults in the synagogues at Rome. Suetonius, in his life of Claudius, has these words, *Judeos impulsore Christo assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*. He is wrong in saying, that it was at the instigation of Christ they raised commotions in Rome; but he could not be acquainted with all the circumstances relating to a people who were held in such contempt at Rome as the Jews were; and, however mistaken he may have been in this particular, yet he is right as to the occasion of these commotions. Suetonius wrote in the reign of Adrian in the second century, when the Christians were not distinguished from the Jews by the Romans: therefore this passage of Suetonius is a proof, that the Romans, so far from oppressing the primitive Christians, chastised the Jews who persecuted them, being desirous that the Jewish synagogue at Rome should show the same indulgence to its dissenting brethren, as it received itself from the Roman senate: and we find from Dion Cassius and Ulpian, that the Jews who were thus banished from Rome,

returned soon after, and even attained to several honours and dignities, notwithstanding the laws which excluded them therefrom †. Can it be believed, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the emperors would have loaded the Jews with their favours, and have persecuted and put to death the Christians, whom they looked upon as a sect of the Jews !

Nero is said to have been a great persecutor of the Christians. But Tacitus tells us, that they were accused with having set fire to the city of Rome, and were thereupon given up to the resentment of the populace. But had religion any thing to do in this charge ? No, certainly. We might as well say, that the Chinese, whom the Dutch murdered a few years ago in Batavia, were slaughtered on account of their religion ? And nothing but a strong desire to deceive ourselves can possibly make us attribute to persecution the sufferings

† Ulpianus l. tit. II. *Eis qui judaicam superstitionem sequuntur, honores adipisci permiserent, &c.*

TREATISE upon TOLERATION. 75
of a few half-Jews and half-Christians under
Nero †.

† Tacitus's words are : *Quos per flagitia invisos
vulgus Christianos appellabat.*

It is hardly probable that the name of Christian was already known in Rome ; Tacitus wrote in the reigns of the emperors Vespasian and Domitian ; and he speaks of the Christians in the manner that it was customary in his time. And here I must venture to assert, that the words *Odio humani generis convicti*, may equally well be rendered agreeable to the stile of this writer, *Convicted of being hated by mankind, as convicted of hating all mankind.*

And indeed, what was the employment of these first missionaries at Rome ? They laboured to gain a few profelytes, by preaching up a pure and simple moral doctrine ; the humility of their hearts, and the modesty of their manners, were equal to the lowliness of their condition and circumstances. Having been so lately separated from the Jews, they were hardly known in the world as a different sect ; how then could they be hated by, or convict-

ed of hating all mankind, to whom they were in a manner unknown?

The Roman Catholics have been accused as the incendiaries of the city of London in the year 1666, but not till they had first occasioned civil wars on account of religion; and that several of that faith, though unworthy to be so, had been legally convicted of the Gunpowder-Plot.

But surely the case of the primitive Christians in the time of Nero was very different. It is no easy matter to clear up the obscurities of history. Even Tacitus himself says nothing that can afford a reason to suspect Nero of having set fire to Rome; and we might, with a greater appearance of probability, charge Charles II. with having lighted up the flames that laid London in ashes, in revenge for the blood of his father, that had been so lately shed upon the scaffold, to satisfy a rebellious people who thirsted for that blood. Charles had at least some excuse for such an action; whereas, Nero had neither excuse, pretence, or interest for the deed attributed to him. Reports of this kind have been common in every country among
the

the populace, and even our own times have furnished us with some equally false and ridiculous.

Tacitus, who was so well acquainted with the disposition of princes, could not have been a stranger to that of the common people, who are ever vain, inconstant, and violent in the opinions they adopt, incapable of discerning truth from falsehood, and ready to believe, assert, and forget every thing.

Philo says, " That Sejanus persecuted the Jews " under Tiberius, but that after the death of Sejanus, the emperor reinstated them in all their " privileges." One of which was, that of being denizens of Rome, notwithstanding the contempt they were held in by the Romans. As such they had a share in the distribution of corn, and whenever such distribution happened to be made on the day that was their sabbath, the portion allotted them was put by till the next day: this indulgence might probably be granted them in favour of the great sums of money with which they furnished the state; for they have purchased toleration in every country at a pretty high rate, though, it must be confessed, that they have soon found means to reimburse themselves.

This passage of Philo's clearly explains one in Tacitus, where he says, " That four thousand
 " Jews or Egyptians were banished to Sardinia,
 where, if they had all perished, through the badness
 " of the climate, it would have been no great
 " loss." *Vile damnum.*

Before I close this note, I shall observe, that Philo speaks of Tiberius as a wise and just prince. I am very ready to believe that he was so, only where the being such was agreeable to his interest; but the good character given him here by Philo, makes me at the same time greatly suspect the truth of those terrible crimes, with which Tacitus and Suetonius reproach him. Nor can I think it likely, that an infirm old man of seventy, would have retired into the island of Caprea, to indulge himself in the uninterrupted exercise of a refined debauchery, which appears to be hardly natural, and was, even in those days of licentiousness, unknown to the most abandoned of the Roman youth. Neither Tacitus nor Suetonius were acquainted with that emperor; but took these stories upon the credit of vulgar reports; Octavius and Tiberius Cæsar, and their successors, had been justly detested for reigning over a free people without their consent. All historians have taken a delight in bespattering their characters, and the world has taken them

them upon their words for want of authentic memorials or chronicles in those times. Besides, as these writers do not quote any authority for what they advance, who could contradict them? They blackened whom they pleased, and wantonly directed the judgment of posterity. The wise and impartial reader will, however, readily perceive, how far the veracity of historians is to be depended on, and what degree of credit is due to public facts attested by authors of reputation, born in a learned and enlightened nation, as well as what bounds to set to our belief of anecdotes, when related by these same authors, without any authority to support them.

C H A P. IX.

O F M A R T Y R S.

SEVERAL Christians afterwards suffered martyrdom; it is not easy to say on what particular account they were condemned; but I can venture to assert, that none suffered under the first Cæsars, merely on the account of religion, for they tolerated all beliefs; therefore, why should they seek out and prosecute an obscure people, who had a worship peculiar to themselves, at the time they licensed all others ?

The emperors Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Decius, were not barbarians: how then can we imagine, that they would have deprived the Christians alone of that liberty, with which they indulged every other nation; or, that they would even have troubled them for having concealed mysteries, while the worshippers of Isis, Mithra, and the Goddesses of Assyria, whose rites were all of them equally unknown to the Romans, were suffered to perform them without hindrance ? Certainly, the persecutions the
Christians

Christians suffered, must have arisen from other causes, and from some private pique, enforced by reasons of state.

For instance, when St. Laurence refused to deliver to Cornelius Secularius, the Roman prefect, the money belonging to the Christians which he had in his custody; was it not very natural for the prefect and the emperor to be incensed at this refusal? They did not know that St. Laurence had distributed this money among the poor, in acts of charity and benevolence; therefore they considered him only as a refractory person, and punished him accordingly *.

* We most certainly have a proper deference for whatever the holy church has made the objects of our reverence; accordingly, we invoke the blessed martyrs: but at the same time that we pay St. Laurence all due respect, may we not be permitted to doubt that St. Sixtus said to him, "You will follow me in three days." That, during this short interval, the prefect of Rome made him demand a sum of money of the Christians; that Laurence had time to assemble all the poor people in that city; that he walked before the prefect, to

Again, let us consider the martyrdom of St. Polyeuctes. Can he be said to have suffered on account of religion only? He enters a temple, where the people are employed in offering thanksgivings to their Gods, on account of the victory gained by the emperor Decius; he insults the priests, and overturns and breaks in pieces the altar and statues: is there a country in the world where so gross an insult would have been passed over? The Christian who publicly tore the edict of the emperor Dioclesian, and by that act brought on the great persecution against

shew him the place where they were assembled; that he was afterwards tried and condemned to the torture; that the prefect ordered the smith to make a grid-iron large enough to broil a man upon; that the principal magistrate of Rome assisted in person at this strange execution; and lastly, that St. Laurence, while upon the grid-iron, called out to him, "I am done enough on this side, let them turn me on the other, if you have a mind to eat me." This same grid-iron seems to have very little of the Roman genius in it; and besides, how happens it that we do not find a word of this story in any of the heathen writers?

his

his brethren in the two last years of this prince's reign, had not, surely, a zeal according to knowledge, but was the unhappy cause of all the disasters that befel his party. This inconsiderate zeal, which was often breaking forth, and was condemned even by several of the fathers of the church, was probably the occasion of all those persecutions we read of.

Certainly, I would not make a comparison between the first sacramentarians and the primitive Christians; as error should never be ranked in the same class with truth: but it is well known, that Farrel, the predecessor of Calvin, did the very same thing at Arles, which St. Polyeuctes had done before him in Armenia. The townsmen were carrying the statue of St. Anthony the hermit in procession through the streets,; Farrel and some of his followers in a fit of zeal fell upon the monks who were carrying the image, beat them, made them take to their heels, and, having seized upon St. Anthony, threw him into the river. Assuredly Farrel deserved death for this flagrant outrage upon the public peace, but he had the good luck to escape by flight. Now, had he only told those monks in the open streets that he did

not believe that a raven had brought half a loaf to St. Anthony, nor that this hermit had had conversation with centaurs and satyrs, he would have deserved a severe reprimand for troubling the public peace ; but if the night after the procession, he had quietly examined the story in his own room, no one could have found any fault with him for it.

But indeed can we suppose, that the Romans, after permitting the infamous Antinoüs to be ranked among their demi-gods, would have massacred and thrown to wild beasts those against whom they had no other cause of reproach, than having peaceably worshiped a just deity ? Or, would those very Romans, who worshipped a supreme and all-powerful God †, master of all

† We have only to open Virgil to be convinced that the Romans acknowledged one Supreme Being, the lord and master of all other heavenly beings.

“ O ! quis res hominumque deûmque
 “ Æternis regis imperiis, & fulmine terres,
 “ O pater, ô hominum divûmque æterna potestas, &c.

And

the subordinate deities, and distinguished by the title of *Deus optimus maximus*; would they, I

And Horace expresses himself still more strongly:

“ Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
 “ Nec viget quidquam simile, aut secundum.”

In those mysteries into which almost all the Roman youths were initiated, nothing else was sung but the unity of God. See the noble hymn of Orpheus, and the letter of Maximus of Modarum to St. Augustin, in which he says, “ That none “ but fools can possibly deny a supreme Being.” Longinus, who was an heathen, writes also to St. Augustine, “ That God is one, incomprehensible, “ ineffable.” Even Lactantius, who certainly cannot be charged with being too indulgent, acknowledges in his fifth book, “ That the Romans sub- “ jected all the other deities to the one supreme “ God;” *illos subjecit & mancipat Deo*. Tertullian also in his apology confesses, “ That the whole empire acknowledged one God, ruler of the world, “ and infinite in power and majesty :” *Principem mundi perfectæ potentiæ & majestatis*. Again, if we look into Plato, who taught Cicero his philosophy, we shall there find him thus express himself:

“ There

say, have persecuted such who professed to worship one only God?

There appears little reason to believe that there ever was an inquisition erected against the Christians under the Roman emperors ; I mean, that they were ever judicially examined on the subject of their faith ; neither do we find, that Jew, Syrian, Egyptian bards, Druids, or philosophers, were ever troubled on this account. The primitive martyrs then, were men who opposed the worship of false gods. But, however wise or pious they might be in rejecting the belief of such absurd fictions ; if, not content with worshipping the true God in spirit and in truth, they offered a violent and public outrage to the received religion of the government under which they lived, however absurd that religion might be ; impartiality obliges us to confess, that they themselves were the first persecutors.

“ There is but one God, whom we all ought to love and adore, and labour to resemble him in integrity and holiness.” Epictetus in a dungeon, and Mark Antoninus on a throne, tell us the same in a hundred different passages of their writings.

Tur-

Tertullian, in his apology †, says, that the Christians were looked upon as a turbulent and seditious sect. This accusation is doubtless unjust; but it serves to prove, that the civil power did not set itself against the Christians purely on account of their religion. In another place ‡ he says, that the Christians refused to adorn the doors of their houses with laurel branches on the days of public rejoicing for the victories of the emperors. Now this blameable particularity might not, without some reason, be taken for disaffection to the government.

The first juridical act of severity we find exercised against the Christians, was that of Domitian; but this extended only to banishment, which did not last above a year: for, says the author above quoted, *Facile captum repressit restitutis quos ipse relegaverat*. Lactantius, so remarkable for his passionate and pompous style, acknowledges, that from the time of Domitian to that of Decius, the church continued in a peaceable and flourishing condition. This long tranquility, says he §, was interrupted by

† Chap. 39.

‡ Chap. 35.

§ Chap. 3.

that execrable animal Decius, who began to oppress the church : *Post multos annos extitit execrabile animal Decius qui vexaret ecclesiam.*

I shall not here enter into a discussion of the opinion of the learned Mr. Dodwell, concerning the few number of martyrs ; but if the Romans had been such violent persecutors of the Christian religion ; if their senate had condemned so many of its innocent votaries to perish by the most unheard of tortures, plunging them alive in boiling oil, and exposing their wives and daughters naked to the wild beasts in the Circus ; how happened it, that they suffered all the first bishops of Rome to live unmolested ? St. Ireneus reckons only one martyr among all these bishops, namely, Telephorus, who suffered in the year 139 of our vulgar æra ; nor have we any positive proof of this Telephorus being put to death. Zephirinus governed the flock at Rome for eighteen years successively, and died peaceably in the year 219. It is true, that in the antient martyrologies, we find almost all the first popes ranked as martyrs ; but the word *martyr* is there taken only in its original and true signification, which is *a witness* and not *a sufferer*.

More-

Moreover, we can hardly reconcile this rage of persecution with the liberty granted the Christians, of assembling no less than fifty-six councils in the course of the three first centuries, as is acknowledged by all ecclesiastical writers.

That there were persecutions, is doubtless; but if they had been as violent as represented, it is hardly probable that Tertullian, who wrote with so much energy against the established religion, would have been suffered to die peaceably in his bed. It is certain, that none of the emperors ever read his apology, as an obscure work composed in Africa, can hardly be supposed to have come into the hands of the governors of the world: but then, it might have been shewn to their proconsuls in Africa, and have drawn down their resentment upon the author: nevertheless, we do not find that he suffered martyrdom.

Origen taught the Christian religion publicly in Alexandria, and yet was not put to death for it. And this very Origen himself, who spoke with so much freedom both to the Heathens and the Christians, and who, while he taught Jesus to the one, denied the triple Godhead to the other,

other, expressly acknowledges in his third book against Celsus, “ That there were very few
 “ who suffered martyrdom, and those at a great
 “ distance of time from each other ; notwithstanding,
 “ says he, that the christians leave
 “ nothing undone to make their religion generally
 “ embraced ; running from city to city,
 “ and from town to town, to make converts.”

It must be confessed, that these continual peregrinations might readily give cause to the priests who were their enemies, to accuse them of a design to raise disturbances ; and yet we find, that these missions were tolerated even among the Egyptians, who have ever been a turbulent, factious, and mean people, and who tore a Roman to death for having killed a cat ; in a word, a nation at all times contemptible, whatever may have been said to the contrary by the admirers of pyramids †.

† This assertion requires to be proved. It cannot be denied, that from the time that history succeeded to fiction, the Egyptians have constantly appeared a people as dastardly as they were superstitious. Cambyfes made the conquest of their country.

What person could do more to call down upon him the resentment of both ecclesiastical and

country in a single battle; Alexander gave them laws without striking a stroke, or without one of their cities daring to wait a siege. The Ptolemies subdued them with as little trouble; nor did Octavius and Augustus Cæsar find more difficulty in bringing them under their obedience. Omar over-run all Egypt in one single campaign; the Mammelukes, who inhabited Colcos, and the regions of Mount Caucasus, became their masters afterwards; and it was these people, and not the Egyptians, who defeated the army of St. Lewis, and took that king prisoner. At length the Mammelukes having, in process of time, become Egyptians, that is to say, effeminate, cowardly, lazy, and dissipated, like the original natives of the climate, they were in three months time brought under the yoke of Selim I. who caused their soldan to be hanged, and made their kingdom a province of the Turkish empire, and such it will remain, till other barbarians may hereafter make themselves masters of it.

Herodotus relates, that in the fabulous ages, a king of Egypt called Sesostris, left his country in
order

civil power than St. Gregory Taumaturgos the disciple of Origen ? This same St. Gregory had

order to go and make the conquest of the world : it is evident, that such a design could only be worthy of a Don Quixote ; and not to mention that the name Sesostris is not Egyptian, we may rank this event like many others of the same date among the romances and fairy tales. Nothing is more common among a conquered people than to tell strange stories of their former grandeur ; just as, in some countries, certain wretched families, in want of the common necessities of life, pride themselves upon being descended from antient sovereigns. The Egyptian priests told Herodotus, that this king, whom he called Sesostris, went on an expedition to conquer Colchis ; which is much the same as if we were to say, that a king of France set out from Touraine to conquer Norway.

It avails not that these stories are found repeated in a thousand different writers ; it makes them not a whit more probable ; it is much more natural to suppose, that the fierce and athletic inhabitants of mount Caucasus, of Colcos, and the other parts of Scythia, who so often made incursions upon, and
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a vision during the night-time, in which an old man appeared to him sent from God, accom-

ravaged Asia, might have penetrated as far as Egypt; and although the priests of Colcos might afterwards have carried back with them the form of circumcision, yet that is no kind of proof that they were ever conquered by the Egyptians. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that all the kings that were conquered by Sesostris, came every year from their own kingdoms to bring him their respective tributes, when Sesostris made them draw the chariot in which he went in triumph to the temples of his gods. These old womens stories we see every day gravely copied by other writers; it must be confessed, that these kings were very complaisant, to come every year so far to be made hackney horses of.

As to their pyramids, and other monuments of antiquity, they prove nothing but the pride and bad taste of the Egyptian princes, and the wretched slavery of a weak people, who employed their strength, which was their only support, in pleasing the barbarous ostentation of their masters. The polity of these people, even in those times which are so much cried up, appears to have been both
ab-

panied by a woman shining with glory; the first of these was St. John the Evangelist, and

absurd and tyrannical: they pretended, that the whole universe belonged to their monarchy. It well became such an abject race to set up for conquerors of the world!

The profound learning which we find attributed to the Egyptian priests is also one of the most ridiculous absurdities in antient history, that is to say, in fable. People who pretended that in a revolution of eleven thousand years, the sun had rose twice in the west and set twice in the east in beginning his course anew, were doubtless, curious astronomers. The religion of these priests, who governed the state, was inferior even to that of the most savage people of America: every one knows that crocodiles, monkies, cats, and onions, were the objects of their adoration; and there is not perhaps in the world so absurd a worship, excepting that of the great Lama.

Their arts were as mean as their religion; there is not one antient Egyptian statue fit to be seen; and whatever they had amongst them of any merit, came from Alexandria in the times of the Ptolemies

the other the holy virgin. St. John dictated to him a creed, which Gregory afterwards went about to preach. In his way he passed through Neocesarea, where the rain obliged him to stay all night, and he took up his lodging near a temple famous for its oracles. Here he made several signs of the cross. The high-priest coming the next morning into the temple was surpris'd to find, that the oracle did not give its answer as usual; upon which he invoked the

mies and Cæsars, and was the works of Grecian artists: nay, they were even obliged to send to Greece for masters to teach them geometry.

The illustrious Bossuet, in his discourse upon universal history, dedicated to the son of Lewis the Fourteenth, runs wild in his encomiums upon the merits of the Egyptians; this may dazzle the understanding of a young prince, but will never satisfy men of learning. This production is a very fine piece of eloquence; but an historian ought to be more of the philosopher than the orator. The reflections here offered concerning the Egyptians are merely conjectural; for by what other name can we call any thing that is said concerning antiquity?

spirits

spirits of the place, who appearing, told him, that they could no longer inhabit that mansion, as St. Gregory had passed a night there, and had made signs of the cross; upon which the high-priest caused Gregory to be seized, who gave him to understand, that he could drive out or cause to enter the familiar spirits wherever he pleased: if so, said the high-priest, pray send them back here again; then St. Gregory tearing a leaf from a little book he held in his hand, wrote these words upon it, "Gregory to Satan, I command thee to enter again into this temple;" the paper being laid upon the altar, the dæmons in obedience to the saint's mandate, gave their oracles that day as usual; after which they remained silent.

This story is related by St. Gregory of Nyssa in his life of St. Gregory Taumaturgos. Certainly, the idolatrous priests had great reason to be offended with St. Gregory, and might have delivered him over to the secular power, as one who was their greatest enemy; and yet we do not find that they offered him any hurt.

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The history of St. Cyprian informs us, that he was the first bishop of Carthage who suffered martyrdom ; this was Anno Dom. 258. consequently no bishop of Carthage had been put to death on account of religion for a great length of time. The history of this saint does not inform us what charge was brought against him, who were his enemies, or how he incurred the displeasure of the proconsul of Africa. We find St. Cyprian thus writing to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, “ There has been a tumult of the “ people lately at Carthage, in which it was “ twice proposed to throw me to the lions.” It might possibly happen, that the blind resentment of the people of Carthage did at length cause Cyprian to be put to death ; for, certainly, he was never condemned to suffer for his religion by the emperor Gallus, who lived at so great a distance, and, moreover, permitted Cornelius to exercise his episcopal function under his very eye.

So many and various are the hidden causes that are frequently blended with the apparent one, in the persecution of an individual, that it is hardly possible for posterity to discover the

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true

true source of the misfortunes that befall even the most considerable personages, much less that of the sufferings of a private person, hardly known to any but those of his own sect.

And here let it be observed, that St. Gregory Taumaturgos, and St. Denis, bishop of Alexandria, who were both cotemporaries with St. Cyprian, neither of them suffered any persecution. How then happened it, that being certainly as well known as the bishop of Carthage, they were suffered to live unmolested, while he was delivered over to punishment? May we not fairly infer, that the one fell a victim to personal and powerful enemies, either in consequence of a malicious accusation, or from reasons of state, which frequently interfere in religious matters, while the other had the good fortune to escape the designs of wicked men?

We cannot with any degree of probability suppose, that the charge of being a Christian was the only cause of St. Ignatius being put to death, under the just and merciful Trajan, since we find that several of his own religion were suffered to accompany and minister comfort to him on his way to Rome †. There had been

† Tho' we do not presume to doubt the suffering

frequent seditions in Antioch, a city remarkable for the turbulent disposition of its inhabitants ;

ing of St. Ignatius ; yet, can any man of common understanding, who reads the account of his martyrdom, prevent some doubts from rising in his mind ? The unknown author of this narrative says, that “ Trajan thought his glory would not be complete, unless he subjected the God of the Christians to his obedience.” What a thought ! Was Trajan that kind of man who would desire to triumph over the Gods ? The emperor is said to have thus accosted Ignatius when he was brought before him, “ Who art thou, unclean spirit ?” It is very unlikely that an emperor would have discoursed with a prisoner, or have passed sentence upon him himself ; it is not customary for sovereign princes to do so. Trajan might possibly cause Ignatius to be brought before him, but he would not say to him, “ Who art thou ?” since he knew very well who he was. And as to the term *unclean spirit*, could it possibly have been used by such a man as Trajan ? Is it not evident, that this is an expression used in exorcising, and put by a Christian into the emperor’s mouth ? Good heavens ! what a stile for Trajan.

here Ignatius privately acted as bishop over the Christians: it might happen that some of these dis-

Can we imagine that Ignatius answered him, that he was called Theophorus, because he carried Jesus in his heart, and that Trajan entered into a long conversation with him concerning Christ? They make Trajan say at the end of this conference, "We command that Ignatius, who glories in carrying within him the crucified man, be thrown into prison loaded with chains, &c." A sophist, a foe to Christianity, might call Jesus Christ *the crucified man*; but it is hardly probable, that such a term would have been used in a decree. The punishment of the cross was so common among the Romans, that they could not in their law-stile think of distinguishing by the words crucified man the object of the Christians worship; nor is it in this manner that the laws or the emperors pronounced sentence.

They afterwards make Ignatius write a long letter to the Christians of Rome; "I write to you," says he, "though loaded with chains." Certainly, if he was allowed to write to the Christians of Rome, those Christians were not considered as the objects of persecution; consequently, Trajan could

could have no design to subject their God to his obedience: or, on the other hand, if these Christians were actually liable to persecution, Ignatius was guilty of very great imprudence in regard to them; since this was betraying them to their enemies, and making himself an informer against them.

Surely those who had the compiling of these facts, ought to have had greater regard to probability and the circumstances of the times. The martyrdom of St. Polycarpus also occasions some doubts. It is said that a voice called to him from heaven, saying, "Courage, Polycarpus!" that this voice was distinctly heard by the Christians, but by no other of the attendants: we are told also, that when Polycarpus was tied to the stake, and the fire lighted round him, that the flames parted asunder, and a dove flew out from the midst of them; and that this saint, to whom the fire showed so much respect, exhaled an aromatic odour that perfumed the whole assembly: nevertheless, he, who the fire dare not to approach, could not resist the edge of the sword. Surely we may hope for pardon, if we discover more piety than truth in these relations.

nocent Christians, had occasioned the government to take cognizance of them; and that the judge might have been mistaken, as it often happens.

St. Simeon, for example, was accused before king Sapor of being a spy to the Romans. The history of his martyrdom tells us, that Sapor proposed to him to worship the sun; whereas every one knows, that the Persians paid no divine honours to that planet, but only considered it as an emblem of the good principle, the Oras-madēs, or Sovereign Creator, whom they all adored.

Any one of the least tolerating spirit, cannot help his indignation from rising against those writers, who accused Dioclesian of persecuting the Christians after his accession to the empire; Here we need only refer to Eusebius of Cesarea, whose testimony certainly cannot be rejected. the favourite, the panegyrist of Constantine, and the declared enemy of the emperors his predecessors, is certainly entitled to our credit when he justifies those very emperors. The following are his own words †:

† Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. viii.

“The

“ The emperors had for a long time given
 “ the Christians great marks of their favour and
 “ benevolence ; they had intrusted them with
 “ the care of whole provinces ; many of them
 “ lived within the imperial palace ; and some
 “ of the emperors even married Christian
 “ women : Dioclesian in particular, espoused
 “ Prissa, whose daughter was wife to Maximia-
 “ nus Gallerius, &c.”

Let this authentic testimony make us cau-
 tious how we give too readily into calumny ;
 and from hence let any impartial person judge,
 if the persecution raised by Gallerius, after nine-
 teen years of continued clemency and favour
 to the Christians, must not have been occasion-
 ed by some intrigues with which we are at
 present unacquainted.

From hence also, we may perceive the ab-
 surdity of that fabulous story of the Theban le-
 gion, said to have been all massacred for their
 religion. Can any thing be more ridiculous
 than to make this legion be brought from Asia
 by the great St. Barnard ? It is altogether
 impossible that this legion should have been
 sent for from Asia to quiet a tumult in Gaul, a
 year after that tumult was suppressed, and not

less so, that six thousand foot and seven hundred horse-men should have suffered themselves to have been all murdered in a place where two hundred men only might have kept off a whole army. The account of this pretended butchery is introduced with all the marks of imposture: "When the earth groaned under the tyranny of Dioclesian, heaven was peopled with martyrs." Now, this event, such as it is related, is supposed to have happened in 286, the very time in which Dioclesian most favoured the Christians, and that the Roman empire was in a state of the greatest tranquility. But to cut short this matter at once, no such legion as the Theban ever existed: the Romans were both too haughty and too wise to form a corps of those Egyptians, who served only as slaves in Rome, *Verna Canopi*: we may as well suppose them to have had a Jewish legion. We have the names of two and thirty legions that formed the principal military force of the Roman empire: and it is very certain, the Theban legion is not to be found among them. In a word, we may rank this story with the acrostic verses of the Sybils, which are said to have foretold the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, and with many other like spurious productions, which false zeal has trumped up to impose upon credulity.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

Of the DANGER of FALSE LEGENDS and
PERSECUTION.

MANKIND have been too long imposed upon by falshood : it is therefore time that we should come to the knowledge of the few truths that can be distinguished from amidst the clouds of fiction which cover the Roman History from the times of Tacitus and Suetonius, and with which the annals of the other nations of antiquity have almost always been obscured.

Can any one, for example, believe that the Romans, a grave and modest people, could have condemned Christian virgins, the children of persons of the first quality, to common prostitution ? This is assuredly very inconsistent with the noble austerity of that nation, from whom we received our laws, and who punished so rigorously the least transgression of chastity in their vestals. These shameful stories may indeed be found in the *Actes sinceres* of Ruinart.

But should we believe those acts before the acts of the Apostles? The *Actes Sinceres* tell us from Bollandus, that there were in the city of Ancira seven Christian virgins, each of them upwards of seventy, whom the governor Theodectes ordered to be deflowered by the young men of the place; but these poor maidens having escaped this disaster (as indeed there was great reason they should), he compelled them to assist stark naked at the mysteries of Diana, at which, by the way, no one ever assisted but in a veil. St. Theodotus, who, though indeed nothing more than an inn-keeper, was not the less pious for that, besought God devoutly that he would be pleased to take away the lives of these holy maidens, lest they should yield to temptation. God heard his prayer. The governor ordered them all to be thrown into a lake with a stone about their neck; immediately after which they appeared to Theodotus, and begged of him, “that he would not suffer “their bodies to be devoured by the fishes.” These, it seems, were their own words.

Hereupon the inn-keeper faint, and some of his companions, went in the night-time to the side of the lake, which was guarded by a party
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of soldiers, a heavenly torch going all the way before, to light them. When they came to the place where the guards were posted, they saw a heavenly horseman armed cap-a-pee, with a launce in his hand, who fell upon the soldiers and dispersed them, while St. Theodotus drew the dead bodies of the virgins out of the water. He was afterwards carried before the governor, who ordered his head to be struck off, without the heavenly horseman interfering to prevent it. However disposed we may be to pay all due reverence to the true martyrs of our holy religion, we must confess it is very hard to believe the story of Bollandus and Buinart.

Need I add to this the legend of young St. Romanus? Eusebius tells us, that having been condemned to be burnt, he was accordingly thrown into the fire, when some Jews, who were present, made a mock of Jesus Christ, who suffered his followers to be burnt when God had delivered Shadrac, Mefchec, and Abednego out of the fiery furnace. No sooner had the Jews uttered this blasphemy, than they beheld St. Romanus walking triumphant and unhurt from forth the flaming pile: this being reported to the emperor, he gave orders for his

being pardoned, telling the judge that he would not have an affair upon his hands with God, (a strange expression for Dioclesian!) The judge, however, notwithstanding the emperor's clemency, ordered St. Romanus to have his tongue cut out; and, though he had executioners at hand, commanded the operation to be performed by a surgeon. Young Romanus, who had from his birth laboured under an impediment of speech, no sooner lost his tongue than he spoke distinctly and with great volubility. Upon this, the surgeon received a severe reprimand; when, in order to show that he had performed his operation, *secundum artem*, he laid hold of a man who was going by, from whom he cut just the same portion of tongue, as he had done from St. Romanus, of which the patient instantly died, for, adds our author very learnedly, "Anatomy teaches us, that a man cannot live without his tongue." If Eusebius did really write such stuff, and it has not been added by some other hand, what degree of credit can we give to his history?

We have the relation of the martyrdom of St. Felicity and her seven children, who are said

to have been condemned to death by the wise and pious Antoninus, but without giving us the author's name; who, most probably, possessed of more zeal than veracity, had a mind to imitate the history of the Maccabees. He begins his relation in the following manner: "St. Felicity was by birth a Roman, and lived in the reign of Antoninus:" it is clear by these words, that the author did not live at the same time with St. Felicity. He says, that they were judged before the pretor in the Campus Martius: whereas the Roman prefect's tribunal was not in the Campus Martius, but in the capitol; for, although the Comitum had been held there formerly, yet at this time it was used only as a place for reviewing the soldiers, for chariot-races, and for military games: this alone is sufficient to detect the fiction.

The author adds furthermore, that after sentence was passed, the emperor committed the care of seeing it executed to different judges; a circumstance which is entirely repugnant to the usual forms in those times, and in every other.

We also read of St. Hypolitus, who is said to have been drawn in pieces by horses, as was
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Hypolitus the son of Theseus. But a punishment of this kind was not known among the ancient Romans; and this fabulous story took its rise wholly from the similitude of names.

And here we may make one observation, that in the multitude of martyrologies, composed wholly by the Christians themselves, we almost always read of a great number of them coming of their own accord into the prison of their condemned brother, following him to execution, saving the blood as it flows from him, doing the sepulchral rites to his dead body, and performing miracles with his relics. Now, if the persecution was levelled only at the religion, would not the authors of it have destroyed those who thus openly declared themselves Christians, administered comfort and assistance to their brethren under sentence, and were, moreover, charged with working enchantments with their inanimate remains? would they not have treated them as we have treated several different sects of protestants, whom we have butchered and burnt by hundreds, without distinction of age or sex? Is there amongst all the authenticated accounts of the ancient persecutions a single instance like that of St. Bartholomew, and the massacre in Ireland? Is there

TREATISE upon TOLERATION. VIII

there one that comes near to the annual festival, which is still celebrated at Toulouse, and which for its cruelty, deserves to be for ever abolished, where a whole city goes in procession to return thanks to God, and felicitate each other, for having, two hundred years ago, massacred upwards of four thousand of their fellow subjects?

With horror I say it, but it is an undoubted truth, that we, who call ourselves Christians, have been persecutors, executioners, and assassins! And of whom? Of our own brethren: it is we who have razed an hundred towns to their foundations with the crucifix or bible in our hands, and who have continually persevered in shedding torrents of blood, and lighting the fires of persecution, from the reign of Constantine to the time of the religious horrors of the canibals who inhabited the Cevennes; horrors which, praised be God, no longer exist.

Indeed we still see at times some miserable wretches of the more distant provinces sent to the gallows on account of religion: since the year 1745, eight persons have been hanged of those called predicants or ministers of the gospel, whose only crime was that of having
prayed

prayed to God for their king in bad French; and giving a drop of wine, and a morsel of leavened bread, to a few ignorant peasants. Nothing of all this is known at Paris, where pleasure engrosses the whole attention, and where they are ignorant of every thing that passes, not only in foreign kingdoms, but even in the more distant parts of their own. The trials in these cases frequently take up less time than is used to condemn a deserter. The king wants only to be informed of this, and he would certainly extend his mercy on such occasions.

We do not find that the Roman Catholic priests are treated in this manner in any protestant country: there are above a hundred of them, both in England and Ireland, publickly known to be such, and who have yet been suffered to live peaceable and unmolested, even during the last war.

Shall we then always be the last to adopt the wholesome sentiments of other nations? They have corrected their errors, when shall we correct ours? It has required sixty years to make us receive the demonstrations of the great Newton: we have but just begun to dare to save the
lives.

lives of our children by inoculation, and it is but of very late date that we have put in practice the true principles of Agriculture: when shall we begin to put in practice the true principles of humanity, or with what face can we reproach the heathens with having made so many martyrs, when we ourselves are guilty of the same cruelties in the like circumstances?

Let it be allowed, that the Romans put to death a number of Christians on account of their religion only: if so, the Romans were highly blameable; but shall we commit the same injustice, and while we reproach them for their persecutions, be persecutors ourselves?

If there should be any one so destitute of honesty, or so blinded with enthusiasm, as to ask me here, Why I thus undertake to lay open our errors and faults, and to destroy the credit of all our false miracles and fictitious legends, which serve to keep alive the zeal and piety of many persons? Should such a person tell me, that some errors are absolutely necessary, that, like ulcers, they give a vent to the humours of the body, and by being taken away would endanger its destruction, thus would I answer him:

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All those false miracles by which you shake the credit due to real ones, the numberless absurd legends with which you clog the truths of the gospel, serve only to extinguish the pure flame of religion in our hearts. There are too many persons, who desirous of being instructed, but who have not the time for acquiring instruction, say the teachers of my religion have deceived me, therefore there is no religion: it is better to throw myself into the arms of nature than those of error; and I had rather place my dependance on her law than in the inventions of men. Others again unhappily go still greater lengths: they perceive that imposture has put a bridle in their mouths, and therefore will not submit even to the necessary curb of truth: they incline towards atheism, and run into depravity, because others have been impostors and persecutors.

Such are undeniably the consequences of pious frauds and superstitious fopperies. Mankind in general reason but by halves: it is certainly a very vicious way of arguing to say, that because the golden legend of Voraginus, and the Flower of Saints of the jesuit Ribadeneira, abound in nothing but absurdities, therefore there is no God; that the Catholics have
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massacred a great number of Hugonots, and the Hugonots in their turn have murdered a great number of Catholics, therefore there is no God: that certain bad men have made use of confession, the holy communion, and all the other sacraments, as a means for perpetrating the most atrocious crimes, and therefore there is no God. For my part, I, on the contrary, should conclude from hence, that there is a God, who after this transitory life, in which we have wandered so far from the true knowledge of him, and have seen so many crimes committed under the sanction of his holy name, will at length deign to comfort us for the many dreadful calamities we have suffered in this life; for if we consider the many religious wars, and the forty papal schisms, which have almost all of them been bloody; if we reflect upon the multitude of impostures, which have almost all proved fatal; the irreconcilable animosities excited by differences in opinions, and the numberless evils occasioned by false zeal; I cannot but believe that men have for a long time had their hell in this world.

C H A P. XI.

The ill Consequences of NON-TOLERATION.

WHAT then, it may be demanded, shall every one be allowed to believe only his own reason, and to think that that reason, whether true or false, should be the guide of his actions? Yes, certainly, provided he does not disturb the peace of community; for man has it not in his power to believe or disbelieve *; but he has it in his power to pay a proper respect to the established customs of his country; and if we say that it is a crime not to believe in the established religion, we ourselves condemn the primitive Christians our forefathers, and justify those whom we accuse of having put them to death.

It may be replied, that the difference here is very great, because all other religions are of men, whereas the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman church is of God alone. But let me seriously ask, Whether the divine origin of our

* See Mr. Lock's excellent letter upon toleration.
reli-

religion is a reason for establishing it by hatred, rage, banishment, confiscation of goods, imprisonment, tortures, and murder, and by solemn acts of thanksgiving to the Deity for such outrages? The more assured we are of the divine authority of the Christian religion, the less does it become weak man to enforce the observance of it: if it is truly of God, God will support it without his assistance. Persecution never makes any but hypocrites or rebels; a shocking alternative! Besides, ought we to endeavour to establish, by the bloody hand of the executioner, the religion of that God who fell by such hands, and who, while on earth, taught only mercy and forbearance?

And here let us consider a while the dreadful consequences of the right of non-toleration; if it was permitted us to strip of his possessions, to throw him into prison, or to take away the life of a fellow-creature, who, born under a certain degree of latitude, did not profess the generally received religion of that latitude, what is there would exempt the principal persons of the state from falling under the like punishments? Religion equally binds the monarch and the beggar. Accordingly, we know that upwards of fifty doctors or monks have maintained this execrable

ectable doctrine, That it was lawful to depose, or even to kill, such princes who did not agree with the established church; and we also know, that the several parliaments of the kingdom have on every occasion condemned these abominable decisions of still more abominable divines †.

† The jesuit Busembaum, and his commentator the Jesuit La Croix, tells us, that it "is lawful to kill any prince excommunicated by the pope, of whatsoever country, because the whole world belongs to the pope; and that whoever accepts of, or executes such commission does a meritorious and charitable act." It is this maxim which seems to have been invented in the mad-houses of hell, that has almost stirred up all France against the Jesuits, who are now more than ever reproached for this doctrine, which they have so often preached up, and as often disavowed. They have endeavoured to justify themselves by producing nearly the same maxims in the writings of St. Thomas D'Acquinas and several Dominicans †. It is true indeed, that this St. Thomas, the angelic Doctor and Interpreter of the Divine Will, advan-

† Peruse, if you can get it, the letter of a layman to a divine on the subject of St. Thomas, a jesuitical pamphlet published in 1762.

The blood of Henry the Great was still reeking on the sword of his murderer, when the

ces, that an apostate prince loses his right to the crown, and forfeits the obedience due to him from his subjects †: that the church may condemn him to death: that the emperor Julian was permitted to reign only, because he was too powerful to be resisted: that we ought to kill every heretick ‡: that those who deliver a people from the government of a tyrannical prince, &c. &c. We have, doubtless, a great respect for the angel of the schools; but if he had preached up such maxims in France at the time of his brother James Clement, and the mendicant Ravaillac, his angelical doctorship would have met with but a scurvy reception.

It must be confessed, that John Gerson, chancellor of the university, carried the matter yet farther than St. Thomas; and John Pettit, the Franciscan, still farther than Gerson. Several of the order openly maintained the detestable maxims of their brother Pettit. It must be acknowledged, that this hellish doctrine of king-killing proceeds wholly from the ridiculous notion which has so long

* Lib. ii. partii. question 12.

‡ Ibid. Quest. 11 and 12.

parliament of Paris issued an arret to establish the independance of the crown as a fundamental law ; whilst cardinal du Perron, who owed his elevation to that prince, opposed this decree in an assembly of the states, and got it suppressed. The following expression, made use of on this occasion by Du Perron, is to be found in all the historical tracts of these times : “ Should a prince, says he, turn Arian, it “ would be necessary to depose him.”

prevailed amongst all orders of monks, that the pope is a God upon earth, and can dispose of the crowns and lives of sovereigns at his pleasure. In this respect, we are inferior even to those Tartarian idolaters, who hold the grand Lama to be immortal ; greedily gather the contents of his close-stool, dry these precious relics with great care, inclose them in rich cases, and kiss them with the warmest devotion. For my part, I confess, that I had rather, for the good of my country, and the sake of public tranquillity, carry those relics constantly about my neck, than to give my assent to the pope's having in any case whatsoever, an authority over the temporals of kings, or even those of a private person.

But

But here I must beg the cardinal's pardon ; for let us for a while adopt his chimerical supposition, and say, that one of our kings having read the History of the Councils and of the Fathers, and being struck with these words, " My Father is greater than me," and taking them in too literal a sense, should be divided between the council of Nicé and that of Constantinople, and adopt the opinion of Eusebius of Nicomedia: yet I should not be the less obliged to obey my king, nor think the oath of allegiance I had taken to him less binding ; and if you, Mr. Cardinal, should dare to oppose him, and I was one of your judges, I should, without scruple, declare you guilty of high treason.

Du Perron carried this dispute much farther ; but I shall cut it very short, by saying with every good citizen, that I should not look upon myself bound to obey Henry IV. because he was king ; but because he held the crown by the incontestible right of birth, and as the just reward of his virtue and magnanimity.

Permit me then to say, that every individual is entitled by the same right to enjoy the inheritance of his father, and that he in no wise deserves

to be deprived of it, or to be sent to the gallows, because he may perhaps be of the opinion of Ratram against Paschasius Ratberg, or of Berengarius against Scotus.

We are very sensible that there are many of our tenets which have not been always clearly explained: Jesus Christ not having expressly told us in what manner the Holy Ghost really proceeds, both the Latin church and the Greek believed, that it proceeded only from the father; but afterwards an article was added to the creed, in which it is said to proceed from the son also. Now, I desire to know, whether the day after this new article was added, a person who might abide by the old creed, would have been deserving of death? And is there less cruelty or injustice, in punishing at this day, a person who may possibly think as they did two or three centuries ago? Or was there any crime in believing in the time of Honorius I. that Christ had not two wills?

It is but very lately, that the belief of the immaculate conception has been established: the Dominicans have not received it as yet. Now will any one tell me the precise point of time, when the Dominicans will begin to deserve punish-

punishment in this world, and in that which is to come.

If any one can set us an example for our conduct, it is certainly the Apostles and the Evangelists. There was sufficient matter to excite a violent schism between St. Peter and St. Paul. The latter in his Epistles to the Galatians †, says, “ That he withstood Peter to the face, “ because he was to be blamed ; for before that “ certain men came from James, he did eat “ with the Gentiles ; but when they were “ come, he withdrew and separated himself, “ fearing them which were of the circumcision, “ insomuch, that Barnabas also was carried away “ with his dissimulation.” “ But, adds he, “ When I saw that they walked not uprightly, “ according to the truth of the Gospel, I said “ unto Peter before them all, if thou, being a “ Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and “ not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the “ Gentiles to live as do the Jews ?”

Here now was a subject for a violent dispute. The question was, whether the new Christians

† Chap. ii. v. 11—14.

followed the manners of the Jews or not. St. Paul at that very time sacrificed in the temple of Jerusalem; and we know that the fifteen first bishops of Jerusalem were circumcised Jews; and that they observed the Sabbath, and abstained from the meats forbidden by the Jewish law. Should a bishop of Spain or Portugal at this time be circumcised, or observe the Sabbath, he would infallibly burn at an *auto-da-fé*: and yet this fundamental point did not occasion the least animosity between the Apostles, or between the primitive Christians.

If the Evangelists had resembled our modern writers, what an immense field was there for disputation between them. St. Matthew reckons only eight and twenty generations from David to Jesus. St. Luke reckons forty-one; and these generations are absolutely different. Yet no dissention appears to have arisen between the disciples on account of these apparent contradictions, which have been so admirably well reconciled by the fathers of the church; but they still continued in brotherly love, peace, and charity with each other. What more noble lesson can we have of indulgence in our disputes, and of humility in regard to those things which we do not understand?

St.

St. Paul, in his Epistle to certain Jews of Rome who had been converted to Christianity, employs all the latter part of his third chapter, in telling them, that by faith alone they will be glorified, and that no man is justified by good works only. St. James, on the contrary, in the second chapter of his Epistle to the twelve tribes dispersed over the earth, is continually preaching up to them, that without good works no man can be saved. This has occasioned the separation of two great communions among us; but it caused no division among the Apostles.

If the persecuting of those who differ from us in opinion, is an holy action, it must be confessed, that he who had murdered the greatest number of hereticks would be the most glorious saint in heaven. If so, what a pitiful figure would a man who had only stripped his brethren of all they had, and thrown them to rot in a dungeon, make, in comparison of the zealot who had butchered his hundreds on the famous day of St. Bartholomew? This may be proved as follows:

The successor of St. Peter and his consistory cannot err; they approved, they celebrated, they consecrated the action of St. Bartholomew;

consequently that action was holy and meritorious ; and, by a like deduction, he who of two murderers, equal in piety, had ripped up the bellies of eighty Hugonot women big with child, would be entitled to double the portion of glory of another who had butchered but twelve : in this manner, by the same argument also, the enthusiasts of the Cevennes have reason to believe that they will be exalted in glory, in proportion to the number of catholic women, priests and monks, whom they may have knocked on the head : but surely these are strange claims to eternal happiness.

CHAP.

C H A P XII.

If NON-TOLERATION was part of the Divine Law among the JEWS, and whether it was always put in practice.

BY the divine law, I take to be understood those rules and precepts which have been given to us by God himself. For example, he ordained, that the Jews should eat a lamb dressed with bitter herbs, and standing with a staff in their hand, in remembrance of the passover; that the consecration of the high-priest should be performed by touching the tip of his right ear, his right hand, and his right foot with blood; that the scape-goat should be charged with the sins of the people: he also forbid the eating of all shell-fish, swine, hares, hedge-hogs, owls, the heron, and the lap-wing †.

He also instituted their several feasts and ceremonies; and all those things which appeared

† Deut. chap. xiv.

arbitrary to other nations, and subjected to positive law and custom, when commanded by God himself, became a divine law to the Jews, in like manner, as whatever Jesus Christ the son of Mary and the son of God has commanded us, is to us a divine law.

But here let us not presume to enquire wherefore it hath pleased God to substitute a new law in the room of that he had given to Moses, and wherefore he commanded Moses more things than he did the patriarch Abraham, and Abraham more than Noah †. In this he appears

† Agreeable to my intention of making some useful notes upon this treatise, I shall here observe, that although God is said to have made a covenant with Noah, and with all the beasts of the field; yet he permits him to eat of every thing that hath the breath of life, excepting only the eating of blood, which he positively prohibits; and moreover adds, that “the Lord will take vengeance of every beast by whom man’s blood shall be shed.”

From these passages and several others of the like tenor, we may infer, with all the sages of antient and

with infinite condescension, to have accommodated himself to times and the state of popula-

and present times, and with every person of enlightened conceptions, that beasts are endowed with some knowledge. We do not find God making a covenant with trees or with stones that have no sense; but he does with the beasts, whom it has pleased him to endow with senses, frequently more exquisite than our own, and consequently with those ideas that are necessarily connected with sense. It is for this reason, that he prohibits the barbarous custom of feeding upon their blood, the blood being the source of life, and consequently of sense. Take away all the blood from an animal, and all his organs will immediately cease from action. It is therefore with the greatest justice that we find it said in so many different parts of the Holy Scripture, that the soul, that is to say, what was called the sensitive soul, is in the blood; an opinion perfectly agreeable to nature, and as such received by all nations.

It is upon this opinion that we found that pity which we ought to show to all animals. It is one of the seven precepts of the Noachides that were adopted by the Jews, That no one shall eat the limb of a living animal. This precept is a proof

tion amongst the inhabitants of the earth ; and in this gradation, to have shewn his paternal

that mankind had formerly the cruelty to mutilate animals, in order to feast upon the limbs so cut off, and to leave the creatures living, in order to feed successively upon the other parts of their bodies ; a custom which we find to have actually subsisted among some barbarous nations, witness the sacrifices offered in the island of Chios to *Bacchus Omadios*, or the eater of raw flesh. God, by permitting the flesh of animals to serve us for food, seems to recommend them to our humanity. It must be confessed, that there is great cruelty in putting them to torture, and that nothing but custom could have lessened in us the natural abhorrence of slaughtering an animal whom we have fed with our own hands. There have in all times been sects who have made a religious scruple of such practices, as do to this day all the inhabitants of the Peninsula of the Ganges. The whole sect of Pythagoreans, both in Greece and Italy, constantly abstained from the eating of flesh. And Porphyry, in his book upon Abstinence, reproaches his disciples with having quitted their sect only for the sake of indulging an inhuman appetite.

love : but these are depths too profound for our weak faculties to measure; I shall therefore con-

It is in my opinion giving up the light of reason, to pretend to assert, that beasts are no more than mere machines : for, is it not a manifest contradiction, to acknowledge that God has given them the organs of sense, and then to affirm that they have no sense?

Besides, I think one must never have made any observation upon animals, not to distinguish in them the different cries of want, suffering, joy, fear, love, anger, and indeed all other affections of the mind or body; surely, it would be very strange, that they should so well express what they have no sense of!

This remark may furnish abundant matter of reflection to inquisitive minds, in relation to the power and goodness of the Creator, who has been pleased to bestow life, sense, ideas, and memory, on those beings, whose organs he has formed with his own all-powerful hand. As to us, we neither know how these organs are formed, how they are unfolded, in what manner we receive life, nor by what laws sense, ideas, memory, and will, are annexed to that life; and yet, in this dark and eter-

fine myself to my subject, and proceed to examine the state of non-toleration among the Jews.

It is certain, that in Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, we find several very rigorous laws and severe punishments in relation to religious worship. Several able commentators have been greatly puzzled to reconcile these books of Moses with several passages in the prophets Jeremiah and Amos, and with the famous discourse of St. Stephen, as related in the Acts of the Apostles. Amos says, that the Jews constantly worshipped in the wilderness, Moloc and Chiun, gods whom they had made to themselves †. And Jeremiah expressly says, that God commanded not their fathers concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices in the day that he brought them out of the land of Egypt ‡. And St. Stephen in his discourse

nal state of ignorance inherent to our natures, we are perpetually disputing with, and persecuting each other, like the bulls of the field, who fight with their horns, without knowing for what use, or in what manner those horns were given them.

† Amos, ch. v. v. 26. ‡ Jerem. ch. vii. v. 22.

to the Jews abovementioned, says, “ They
 “ worshipped the host of heaven, and that they
 “ neither offered sacrifices nor slew beasts, for
 “ the space forty years in the wilderness, but
 “ took up the tabernacle of Moloc and the star
 “ of their god Remphan *.”

Other critics again infer from the worship
 of so many strange gods here mentioned, that
 the Israelites were indulged with having these
 gods by Moses; and, in support of their opinion
 they quote the following words in Deuteronomy,
 “ When ye shall enter into the land of Canaan,
 “ ye shall not do after all the things that we do
 “ here this day, every man whatsoever is right
 “ in his own eyes. † †.”

* Acts, ch. vii. v. 42. † Deut. ch. xii. v. 8.

† Several writers have too rashly concluded from
 this passage, that the chapter concerning the golden
 calf (which is no other than the Egyptian god
 Apis) has, as well as many other chapters, been
 added to the books of Moses.

Eben-Ezra was the first who undertook to prove,
 that the Pentateuch (or the five books of Moses)

was

And as a farther proof, they say that there is no mention made of any religious act of the

was written in the times of the Kings. Wollaston, Collins, Tindal, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and many others, have asserted, that in those ages, men had no other way of committing their thoughts to writing, but by engraving them upon polished stone, brick, lead, or wood; and tell us that in the time of Moses the Chaldeans and Egyptians had no other way of writing, and that then they could engrave but in a very abridged manner, and by hieroglyphicks, the substance only of such things as they thought worthy of being transmitted to posterity, and could never form any regular histories: then it was next to an impossibility to engrave books of any considerable bulk in the wilderness, where they were continually changing of their habitation; where they had no person to furnish them with cloathing, to make that cloathing for them, or even to mend their sandals, and where God was obliged to perform a miracle to preserve the garments of his people entire. They say, that it is hardly probable, that there should have been so many engravers among them, at the time that they were so deficient in the more necessary arts of life, and did not know even how to make bread: and if we answer to this, that the pillars of the tabernacle

people of Israel while in the wilderness; neither the celebration of the passover, nor of the feast

nacle were of brass, and their chapters of massy silver, they reply, that though the order for this might have been given in the wilderness, it was not executed till after they were settled in perfect tranquillity.

They cannot conceive, they say, how the Israelites, who were a poor and vagabond people, could have asked for a calf of massy gold to be erected for the object of their adoration, at the foot of the very mountain where God was then talking with Moses, and in the very midst of the thunder and lightning, and the sound of the heavenly trumpet, which were heard and seen by all present. They profess their astonishment, that it should have been only the day before Moses descended from the mountain,, that all the people should have addressed themselves to his brother Aaron, to raise this golden calf ? or how it was possible for Aaron to have cast such an image in one single day; and still more, how Moses could have reduced it into an impalpable powder ? They say, that it is impossible for any artist to make a statue of gold in less three months, and that not all the
pos-

of the tabernacles, nor of any public form of worship being established, nor even the prac-

possible efforts of the chymical art, are sufficient to reduce such a mass into a powder that may be swallowed, and consequently, that the prevarication of Aaron and this operation of Moses must have been two miracles.

Deceived by the humanity and goodness of their hearts, they cannot believe that Moses slaughtered three and twenty thousand souls to expiate this crime; nor, that so many men would have tamely suffered themselves to be murdered without a third miracle. Lastly, they think it very extraordinary, that Aaron, who was the most guilty of all, should have been rewarded for that very crime for which the rest underwent so dreadful a punishment, by being created high-priest, and go to offer sacrifice at the high altar, while the bodies of three and twenty thousand of his slaughtered brethren lay bleeding round him.

They start the same difficulties concerning the eighty thousand Israelites who were slain by order of Moses, to atone for the crime of a single one of them, for being surprized with a Moabite woman;
and

tice of circumcision, the seal of the covenant made by God with Abraham.

and seeing that Solomon, and so many other of the Jewish kings, did, without being punished for it, take to themselves strange wives, they cannot conceive what great crime there could be, in an individual making an alliance with one Moabite woman.

Ruth was a Moabitefs, though her family was originally of Bethelam : the scripture always distinguishes her by the name of Ruth the Moabitefs ; and yet, she went and laid herself by the side of Boaz, received six measures of barley from him, was afterwards married to him, and was the grandmother of David. Rahab was not only a stranger, but also a common prostitute or a harlot, as she is called in Scripture ; yet she was taken to wife by Solomon, a prince of Juda ; from whom also David was descended. This Rahab is taken to be a type of the Christian church by several of the antient fathers ; and especially by Origen, in his seventh homily upon Joshua.

Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, by whom David begat Solomon, was an Hittite. And if we go farther

They likewise refer to the history of Joshua, where this great conqueror thus addresses the

ther back, we shall find that the patriarch Judah married a Canaanites; and his sons lay with Thamar who was of the race of Aaron: and the woman with whom Judah, without knowing it, committed incest, was not of the Israelitish race.

Thus then was our Lord Jesus Christ pleased to take upon him flesh in a family descended from five aliens, to shew, that all nations should partake of his inheritance. The rabbin Aben-Ezra was, as we have already observed, the first who undertook to prove that the Pentateuch was compiled long after the time of Moses; and for his authority quotes several passages in those books; and amongst others the following: "The Canaanite
 " then dwelt in that land. The mountain of Mo-
 " ria, called the Mountain of God. The bed of
 " Og, king of Bashan, is still to be seen in Rabah.
 " And the country of Bashan is called the villages
 " of Jaiar unto this day. Never was there a pro-
 " phet seen in Israel like unto Moses. These are
 " the kings who reigned in Edom, before any king
 " reigned over Israel." He pretends, that these passages, in which mention is made of events that
 hap-

Jews: "If it seem evil unto you to serve the
 "LORD, chuse you this day whom you will serve;

happened long after the time of Moses, could never have been written by Moses himself. To this it is answered, that these passages were added long after by way of notes by the transcribers.

Newton, whose name ought on every other occasion to be mentioned with respect, but who, as a man, may have been liable to error, in the introduction to his commentaries upon Daniel and St. John, ascribes the five books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges, to holy writers of much later date; and founds his opinion on the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first chapters of Judges, the eighth chapter of Samuel, the second chapter of Chronicles, and the fourth chapter of the book of Ruth: and indeed, considering that in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, we find mention made of Kings, and that David is spoken of in the books of Judges, and that of Ruth, it should seem that those books were compiled in the times of the Kings. This is also the opinion of several divines, at the head of whom is the famous Le Clerc. But there are very few of those who are followers of this opinion, that
 have

“ whether the gods which your fathers served
 “ in Mesopotamia or the gods of the Am-

have had the curiosity to fathom these mysteries; A curiosity, which certainly makes no part of the duty of man. For when the learned and the ignorant, the prince and the peasant, shall, after this short life, appear together before the throne of eternal majesty, every one of us then, will wish to have been just and humane, generous and compassionate; and no one will pride himself in having known exactly the year in which the Pentateuch was written, or in having been able to distinguish the true text from the additional notes in use among the Scribes. God will not ask us whether we were of the opinion of the Masorites against the Talmud, or whether we may not have mistaken, a *Capb* for a *Beth*, a *Yod* for a *Vau*, or a *Daleth* for a *Resh*. No, certainly; but he will judge us according to our deeds, and not according to our knowledge in the Hebrew language. Let us therefore abide firmly by the decision of the church, so far as is agreeable to the reasonable duty of a believer.

We will conclude this note with an important passage from Leviticus, a book composed after the
 time

“morites, in whose land ye dwell :” and the people answered and said, “ Nay, but we will serve

time of the golden calf. The Jews are there commanded no more to offer their sacrifices to goats with whom they have gone a-whoring †. We cannot say whether this strange worship came from Egypt, the country of sorcery and superstition ; but there is reason to believe, that the custom of our pretended magicians of keeping a Sabbath apart, for adoring a goat, and committing such detestable uncleanness with it, as is shocking to conception, came from the antient Jews, as it is certain, that they first taught a part of Europe the practice of magic. What a detestable people ! Surely such infamous and unnatural practices deserve the punishment, at least equal to that which befel them for worshipping the golden calf ; and yet, we find the law-giver contents himself with simply prohibiting those practices. We have quoted this subject, only to shew what the Jewish nation was : the sin of bestiality must certainly have been very common amongst them, since they are the only people we know among whom there was a necessity for any law to prohibit that crime, the commission

† Leviticus, chap. vii. and chap. xviii. v. 22.

“ the LORD our GOD (*Adonai*).” And Joshua said unto the people, “ Ye have chosen, now

of which was not even suspected by any other legislators.

There is reason to believe, that on account of the fatigues and distresses which the Jews suffered in the deserts of Paran, Horeb, and Kadesh-Barnee, the female species, which is always the weakest, might have failed amongst them; and it is certain, that the Jews were greatly in want of women, since we find them almost always commanded, when they conquered any town or village, to the right or left of the lake Asphalt, to put all the inhabitants to the sword, excepting only the young women, who were of an age to know man.

The Arabs, who still inhabit a part of these deserts, ripulate to this day in the treaties which they make with the caravans, that they shall furnish them with marriageable women; so that it is not improbable, but that the young men of those barren countries, might have carried the depravation of human nature so far, as to have had carnal commerce with goats, as is related of the shepherds of Calabria.

“ therefore put away the strange gods which
 “ are among you.” Hence, say they, it is evident, that the Israelites had other gods beside the LORD, (*Adonai*) under Moses.

It is altogether needless to take up the reader’s time with an attempt to refute the opinions of those critics who think that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses. This subject has been sufficiently discussed long ago; and, even admitting that some few parts of it were written in the times of the Judges, the Kings, or the Prophets, it would not make the whole less inspired or divine. It is sufficient, in my opinion, if the Holy Scripture proves to us, that, notwithstanding the extraordinary punishments which the Jews called down upon themselves by

It is still however uncertain, whether any monsters were produced by this unnatural copulation, and whether there is any foundation for the antient stories of satyrs, fauns, centaurs, and minotaur: history says there is; but natural philosophy has not yet cleared up to us this monstrous circumstance.

† Joshua, chap. xxiv. §. xv. & seq.

their

their idolatrous worship of the golden calf, they continued for a long time to enjoy perfect liberty of conscience; and it is even probable, that Moses, after having massacred the twenty-three thousand, in the first transports of his rage against his brother and them for having erected this idol, finding that nothing was to be gained by such severity in matters of religion, was glad to wink at the fondness which the people expressed for strange gods.

And indeed he himself appears soon after to have transgressed the very law which he had given §: for, notwithstanding his having forbidden all molten or graven images, we find him erecting the brazen serpent. And this law was again dispensed with by Solomon in the building of his temple; where that prince caused twelve brazen bulls to be placed as supporters to the great Laver; as also cherubims in the ark, which had two heads, one of an eagle and the other of a calf; and it was probable from this latter head, badly mad, and found in the temple by the Roman soldiers at the time of their plundering of it, that the Jews were so.

§ Numbers, chap. xxi. v. 9.

long reported to have worshipped an ass. Moreover, notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions against the worship of false gods, Solomon, tho' giving way to the grossest idolatry, lived and died in peace. Jeroboam, to whom God himself gave ten parts out of twelve of the kingdom, set up two golden calves, and yet reigned two and twenty years, having united in his person the two-fold dignity of monarch and of high-priest. The petty people of Juda erected altars and images to strange gods under Rehoboam. Pious king Aza suffered the high places to remain undemolished. And lastly, Uriah the high-priest erected a brazen altar, which had been sent to him by the king of Syria, in the temple, in the place of the altar of burnt-offerings §. In a word, we do not any where find the least constraint in point of religion among the Jews; it is true, indeed, that they frequently destroyed and murdered one another; but that was from motives of political concern, and not about the modes of belief. It is true, that among the prophets we find some making heaven a party in their revenge.

§ Kings, b. iv. ch. xvi.

Elias, for instance, calls down fire from heaven to consume the priests of Baal †. And Elijah sent bears to devour two and forty little children, for calling him bald head ‡. But these miracles are very rare in their kind, and it would moreover be somewhat inhuman to desire to imitate them. We are also told that the Jews were a most ignorant and cruel people; and that in their war with the Midianites §, they were commanded by Moses to kill all the male children and all the child-bearing women, and to divide the spoil †. They found in the enemy's camp 675,000 sheep, 72,000 oxen,

† Kings, b. iii. ch. xviii. ver. 38 and 40.

‡ Kings, b. iv. ch. ii. ver. 20.

§ Midian was not included in the Land of Promise: it is a little canton of Idumea, in Arabia Petræa, beginning to the northward of the torrent of Arron, and ending at the torrent of Zared, in the midst of rocks on the eastern border of the lake Asphaltés. This country is inhabited by a small Arabian hord or tribe, and may be about eight leagues long, and about seven in breadth.

† Numb. chap. xxxi.

61,000

61,000 asses, and 32,000 young maidens, and they took all the spoil and slew the captives. Several commentators will have it, that thirty-two of the young women were sacrificed to the Lord; "The Lord's tribute was thirty and two persons ||."

It is evident that the Jews offered human sacrifices to God; witness that of Jephtha's daughter †, and of king Agag hewed in pieces by the

|| Numb. ch. xxxi. ver. 40.

† It is plain by the text, that Jephtha did actually sacrifice his daughter. Doctor Calmet, in his Dissertation upon Jephtha's vow, says, that "God did not approve these vows; but when once any one had made them, he insisted upon their being fulfilled, was it only to punish those who made them, and to put a check upon them in the doing it, by the fear of being obliged to perform them." This action of Jephtha is condemned by St. Augustine and almost all the fathers, although the Scripture says, that he was filled with the spirit of God; and St. Paul in his eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, greatly praises Jephtha, exalting him even above Samuel and David.

prophet Samuel †. And we find the prophet Ezekiel promising them, by way of encourage-

St. Jerom, in his Epistle to Julian, expresses himself thus: "Jeptha sacrificed his daughter to the Lord, and therefore the Apostle has placed him among the saints." Here now is a diversity in opinions, concerning which it is not permitted to pronounce a decision; nay, it is even dangerous to have any opinion of our own.

† The death of Agag, king of the Amalekites, may be looked upon as a real sacrifice. Saul had made this prince a prisoner of war, and had admitted him to a capitulation notwithstanding that the priest and the prophet Samuel had charged him to spare no one; saying to him expressly, "Go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."—"And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord at Gilgal."

"The zeal with which this prophet was animated," saith Calmet, "put a sword into his hand on this occasion, to revenge the honour of God, and to confound Saul."

* First of Samuel, chap. xv. ver. 6th and 23d.

ment, that they should feast upon human flesh:
 “Ye shall eat of the flesh of the horse, and of his

In this melancholy adventure, we have a vow, a priest, and a victim; consequently, it is a real sacrifice. We find from history, that most nations, the Chinese excepted, were wont to sacrifice human victims to the Deity: Plutarch says, that this custom prevailed even among the Romans at some certain times. Cæsar in his commentaries tells us, that the Germans were going to sacrifice two of his officers, whom he had sent to confer with their king Ariovistus, had not Cæsar delivered them by beating the German army. I have in another place observed †, that this violation of the laws of nations, and the offering of human victims, which was rendered more horrible by its being done by the hands of their women, seems a little to contradict Tacitus's panegyric on them in his treatise *De Moribus Germanorum*; which seems rather to have been designed as a satire upon the Roman people, than to praise the Germans, to whom he was an utter stranger. And here we may observe by the way, that Tacitus was fonder of satire than of truth: he labours to throw every thing, even the most indifferent actions, into an

† Additions to General History, part i. of Voltaire.

“ rider, and ye shall drink the blood of the princes
 “ of the earth §.” But although the history of

odious point of light ; and his malice pleases us as much as his stile, because we are naturally fond of wit and slander.

But to return to the subject of human sacrifices. This custom prevailed as much amongst our forefathers as with the Germans ; it is the lowest degree of debasement to which human nature can fall when left to herself, and is one of the effects of the weakness of mortal understanding, which reasons thus : We ought to offer to God whatever we have of most pleasing or valuable ; there is nothing more valuable than our children ; therefore we ought to select the youngest and most beautiful, to sacrifice them to the Deity.

Philo says, that the Canaanites used to offer their children in sacrifice, before God had commanded Abraham, as a trial of his faith, to offer up his only son Isaac.

Sanchoniathon, as quoted by Eusebius, says, that the Phœnicians, when threatened with any

§ Ezek. chap. xxxix. ver. 49.

great

this people does not furnish us with one single act of generosity, magnanimity, or humanity; yet amidst so long and dismal a night of barbarism, there is continually breaking forth a cheering ray of universal toleration.

Jeptha, who was inspired of God, and who sacrificed to him his daughter, says to the chief of the Amorites, "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess? so whomsoever the Lord our God shall drive from before us, them will we possess †." This declaration is express, and might be carried to a great length; however, it is at least

great danger or distress, offered up the most favourite of their children, and that Ilus sacrificed his son Jehud much about the same time, that God made the trial of Abraham's faith. It is very difficult to penetrate into the dark recesses of early antiquity; but it is too melancholy a truth that these horrible sacrifices were almost every where in use: and men have laid them aside, only in proportion as they have become civilized. So true is it that civilization is the nurse of humanity.

† Judges, chap. xi. ver. 24.

an evident proof that God permitted the worship of Chemosh. For the words of the holy scripture are not "*Thou thinkest* thou hast a "right to possess that which thy god Chemosh "giveth thee to possess;" but expressly, "*Thou hast* a right to possess, &c." for that is the true interpretation of the Hebrew words *Otha thirafch*.

The story of Micah and the Levite, related in the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters of the book of Judges, is a still more incontestible proof of this extensive toleration and liberty of conscience allowed among the Jews. The mother of Micah having lost eleven hundred shekels of silver, and her son having restored them to her, she dedicated or vowed them unto the Lord, and made images with them, and she built a small chapel and hired a Levite to officiate therein for ten shekels of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel and his victuals. Then said Micah, "Now know I that "the Lord will do me good, seeing that I have "a Levite to be my priest †."

† Judges, chap. xvii. ver. the last.

In a short time after, six hundred men of the tribe of Dan, who were in search of some town which they might seize upon as an inheritance to dwell in, came to the house of Micah, where they found the Levite officiating; and having no priest of their own with them, and thinking that on that account God would not prosper their undertaking, they seized upon the carved image, the ephod, and the teraphim belonging to Micah, and also the Levite, whom they took with them in spite of all the remonstrances of the latter, and the outcries of Micah and his mother. After this, full of assurance of success, they went and fell upon the city of Laish, and smote all the inhabitants with the edge of the sword, and burnt the city to the ground, as was their usual custom; they then built them another city, and called its name Dan †, in remembrance of their victory; and they set up Micah's graven image; and what is more remarkable, Jonathan, the grandson of Moses, was a priest of the temple, wherein the God of Israel and the idol of Micah, were both worshipped at the same time.

Judges, chap. xviii. ver. 11—29.

After the death of Gideon, the Israelites worshipped Baal-Perith for upwards of twenty years, and abandoned the worship of the true God, without any punishment being inflicted upon them for it, either by their chiefs, their judges, or their priests. This, I must confess, was a very heinous crime; but then, if even this idolatry was tolerated, how great must have been the differences of the true worship?

There are some persons, who, in support of non-toleration, bring us the authority of God himself; who, having suffered his ark to fall into the hands of the Philistines in the day of battle, punished them only by afflicting them with an inward distemper, resembling the hæmorrhoids or piles, by breaking in pieces the statue of their god Dagon, and by sending a number of rats to devour the fruits of their lands. But when the Philistines, in order to appease his wrath, sent back the ark drawn by two cows that gave milk to their calves, and made an offering to the Lord of five golden rats, and the like number of golden hæmorrhoids, the Lord smote seventy of the Elders of Israel, and fifty thousand of the people, for having looked upon the ark. To this it may be answered, that the judgment of
 God

God was not, on this occasion, directed against any particular belief, any difference in worship, or idolatry.

If God had meant to punish idolatry, he would have destroyed all the Philistines who had attempted to seize upon his ark, and who were worshippers of the idol Dagon; whereas we find him smiting with death fifty thousand and seventy of his own people, for having looked upon his ark, which they ought not to have looked upon. So much did the laws and manners of those times and the Jewish dispensation differ from every thing that we know, and so inscrutable are the ways of God to us!

“ The rigorous punishment,” saith the learned Doctor Calmet, “ inflicted on such a multitude of persons on this occasion, will appear
 “ excessive only to those who do not comprehend how greatly God would have himself
 “ feared and respected among his chosen people, and who judge of the ways and designs
 “ of Providence only by the weak lights of
 “ their own reason.”

Here then God punished the Israelites, not for any strange worship, but for a profanation

of his own ; an indiscreet curiosity, a disobedience of his precepts, and perhaps an inward rebellious spirit. It is true, that such punishments appertain alone to the God of the Hebrews, and we cannot too often repeat, that those times and manners were altogether different from ours.

Again, we find some ages after, when the idolatrous Naaman asked of Elijah, if he might be allowed to follow his king up to the temple of Rimmon, and bow down himself there with him ; this very Elijah, who had before caused the little children to be devoured by bears only for mocking him, answered this idolater, “ Go in peace §.”

But this is not all ; we find the Lord commanding Jeremiah to make him bonds and yokes, saying, “ Put them upon thy neck †,

§ Kings, b. iv. ch. v. ver. 25.

† Those who are unacquainted with the customs of antiquity, and who judge only from what they see about them, may possibly be astonished at this odd command ; but they should reflect, that at those times it was the custom in Egypt, and most
part

“ and send them to the king of Edom, and to
 “ the king of Moab, and to the king of the

part of Assyria, to express things by hieroglyphical figures, signs, and types.

The prophets, who were called *Seers* by the Egyptians and Jews, not only expressed themselves in allegories, but also represented by signs those events which they foretold. Thus we find Isaiah, the chief of the four greater prophets, taking a roll and writing therein Maher-Shalal-Hashbaz, that is, Make haste to the spoil: and going unto the prophets, she conceived and bare a son, whom the Lord called Maher-Shalal-Hashbaz †. This is a type of the evils which were to be brought upon the Jews by the people of Egypt and Assyria.

The prophet also says, “ Before that the child
 “ shall be of an age to eat butter and honey, to re-
 “ fuse the evil and chuse the good, the land that
 “ they abhorred shall be delivered of both her
 “ kings; and the Lord will hiss to the flies of
 “ Egypt, and for the bees of Asyr, and the Lord
 “ will shave with a razor that is hired, the beard
 “ and the hair of the feet of the king of Assyria ‡.”

* Isaiah, ch. viii. ver. 1 and 4. † Id. ch. vii. v. 15---18.

“Ammonites, and to the king of Tyrus, and to
“the king of Zidon;” and he did so; bidding the

This prophecy of the bees, and of the shaving of the beard, and of the hair of the feet, can be understood only by those who know that it was a custom to call the swarms of bees together by the sound of a flagelet or pipe, or some other rustick instrument; that the greatest affront that could be done to any man, was to cut off his beard; and that the hair on the private parts was called the hair of the feet, which was never shaven but in cases of leprosy, or other unclean disorders. All these figures, which would appear so strange in our stile, signify nothing more than that the Lord will, in the course of a few years, deliver his people from captivity.

We find the same prophet walking naked and barefoot, to shew that the king of Assyria shall lead away the Egyptians and Ethiopians captives, without their having wherewithal to cover their nakedness ||:

The prophet Ezekiel eats the roll of parchment which God had given him: afterwards he eats his bread covered with excrement, and continues to lie on his left side three hundred and ninety

messenger say to them in the name of the Lord,
 "I have given all your lands into the hand of

days, and forty days on his right side, to show that the Jews should want bread, and as a type of the number of years they were to remain in captivity. He loads himself with chains, as a figure of those which they are to wear; and he cuts off the hair of his head and of his beard, and divides them into three parts; the first of these portions is a type of those who are to perish in the city of Jerusalem; the second, of such who are to be slain without the walls; and the third, of those who are to be carried away to Babylon †.

The prophet Hosea takes to himself a woman who is an adulteress, and whom he purchases for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer and a half of barley, and says unto her, "Thou shalt abide for me many days, thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man, for so shall the children of Israel abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without Teraphim §." In a word, the seers or prophets scarcely ever foretel any thing without using a type or sign of the thing foretold.

† Ezekiel, chap. iv. seq.

§ Hosea, chap. iii.

“Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, my servant
 “vant

Jeremiah therefore only conformed to the usual custom, when he bound himself with cords, and put bonds and yokes upon his neck, as figures of the approaching slavery of those to whom he sent them, and, if we attend properly to these things, we shall find the times here spoken of to be like those of an old world, differing in every thing from the new society. The laws, the manner of making war, were all absolutely different; and if we only open Homer and the first book of Herodotus, we need nothing more to convince us that there is not the least resemblance between the people of early antiquity and us; hence we ought to distrust our own judgment, when we attempt to compare their manners with ours. Even nature herself is not now the same she was then; magicians and forceers had at that time a power over her which they no longer possess; they enchanted serpents, they raised the dead out of their tombs, &c. God sent dreams, and men interpreted them. The gift of prophecy was common. And we read of several metamorphoses, such as of Nebuchadnezzar into an ox, of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, and of five whole cities changed in an instant into a burning lake.

There

“vant †.” Here then we have God declaring an idolatrous prince his servant and favourite.

The same prophet having been cast into the dungeon by order of the Jewish king Zedekiah, and afterwards released by him, advises him in

There were likewise several species of men that no longer exist. The race of giants, Rephaim, Emim, Nephilim, and Enacim, have totally disappeared. St. Augustin, in his fifth book *de civitate Dei*, says, that he saw a tooth of one of those ancient giants, that was at least an hundred times as large as one of our grinders. Ezekiel speaks of pigmies (*Gamadim*) not above a cubit high, who fought at the siege of Tyre; and almost all writers, sacred and profane, have agreed in the truth of these relations.

In fine, the antient world was so different from ours, that there is no drawing any rule for our conduct from it; and if in the earliest ages of antiquity we find mankind mutually persecuting and destroying each other on account of their different faiths, far be it from us, who live under the enlightened law of grace, to copy after such originals.

† Jer. xxvii. xxviii.

the

the name of God, to submit himself to the king of Babylon, saying, "If thou wilt assuredly go forth unto the king of Babylon's princes, thy soul shall live." God therefore takes part with an idolatrous king, and delivers into his hands his holy ark, the looking upon which only, had cost the lives of fifty thousand and seventy Jews; and not only so, but also delivers up to him the Holy of Holies, together with the rest of the temple, the building of which had cost a hundred and eight thousand talents of gold, one million seventeen thousand talents of silver, and ten thousand drachmas of gold, that had been left by David and his great officers, for building the house of the Lord; which, exclusive of the sums expended for that purpose by king Solomon, amounts to the sum of nineteen millions, sixty-two millions, or thereabouts of the present currency. Never sure, was idolatry so nobly rewarded. I am sensible that this account is exaggerated, and that it seems to be an error of the copyist. But if we reduce the sum to one half, to a fourth, or even to an eighth part, it will still be amazing. But Herodotus's account of the treasures which he himself saw in the temple of Ephesus, is not less surprising.

ing. In fine, all the riches of the earth are as nothing in the sight of God ; and the title of *my servant*, with which he dignified Nebuchadnezzar, is the true and invaluable treasure.

Nor does God show less favour to Kyr, or Cosroes, whom we call Cyrus, and whom he calls his *Christ*, his *anointed*, though he never was anointed according to the general acceptance of that word, and was moreover a follower of the religion of Zoroaster, and an usurper in the opinion of the rest of mankind ; yet him he calleth his *shepherd* † ; and we have not in the whole Sacred Writings, so great an instance of divine predilection.

We are told by the prophet Malachi, that
 “ From the rising of the sun even unto the
 “ going down of the same, the name of God
 “ shall be great among the Gentiles ; and in
 “ every place a pure offering shall be offered
 “ unto his name †.” God takes as much care
 of the idolatrous Ninevites, as of his chosen

† Isai. ch. xlv. and xlv.
 ver. 1.

† Malach. chap. i.

Jews. Melchezideck, though no Jew, was the high-priest of the living God. Balaam, though an idolater, was his prophet. The Holy Scripture then teaches us, that God not only tolerated every other religion, but also extended his fatherly care to them all. And shall we, after this, dare to be persecutors !

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

The Great TOLERATION exercised among
the JEWS.

THUS then, under Moses, the Judges, and the Kings, we find numberless instances of toleration. Moreover, we are told by Moses, that " God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation." This threat was necessary to a people to whom God had not revealed the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishment of a future state. These truths are not to be found in any part of the Decalogue, nor in the Levitic, or Deuteronomic law. They were the tenets of the Persians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Cretans; but made no part of the Jewish religion. Moses does not say, " Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest inherit *eternal* life;" but " that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:" that is, in this life; and the punishments with which he threatens them, regard only the present mortal state; such as being smitten with the scab and with the itch; with
blast-

blasting and with mildew; that they shall betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her; that they shall build houses, and others shall dwell therein; that they shall plant vineyards, and shall not gather the grapes thereof; that they shall eat the fruit of their own bodies, the flesh of their sons, and of their daughters, and be obliged to bow down before the stranger that is within their gates †: but he never tells them that their souls are immortal, and shall taste of felicity or punishment after death. God, who conducted his people himself, punished or rewarded them immediately according to their good or evil deeds. Every thing relating to them was temporal, and this the learned bishop Warburton brings as a proof of the divine origin of the Jewish law †; inasmuch,

† Deut. chap. xxviii. ver. 28. & seq.

‡ There is but one passage in the whole Mosaic law, from which one might conclude that Moses, was acquainted with the reigning opinion among the Egyptians, that the soul did not die with the body. This passage is very particular, and is in the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy: "There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an inchanter,

" or

says he, as God being their king, and exercising justice immediately upon them, according to

“or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits (Python), or a wizard, or a necromancer.” From this passage it appears, that by invoking the souls of the dead, this pretended necromancy supposed a permanency of the soul. It might also happen, that the necromancers of whom Moses speaks, being but ignorant deceivers, might not have a distinct idea of the magic they operated. They made people believe that they forced the dead to speak, and by the power of their art restored the body to the same state as when living; without once examining whether their ridiculous operations might authorize the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The antient magicians were never philosophers, they were at best but a set of stupid jugglers, who played their tricks before as illiterate spectators.

But what is very strange and worthy of observation is, that the word Python should be found in Deuteronomy, so long before that Greek term was known to the Hebrews; and indeed, this word is not to be found in the Hebrew, of which we have never had a good translation.

There

their transgression or obedience, found it not necessary to reveal to them a doctrine which he reserved for after-times, when he should no longer so immediately govern his people. Those who through ignorance pretend, that Moses taught the immortality of the soul, deprived the New-Testament of one of its principal advantages over the Old. It is certain, that

There are many insurmountable difficulties in this language: it is a mixture of Phœnician, Egyptian, Syriac, and Arabic, and has undergone many alterations to the present time. The Hebrew verbs had only two moods, the present and the future: the rest were to be guessed at by the sense. The different vowels were frequently expressed by the same characters, or rather indeed they were not expressed at all; and the inventors of points have only increased the difficulties they meant to remove. Every adverb had twenty different significations, and the same word had frequently several contrary senses. Add to this, that the language was in itself very dry and barren; for the Jews not being acquainted with the arts, could not express what they knew nothing of. In a word, the Hebrew is to the Greek what the language of a pedant is to that of an academic.

the law of Moses taught only temporal punishments, extending to the fourth generation; and yet, notwithstanding the positive declaration of God delivered in this law, Ezekiel preached the very contrary to the Jews; telling them, "The son shall not bear the iniquities of the father † †;" and, in another place, he goes

† Ezek. chap. xviii. ver. 20.

† The opinion of Ezekiel was at length the prevailing one of the synagogue; not but that there were always some Jews, who, tho' they believed in a state of eternal punishments, yet believed at the same time that God punished the sins of the fathers upon the children. At present indeed they are punished even beyond the fiftieth generation, and yet are in danger of eternal punishment. It may be asked how the offspring of those Jews who were not concerned in putting Christ to death, can be temporally punished in the persons of their children who were as innocent as themselves? This temporal punishment, or rather this manner of living, so different from all other people, and of trading over the whole earth without having any country of their own, cannot be considered as a punishment, compared with what they are to expect hereafter on account of their unbelief, and which they might avoid by a sincere repentance.

so far as to make God say, that “ he had given
 “ them statutes that were not good, and judge-
 “ ments whereby they should not live §.”

Notwithstanding these contradictions, the book of Ezekiel was not the less admitted into the number of those inspired writers: it is true, that according to St. Jerom, the synagogue did not permit the reading of it till after thirteen years of age; but that was for fear their youth should make a bad use of the too lively description in the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters, of the whoredoms of Aholah and Aholibah.

But when the immortality of the soul became to be a received doctrine †, which was probably

§ Ezek. chap. xx. ver. 25.

† Those who have thought to discover the doctrine of Hell and Heaven, such as it is now believed by us, in the Mosaic books, have been strangely mistaken: their error is owing entirely to an idle dispute about words: The Vulgate having translated the Hebrew word *Sheol*, the pit, by the Latin word, *infernum*, and this latter having been rendered in French by *enfer*, hell, they have taken occasion
 from

about the beginning of the Babylonish captivity, the sect of Sadduces still continued to be-

from this equivocal translation to establish a belief that the antient Hebrews had a notion of the *Hades* and *Tartaros* of the Greeks, known to other nations before them by different appellations.

We are told in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, that the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and they and all that appertained to them went down alive into the pit, or grave; now certainly there is nothing said in this passage concerning the souls of these three persons, nor yet of the torments of hell, nor of eternal punishments.

It is very extraordinary that the authors of the *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique* under the word *Hell* (*Enfer*) should say, that the antient Hebrews believed in its existence. If this is true, there would be an insurmountable contradiction in the Pentateuch; for why should Moses have spoken of the punishments after death in one single passage only, of all his works. On this occasion they quote the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy; but after a mutilated manner. The whole passage is as follows:

I 2

“ They

lieve, that there were no rewards or punishments after death, and that the faculties of the

“ They have moved me to jealousy with that
 “ which is not God, they have provoked me to
 “ anger with their vanities, and I will move them
 “ to jealousy with those that are not a people, I
 “ will provoke them to anger with a foolish na-
 “ tion. For a fire is kindled in my anger, and
 “ shall burn unto the lowest hell ; and shall con-
 “ sume the earth with her increase, and set on fire
 “ the foundations of the mountains. I will heap
 “ mischiefs upon them ; I will spend mine arrows
 “ upon them. They shall be burnt with hunger,
 “ and devoured with burning heat and with bitter
 “ destruction ; I will also send the teeth of beasts
 “ upon them, with the poison of serpents of the
 “ dust.”

But have any or all of these expressions the least relation to the idea of hell-torments ? On the contrary, it seems as if these words were purposely inserted to prove, that our hell was unknown to the antient Jews.

The author of this article quotes also the following passage from the twenty-fourth chapter of Job.
 “ The eye of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight,
 “ saying, no eye shall see me, and disguiseth his
 “ face.

the soul perished with us in like manner as those of the body. They also denied the existence of

“ face. In the dark they dig through houses which
 “ they had marked for themselves in the day-time.
 “ They know not the light, for the morning is to
 “ them as the shadow of death ; if one know them,
 “ they are in the terrors of the shadow of death.
 “ He is swift as the waters, their portion is cursed
 “ in the earth, he beholdeth not the way of the
 “ vineyards. Drowth and heat consume the snow-
 “ waters, so doth the grave those who have sinned.”

I quote these passages entire, otherwise it will be impossible to form a true idea of them. But let me ask if there is the least expression here, from which one may conclude, that Moses ever taught the Jews the clear and simple doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments ?

Not to mention that the book of Job has nothing to do with the Mosaic law, there is great reason to believe that Job himself was not a Jew: this is the opinion of St. Jerom in his Hebrew questions upon Genesis. The word Satan, which occurs in Job, was not known to the Jews, nor is it any where to be found in the five books of Moses. This name, as well as those of Gabriel and Ra-

angels. In a word, they differed much more from the other Jews, than the Protestants do

phael, were entirely unknown to the Jews before their captivity in Babylon. It would appear then that Job is very improperly quoted in this place.

But the last chapter of Isaiah is likewise brought in; where it is said, "And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh."

Certainly, the casting out of these bodies to the view of all passengers, even to abhorring, and their being eaten by worms, can never mean that Moses taught the Jews the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; and the words, "The fire shall not be quenched," can as little signify that the bodies so exposed to public view, were to suffer eternal torments in hell.

How

from the Catholics ; nevertheless, they lived in peaceable communion with their brethren ; and

How can any one quote a passage in *Isaiah*, to prove that the Jews in the time of *Moses* had adopted the doctrine of the immortality of the soul ? According to the Hebrew computation, *Isaiah* prophesied about the year of the world three thousand three hundred and eighty. *Moses* lived about the year 2500, therefore there was a distance of eight centuries between the one and the other ; now it is an insult upon common sense, a downright mockery, thus to abuse the license of quoting, by pretending to prove, that a writer was of this or that opinion, from a passage in another writer who lived eight hundred years after him, and who has not even made any mention of such opinion. It is beyond contradiction, that the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments after death, are clearly and positively expressed, and declared in the New-Testament, and it is equally certain, that nothing concerning them is to be found in any one part of the five books of *Moses*.

Notwithstanding that, the Jews did afterwards embrace this doctrine ; they were far from having a proper idea of the spirituality of the soul ; they

some of their sect were admitted to the high-priesthood.

thought in common with most other nations, that the soul was an uncompounded aërial light substance, that retained the appearance of the body it had formerly animated ; and hence came the term apparition, manes of the dead. Several fathers of the church were of the same opinion. Tertullian, in his twenty-second chapter, *De Animâ*, expresses himself thus : “ *Definimus animam Dei flatu*
 “ *natam, immortalem, corporalem, effigiatam,*
 “ *substantia simplicem ;*” that is, “ We define the
 “ soul a substance, formed by the breath of God ;
 “ of an immortal, corporeal, figurative, and sim-
 “ ple nature.”

St. Ireneus in the thirty-fourth chapter of his second book, says, “ *Incorporales sunt animæ quan-*
 “ *tum ad comparationem mortalium corporum.*”
 “ Souls are incorporeal in comparison of mortal
 “ bodies.” Adding, “ Christ has taught us, that
 “ the soul retains the image of the body ;” “ *Ca-*
 “ *racterem corporum in quo adoptantur, &c.*”
 Christ does not appear ever to have taught such a doctrine, and it is difficult to understand what St. Ireneus means in this passage.

St. Hilary, in his commentary on St. Matthew, is still more express and positive; he roundly asserts the soul to have have a corporeal substance, "*Corpoream naturæ suæ substantiam fortiuntur.*"

St. Ambrose on Abraham, book ii. chap. viii. will have it that there is nothing free from matter, unless it be the substance of the Blessed Trinity.

These reverend fathers seem to have been very indifferent philosophers; but there is the greatest reason to believe, that their divinity was in the main very sound; inasmuch, as notwithstanding their ignorance of the incomprehensible nature of the soul, they asserted it to be immortal, and endeavoured to make it Christian.

We know that the soul is of a spiritual nature, but we do not at all know what spirit is. We are very imperfectly acquainted with matter, nor is it possible for us to have a distinct idea of what is not matter. Hardly capable of understanding what effects our senses have, we cannot of ourselves know any thing of what surpasses the bound of those senses. We carry some few words of our common language into the inexorable depths of metaphysics and divinity, in order to acquire some slight idea of those things, which we could never conceive or express; and

we use those words as props to support the steps of our feeble understandings, in travelling through those unknown regions.

Thus we make use of the word spirit, which is the same as breath or air, to express something which is not matter; and this word breath, air, spirit, inspiring us insensibly with an idea of an uncompounded and light substance, we still refine upon this as much as possible, in order to obtain a proper conception of pure and simple spirituality; but we shall never be able to obtain a distinct notion of this: we do not even know what we say, when we pronounce the word substance; in its literal signification, it signifies something beneath, and thereby shews us that it is incomprehensible; for what is meant by that which is beneath? The knowledge of the secrets of God is not to be acquired in this life. Plunged as we are in mortal obscurity, we fight against each other, and strike at random in the darkness with which we are surrounded, without precisely knowing for what we are fighting.

If mankind would consider all this with attention, every reasonable person will be ready to conclude, that we ought to have the greatest indulgence for the opinions of others, and by our conduct, endeavour to merit the same from them.

The

The Pharisees held fatality or predestination †,
and

The above remarks are not at all foreign to the principal point in question, which is to know whether men are bound to tolerate each other; inasmuch, as by proving that in all times those of different opinions have been alike mistaken, it appears to have been the duty of all mankind in every age, to treat each other with kindness and forbearance.

† The doctrine of predestination is both of long standing and universal; we find it in Homer. Jupiter was desirous to save the life of his son Sarpedon; but Destiny had marked him for death, and Jupiter was obliged to submit. Destiny was with the philosophers, either the necessary concatenation of causes and effects necessarily produced by nature, or that same concatenation ordained by Providence; the latter of which is most reasonable. We find the whole system of fatality, or predestination comprized in this line of Annæus Seneca: “Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.” It has been always acknowledged, that God governs the universe by eternal, universal, and immutable laws: this truth gave rise to the many

and believed in the Metempsychosis §, the Essenians thought that the souls of the just went

unintelligible disputes concerning free-will, which had never been defined before the great philosopher Lock arose, who has proved it to be the power of acting. God bestows this power, and man, acting freely according to the eternal decrees of Providence, is one of the wheels of the great machine of the universe. Free-will has been a subject of disputation from all antiquity; but no one 'till of late times, was ever persecuted on this subject. How horrible, how absurd is it to have imprisoned and banished on account of this dispute, a Pomponne d'Andilly, an Arnaud, a Nicole, a Sacy, and so many others who were the shining lights of France!

§ The Theological Romance of the Metempsychosis came from India, a part of the world to which we are indebted for many more fables than is generally believed. We find this doctrine explained by that beautiful poet Ovid, in the twelfth book of his Metamorphoses. It has been received in almost every part of the world, and has every where met with its opposers: nevertheless, we do not find that any priest among the antients ever procured a disciple of Pythagoras to be sent to prison.

into

into some happy islands †, and those of the

† Neither the antient Jews, the Egyptians, nor the Greeks, their cotemporaries, believed that the soul of man went to heaven after death. The Jews thought, that the sun and moon were placed some leagues above us in the same circle, and that the firmament was a thick and solid vault, which supported the weight of the waters, that however sometimes ran out through the crevices in this vault. The antient Greeks placed the palace of their gods upon mount Olympus. And the abode of heroes after death, was in Homer's time, thought to be in an island beyond the ocean. This likewise was the opinion of the Essenians.

After Homer, planets were assigned to the gods ; but there was no more reason for men to place a god in the moon, than for the inhabitants of the moon to place a god in our planet of the earth. Juno and Iris had no other palaces assigned them but the clouds, where there was no place to rest the sole of their feet. Among the Sabeans, every deity had its star. But as the stars are little suns, it would be impossible to live there, without partaking of the nature of fire. Upon the whole, then, it is very needless to enquire what the antients thought of heaven ; since the best answer that can be given is, they thought nothing about it.

wicked

wicked into a kind of Tartarus or Hell. They offered no sacrifices ; and assembled together in particular synagogues of their own. In a word, if we examine nicely into the Jewish œconomy, we shall be surprized to find the most extensive toleration prevailing amidst the most shocking barbarities. This is indeed a contradiction, but almost all people have been governed by contradictions. Happy are those whose manners are mild, while their laws are bloody !

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

If NON-TOLERATION was taught by CHRIST.

LET us now see whether Christ established sanguinary laws, whether he enjoined non-toleration, instituted the horrors of the inquisition, or the butchery of an Auto-da-fé.

There are, unless I am much mistaken, very few passages in the New-Testament from which the spirit of persecution can have inferred that tyranny and constraint in religious matters are permitted : one is the parable, wherein the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king who made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to invite guests to the wedding, saying, “ tell them which were bidden, “ my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all “ things are ready, come unto the marriage ||.” But those who were bidden, made light of the invitation, one going to his farm, and another to his business ; and the rest of them took the king’s servants and slew them. Upon which

|| Matth. ch. xxii. v. 1—13.

he

he sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city. After this he sent out into the highways, to invite all that could be found to come to the marriage ; but one of the guests happening to sit down to table without a wedding-garment, the king ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness.

But it is clear, that this allegory relates only to the kingdom of heaven ; therefore, assuredly no man can assume a right from thence to fetter or imprison his neighbour who should come to dine with him, without being properly dressed ; nor do I believe, that history furnishes us with any instance of a prince causing one of his courtiers to be hanged upon such an occasion : and there is little reason to apprehend, that when the emperor send his pages to any of the princes of the empire to invite them to an entertainment, those princes should fall upon the pages and kill them.

The invitation to the marriage-feast, is a type of the preaching of the gospel ; and the murder of the king's servants, is figurative of the persecution of those who preach wisdom and virtue.

The

The other parable is that of a private person who made a great supper, to which he invited many of his friends †, and when he was ready to sit down to table, sent his servants to tell them that all things was ready; but one excused himself, by saying, that he had bought a piece of ground, and must needs go and see it; an excuse which was not admiffible, as no one goes to visit their lands in the night-time; another said he had bought five yoke of oxen, and was going to prove them; he was as much to blame as the other, since no one would go to prove oxen at supper-time: the third said he had married a wife, and could not come; this last was certainly a very good excuse. The master of the house being very angry at this disappointment, told his servants to go into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in the poor, and the maimed, the halt, and the blind; this being done, and finding that there was yet room, he said unto his servant, “Go out into
“the highways and hedges, and compel them
“ (that you find) to come in.”

It is true, that we are not expressly told that this parable is a type of the kingdom of heaven, and the words “compel them to come in,”

† St. Luke, chap. xiv.

have been perverted to very bad purposes ; but it is very evident, that one single servant could not *forcibly* compel every person he met to come and sup with his master ; besides, the company of people so compelled would not have made the supper very agreeable. “ Compel them to come in,” therefore, means nothing more, according to commentators of the best reputation, than pray, desire, press them to come in ; therefore what connection, for heaven-sake, can prayers and invitations have with persecution ?

But to take things in a literal sense, is it necessary to be maimed, halt, and blind, or to be compelled by force to enter into the bosom of the church ? Christ says in the same parable, “ When thou makest a dinner, or a supper, call “ not thy friends nor thy brethren, nor thy rich “ kinsmen ;” but did any one ever infer from thence, that we should never dine or sup with our friends or kinsmen, if they happen to be worth money ?

Our Saviour, after this parable of the feast, says, “ If any man come to me, and hate not “ his father and mother, his wife and children, “ his brethren and sisters, yea, and his own “ life also, he cannot be my disciple, &c.” But

is there any person living so unnatural to conclude from hence, that he ought to hate his father and mother and his nearest relations? And is it not evident to one of the meanest capacity, that the true interpretation of these words is, hesitate not between me, and your dearest affections?

The following passages in the eighth chapter of St. Matthew is also quoted; "Whosoever heareth not the word of God shall be like to
 "an heathen, and like one who sitteth at the
 "receipt of custom;" but certainly, this is not saying that we ought to persecute all unbelievers and custom-house officers; they are frequently cursed indeed, but they are not delivered up the arm of secular power. And so far from depriving the latter of any part of the prerogatives of citizens, they are indulged with the greatest privileges; and though their profession is the only one condemned in scripture, it is of all others the most protected and favoured by every government. Why then should not we show some indulgence to our brethren who are unbelievers, while we load with benefits our brethren the tax-gatherers?

Ano-

Another passage which has been grossly abused, is that in St. Matthew and St. Mark, where we are told, that Jesus being hungry in the morning, and coming to a fig-tree which had no leaves, (for it was not the time of figs) Jesus cursed the tree, and it immediately dried up.

This miracle has been explained several different ways; but not one of them appears to authorize persecution. Tho' a fig-tree could not be expected to bear fruit in the beginning of March, yet we find it blasted: but is that a reason why we should blast our brethren with affliction in all seasons of the year? When we meet with any thing in holy writing that may occasion doubts in our vain and inquisitive minds, we should pay it all due reverence, but let us not make use of it to countenance cruelty and persecution.

The spirit of persecution which perverts every thing, has also strained in its own vindication the story of Christ driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and that of his sending a legion of devils out of the body of the man possessed with an evil spirit into two thousand unclean animals; but cannot any one perceive, that these two instances were no
other

other than acts of justice, which God himself deigned to execute for a contravention of his law? It was a disrespect shown to the house of the Lord, to change his dwelling into a market for buyers and sellers. And although the Sanhedrim and its priests might permit this traffic for the greater convenience of their sacrifices; yet the God to whom these sacrifices were offered, might, doubtless, though under a human shape, overturn this profane practice. In the same manner might he punish those who brought into the country whole troops of those animals which were prohibited by that law, of which he himself deigned to be an observer. These two examples then have not the least connection with persecution for religion-sake; and the spirit of non-toleration must certainly be founded upon very false principles, when it every where seeks such idle pretexts.

Christ, in almost every other part of his gospel, both by his words and actions, preaches up mildness, forbearance, and indulgence. Witness the father who receives his prodigal son; and the workman who comes at the last hour, and yet is paid as much as the others; witness the charitable Samaritan; and Christ himself,
 who

who excuses his disciples for not fasting ; who pardons the woman who had sinned ; and only recommends fidelity for the future to the woman caught in adultery. He even condescends to partake of the innocent mirth of those who are met at the marriage-feast in Cana, and who being already warmed with wine, and wanting still more, Christ is pleased to perform a miracle in their favour, by changing their water into wine. He is not even incensed against Judas, who he knew to be about to betray him ; he commands Peter never to make use of the sword, and reprimands the sons of Zebedee, who, after the example of Elias, wanted to call down fire from heaven to consume a town in which they had been refused a lodging. In a word, he himself died a victim to malice and persecution ; and, if one might dare to compare God with a mortal, and sacred things with prophane, his death, humanly speaking, had a great resemblance to that of Socrates. The Greek philosopher suffered by the hatred of the sophists, the priests, and the heads of the people ; the Christian law-giver by that of the Scribes, Pharisees, and priests. Socrates might have avoided death, but would not ; Christ offered himself a voluntary sacrifice. The Greek philosopher not only pardoned his false accusers and

and iniquitous judges, he even desired them to treat his children as they had done himself, should they be one day happy enough, like him, to deserve their hatred. The Christian law-giver, infinitely superior to the heathen, befought his father to forgive his enemies. If Christ seemed to fear death, and that the agonies he was in at its approach, drew from him sweat mixed with blood, which is the most violent and rare of all symptoms, it was because he condescended to submit to every weakness of the human frame which he had taken upon him; his body trembled, but his soul was unshaken. By his example we may learn, that true fortitude and greatness consist in supporting those evils at which our nature shrinks. It is the height of courage to meet death at the same time that we fear it.

Socrates accused the sophists of ignorance, and convicted them of falsehood: Jesus, in his Godlike character, accused the Scribes and Pharisees of being hypocrites, blind guides and fools, and a race of vipers and serpents.

Socrates was not accused of attempting to found a new sect; nor was Christ charged with endeavouring to introduce a new one. We are told

told in St. Matthew, that the great men and the priests, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus to put him to death.

Now, if they were obliged to seek for false witnesses, they could not charge him with having preached openly against the law; besides, it was evident, that he complied in every respect with the Mosaic law, from his birth to his death. He was circumcised the eighth day like other Jewish children; he was baptized in Jordan, agreeable to a ceremony held sacred among the Jews, and among all the other people of the East. All impurities of the law were cleansed by baptism; it was in this manner their priests were consecrated at the solemn feast of the expiation, every one plunged himself in the water, and all new-made proselytes underwent the same ceremony.

Moreover, Jesus observed all the points of the law; he feasted every sabbath-day, and he abstained from forbidden meats; he kept all the festivals, and even before his death, he celebrated that of the passover; he was not accused of embracing any new opinion, nor of observing any strange rites. Born an Israelite, he always lived as an Israelite.

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He was accused indeed by two witnesses, of having said that he could destroy the temple, and build it up again in three days; a speech altogether unintelligible to the carnal Jews, but which did not amount to an accusation of seeking to found a new sect.

When he was examined before the high-priest, this latter said to him, "I command you, in the name of the living God, to tell us if thou art Christ, the son of God." We are not told what the high-priest meant by the son of God. This expression was sometimes made use of to signify a just or upright man *, in the

* It was indeed very difficult, not to say impossible, for the Jews to comprehend, without an immediate revelation, the ineffable mystery of the incarnation of God, the son of God. In the sixth chapter of Genesis, we find the sons of great men called "the sons of God." In like manner the royal Psalmist calls the tall cedars, "the cedars of God." Samuel says, "the fear of God fell upon the people;" that is, a violent fear seized them. A great tempest is called the wind of the Lord, and Saul's distemper, the melancholy of the Lord. Nevertheless, the Jews seemed to

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have

same manner as the words son of Belial, to signify a wicked person. The carnal Jews had no idea of the sacred mystery of the son of God, God himself, coming upon earth.

Jesus answered the high-priest, “ thou hast said ; nevertheless, I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven †.”

This answer was looked upon by the whole assembly as a blasphemy. But the Sanhedrim having no longer the power of life and death, they falsely accused Jesus before the Roman governor of the province, of being a disturber of the public peace, and one who said they should

have clearly understood that our Saviour called himself the son of God in the proper sense of that word; and if they looked upon this as a blasphemous expression, it is an additional proof of their ignorance of the incarnation, and of God, the son of God, being sent upon earth for the redemption of mankind.

† Matthew, chap. xxvi. ver. 61—64.

not pay tribute to Cæsar ; and moreover, called himself king of the Jews. It is therefore incontestibly evident, that he was accused of a crime against the state.

Pilate being informed that he was a Gallilean, sent him immediately to Herod, the tetrarch of Gallilee. This latter thinking it impossible that a person of Jesus's appearance should pretend to be the head of a party, or aspire to royalty, treated him with great contempt, and sent him back again to Pilate, who had the infamous weakness to condemn him to death, as the only means to appease the tumult raised against himself ; more especially as he had lately experienced the revolt of the Jews, as we are told by Josephus. On this occasion Pilate did not show the same generosity which the governor Festus did afterwards.

I now desire to know, whether toleration or non-toleration appears to be of divine prescription? Let those who would resemble Christ, be martyrs, and not executioners.

C H A P. XV.

TESTIMONIES against PERSECUTION.

IT is an impious act to deprive men of liberty in matters of religion, or prevent them from making choice of a God. No God nor man would be pleased with a forced service. (*Apologetic* chap. xxiv.)

Was violence to be used in defence of the faith, the bishops would oppose it. (*St. Hilarius*, lib. i.)

Religion when forced ceases to be religion ; we should persuade and not compel. Religion cannot be commanded. (*Lactantius*, lib. iii.)

It is detestable heresy to endeavour to bring over by violence, bodily punishments, or imprisonments, those whom we cannot convince by reasoning. (*St. Athanasius*, lib. i.)

Nothing

Nothing is more contradictory to true religion than constraint. (*St. Justin, Martyr, lib. v.*)

Is it for us to persecute those whom God tolerates? said St. Augustine, before his dispute with the Donatists had soured his disposition.

Let no violence be done to the Jews. (*The 56th Canon of the 4th Council of Toledo.*)

Advise but compel not. (*St. Barnard's Letters.*)

We do not pretend to overcome error by violence. (*Speech of the Clergy of France to Lewis XIV.*)

We have always disapproved of rigorous measures. (*Assembly of the Clergy, August 11, 1560.*)

We know that faith may yield to persuasion, but it never will be controuled. (*Flecbier bishop of Nime's, Letter, 19.*)

We ought to abstain even from reproachful speeches. (*Bishop of Balley's Pastoral Letters.*)

Remember that the diseases of the soul are not to be cured by restraint and violence. (*Cardinal Camus' Pastoral Instructions for the Year 1688.*)

Indulge every one with civil toleration, (*Archbishop Fenelon to the Duke of Burgundy.*)

Compulsion in religion proves the spirit, which dictates it to be an enemy to truth. (*Dirois, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, b. vi. chap. iv*)

Compulsion may make hypocrites, but never can persuade. (*Tellement's Hist. Eccles. tom. vi.*)

We have thought it conformable to equity and right reason, to walk in the paths of the antient church, which never used violence to establish or extend religion. (*Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris to Henry II.*)

Experience teaches us, that violence is more likely to irritate, than to cure a distemper which is seated in the mind. (*De Thou's Epistle Dedicatory to Henry IV.*)

Faith

Faith is not inspired by the edge of the sword. (*Ceresier in the Reigns of Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.*)

It is a barbarous zeal which pretends to force any religion upon the mind, as if persuasion could be produced by constraint. (*Boulaingvillier's State of France.*)

It is with religion as with love; command can do nothing, constraint still less; nothing is so independent as love and belief. (*Amelot de la Houssaie on Cardinal Ossatt's Letters.*)

If providence has been so kind to you as to give you a knowledge of the truth, receive it as an instance of his great goodness; but should those who enjoy the inheritance of their father, hate those who do not? (*Spirit of Laws, book xxv.*)

One might compose an immense volume of such passages. All our histories, discourses, sermons, moral treatises, and catechisms of the present time, abound with, and inculcate this holy doctrine of indulgence. What fatality, what false reason, then leads us to contradict, by our practice, the theory we are every day

teaching? When our actions give the lie to our morals, it must certainly proceed from our thinking it our interest to practise the contrary of what we teach; but what advantage can arise from persecuting those who do not think in the same manner as we do, and thereby making ourselves hated by them? Once more then, let me repeat it, there is the highest absurdity in persecution. It may be replied, that those who found it their interest to lay a restraint upon the consciences of others, are not absurd in so doing. To such men I address the following chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P XVI.

† CONVERSATION between a DYING MAN,
and one in good health.

AN inhabitant of a country village, lying at the point of death, was visited by a person in good health, who came to insult him in his last moments with the following speech.

Wretch that thou art ! think as I do this instant, sign this writing immediately, confess that five propositions are to be found in a book that neither thou nor I have ever read ; adopt immediately the opinion of Lanfranc against Berengarius, and of St. Thomas against St. Bonaventure ; join with the council of Nice against the council of Frankfort ; and explain to me out of hand, how the words, “ My father is greater than me,” signify exactly, “ I am as great as him.” Tell me also in what manner the father communicates all his attributes to the son, excepting the fatherhood ; or I will have have thy body thrown to the fowls of the air, thy children deprived of their inheritance, thy wife of her dowry, and thy family turned out to beg
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their bread, which shall be refused them by those who are like myself.

CRUEL MAN. DYING MAN. A

I scarce understand what you say; your threats strike my ears confusedly, they trouble my mind, and render my last moments terrifying. In the name of God have pity on me!

CRUEL MAN.

Pity! I can have none for thee, unless thou art exactly of my opinion.

DYING MAN:

Alas! you must be sensible that in these my last moments, my senses are all impaired, the doors of my understanding are shut, my ideas are lost in confusion, and I have hardly any sentiments remaining. Am I then in a condition to dispute?

CRUEL MAN.

Well then, if thou can'st not believe as I would have thee, only say that you do, and that will content me.

DYING

DYING MAN.

How! would you have me perjure myself, to please you, when I am going in an instant to appear before the judgment-seat of that God who is the avenger of perjury?

CRUEL MAN.

No matter; thou wilt have the pleasure to be interred in holy ground, and thy wife and children will have wherewithal to maintain them after thy death. Die an hypocrite: hypocrisy is a very good thing; I have heard say, it is the homage which vice pays to virtue. A little hypocrisy, friend, can't cost you much?

DYING MAN.

Surely, you must either not acknowledge a God, or hold him very cheap, since you require me to tell a lie with my last breath, when you yourself must soon appear in judgment before him, and answer for that lie.

CRUEL MAN.

Insolent wretch ! dost thou say that I do not acknowledge a God ?

DYING MAN.

Pardon me, brother, I rather fear you do not know him. The God whom I adore, lends me at this time an increase of strength, to tell you with my dying words, that if you believe in him, you ought to behave towards me with charity. He has given me my wife and children, do not you make them perish with misery. As for my body, do with it as seems good to you ; I leave it at your disposal ; but let me conjure you to believe in God.

CRUEL MAN:

Come, come, truce with your reasoning, and do as I bid you ; I will have it so ; I command you to do it.

DYING MAN.

But what advantage can you have in thus tormenting me ?

CRUEL

CRUEL MAN.

What advantage! why, if I can make you
sign, it will be worth a good canonship to me.

DYING MAN.

Ah! brother; my last moment approaches;
I am expiring; but I will pray to God to touch
your heart, that you may be converted.

CRUEL MAN.

The devil take the impertinent puppy he has
not signed after all! Well, I'll e'en sign for him,
it is but a little forgery.

The following letter is a confirmation of the
above doctrine.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

A LETTER from a Beneficed Priest, to Father
LE TELLIER, the Jesuit, dated the 6th of
May, 1714.

Reverend Father,

THE following is in obedience to the orders I received from your reverence, to lay before you the most effectual means for delivering Jesus and his company from their enemies.

I believe there may be remaining at this time in the kingdom not more than five hundred thousand Hugonots, some say a million, others a million and a half; but let the number be what what it will, the following is my advice; which, however, as in duty bound, I submit with all humility to your reverence's judgment.

In the first place then, it will be very easy to seize in one day all the preachers, and to hang them all at one time and in one place, which
will

will not only be a very edifying, but also a very entertaining exhibition to the people.

Secondly, I would have all the fathers and mothers who are heretics murdered in their beds, because the killing them in the streets might occasion some little disturbance; besides, by that means several of them might escape, which is above all to be prevented. This execution is a necessary corollary of our principles; for if we ought to kill a heretic, as so many of our great divines have incontestably proved, it is evident, that we ought to kill them all without exception.

Thirdly, I would the very next day, marry all the daughters to good catholics, inasmuch as it would not be politic to depopulate the state so much after the late war; but as for the boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age, who have already imbibed bad principles, which we cannot hope to root out, 'tis my opinion that they should be all castrated, to prevent the race from being ever reproduced. As for the other younger lads, they may be brought up in our colleges, where they may be whipped till they have learnt by heart the works of Sanchez and Molinos.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, I think, under correction, the same method ought to be taken with all the Lutherans of Alsace, for I remember in the year 1704, to have seen two old women of that country laugh on the day of our defeat at Blenheim.

Fifthly, What relates to the Jansenists will perhaps appear a little more difficult: I believe their numbers may amount to about six millions, a little more or less; but this ought not to give any alarm to a person of your reverence's disposition. I reckon among the Jansenists all the parliaments who have so unworthily maintained the liberties of the Gallican church. I leave it to your reverence to weigh with your usual prudence, the most effectual methods for reducing these turbulent spirits. The gunpowder-plot failed of the desired success, thro' the weakness of one of the conspirators, who wanted to save the life of his friend: but, as your reverence has no friend, the same inconvenience is not to be apprehended; you may very easily blow up all the parliaments in the kingdom with the composition called Pulvis Pyrius, invented by the monk Schwartz. By my calculation, it will require upon an average thirty-six barrels of powder for each of the parliaments; now if we multiply thirty-

fix, the number of barrels, by twelve, the number of parliaments, it will make four hundred and thirty-two barrels, which, at a hundred crowns per barrel, will amount to not quite a hundred and thirty thousand livres; a mere trifle for the reverend father-general.

The parliaments thus disposed of, you may bestow their places upon your congregationists, who are perfectly well versed in the laws of the realm.

Sixthly, It will be a very easy matter to poison the cardinal de Noailles, who is a very simple, unsuspecting man.

Your reverence may take the same steps for conversion with several of the refractory prelates; and their bishoprics, by a brief from the pope, may be put into the hands of the Jesuits: thus all the bishops that remain being staunch to the good cause, and they making a proper choice of curates, I, with your reverence's permission, would give the following advice:

Seventhly and lastly, As the Jansenists are said to take the sacrament one time in the year at least, which is at Easter, it would not be amiss

amiss to season the consecrated wafers with a little of that drug which was used to do justice upon the emperor Henry VII. Some nice caviller may perhaps tell me, that in this operation we may run some risque in poisoning the Molinists at the same time; there is some weight in this objection: but then it should be considered, that there is no project without its inconveniencies; nor any system; but what threatens destruction in some part. And if we were to be stopped by these little difficulties, we should never attain our end in any thing: besides, as here we have in view the obtaining the greatest of all possible advantages, we should not suffer ourselves to be shocked, though it brings with it some bad consequences, especially as those consequences are of little or no consideration.

And after all, we shall have nothing to reproach ourselves with, since it is proved, that the Reformed, as they call themselves; and the Jansenists, have all of them their portion in hell; therefore, we only put them in possession of their inheritance a little the sooner.

It is as evident, that heaven belongs of right to the Molinists; therefore by destroying them
by

by mistake, and without any evil intention, we hasten their happiness; and are in both cases the ministers of Providence.

As to those who may be a little shocked at the number to be thus made away with, your reverence may remark to them, that from the first flourishing days of the church to the year 1707, that is to say, in about fourteen hundred years, religion has occasioned the massacre of upwards of fifty millions of persons; whereas by my proposal, not above six millions and a half will be put to death by the halter, the dagger, or poison.

But perhaps it may be objected, that my calculation is not just, and that I have committed an error against the Rule of Three; inasmuch, as, that if in fourteen hundred years, there perished fifty millions of souls, on account of some trifling disputes in divinity, that makes only thirty-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen, and some little fraction in a year, and consequently, that by my method an overplus of six millions sixty-four thousand two hundred and eighty-five and some fractions, are put to death in the current year. But indeed, this a very childish quibble; nay, I'll even call it impious: for

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for is it not plain, that by my method, I save the lives of all the Catholics, so long as the world shall last? But in short, there would be no end of answering every frivolous objection.

I am,

With the most profound Respect,

Reverend Father,

Your Reverence's

Most humble,

Most devout,

And most humane R——

Native of Angoulême,

Prefect of the Congregation,

This glorious scheme however could not be carried into execution, because it required a considerable time to make the necessary dispositions, and that father Le Tellier was banished the year following. But as it is right to examine both sides of an argument, it will be proper to enquire in what cases it may be lawful to follow in part the scheme of the reverend father's

father's correspondent. It would seem rather too severe to execute it in all its parts: let us therefore examine in what cases we ought to break upon the wheel, to hang, or to make galley-slaves of those who differ from us in opinion. This shall be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The only CASES in which NON-TOLERATION
makes Part of the Human Law.

FOR a government not to have a right to punish men for their errors, it is necessary that those errors should not be crimes; and they are crimes only when they disturb the public tranquillity; which they do whenever they inspire enthusiasm: it is necessary therefore that that men should begin by laying aside enthusiasm, in order to deserve toleration.

If a number of young Jesuits, knowing that the church holds all reprobates and heretics in detestation, and that the opinion of the Jansenists having been condemned by a bull, this sect is consequently reprobate; thereupon go and set fire to the house of the fathers of the oratory, because Quesnel one of that body was a Jansenist; it is clear, that the government would be obliged to punish those Jesuits.

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In like manner, if these latter have been found to teach the most reprehensible doctrines, and if their institution appears contrary to the laws of the kingdom, it becomes necessary to abolish their society, and of Jesuits to make them useful citizens: which, in fact, so far from being an oppression upon them, as has been pretended, is a real good done them; for where is the great oppression of being obliged to wear a short coat instead of a long gown, or to be free instead of being a slave? In time of peace, whole regiments are broke without complaining; why then should the Jesuits make such an outcry, when they are broke for the sake of peace?

Were the Franciscans in a transport of holy zeal for the Virgin Mary, to go and pull down the church of the Dominicans, who hold Mary to have been born in original sin, the government would then be obliged to treat the Franciscans much in the same manner it has done the Jesuits.

The same argument will hold good with regard to the Lutherans and Calvinists; for let them say, if they please, we follow the dictates of our consciences, it is more profitable

to obey God than man; we are the only true flock, and therefore ought to cut off all the wolves. It is evident that in this case they themselves are the wolves.

One of the most astonishing examples of enthusiasm, was in a little sect of Denmark, founded on one of the best principles in the world; for these people endeavoured to procure the eternal happiness of all their brethren: but the consequences of this principle were very singular. As they believed that all the young children who died without baptism were damned, and that those who had the happiness to die immediately after the receiving that sacrament, enter into eternal happiness, they went forth and murdered all the young children of both sexes lately baptized whom they could meet with; by this action, they doubtless procured the little innocents the greatest of all felicity, by preserving them at once from sin, the miseries of this life, and hell, and sending them infallibly to heaven. But these people, in the excess of their charitable zeal, did not consider that it is forbidden to do evil that good may come thereof; that they had no right over the lives of these infants; that the greatest part of sa-
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thers and mothers are so carnal, as to desire rather to keep their children about them, than to see their throats cut, though it was to send them to heaven ; and lastly, that it is the duty of the magistrate to punish murder, though committed with a good intent.

It should seem that the Jews had the greatest right of any persons to rob and murder us : for although the Old Testament abounds with examples of toleration and indulgence, yet are there several instances of the contrary, and some very severe laws. God did at times command his people to kill all idolaters, reserving only the young women fit for the nuptial state : they look upon us as idolaters ; and notwithstanding that we at present tolerate them, they might certainly, had they the power in their hands, cut us all off, excepting our young women.

Moreover, they would be under an indispensable obligation to exterminate the whole Turkish race ; this speaks itself ; for the Turks are at present in possession of the countries of the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, &c. &c. All which people were laid under a curse, and all their

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country, which was about five and twenty leagues in extent, was given to the Jews by several successive covenants; consequently they ought to resume possession of their own, which the Turks have usurped from them for upwards of a thousand years. But if the Jews were to reason in this manner now-a-days, it is pretty certain we should make them no other answer, but by impaling them alive.

These are the only cases in which persecution appears reasonable.

C H A P. XIX.

ACCOUNT of a Controversial Dispute dispute
which happened in CHINA.

IN the beginning of the reign of the great emperor Cam-hi, a mandarin of the city of Canton hearing a great noise and outcry in the house adjoining to that he dwelt in, sent to know if they were murdering any one ; but was told that it was only a Danish almoner, a Dutch chaplain, and a Jesuit disputing together ; upon which he ordered them to be brought before him, and enquired of them the occasion of their quarrel ?

The Jesuit, who was the first that spoke, said, that it was a very grievous thing to him, who was always in the right, to have to do with people who were always in the wrong ; that he had at first began to reason with them with the greatest coolness ; but that, at length, he could not but own his patience had left him.

The mandarin then represented to all three, with all imaginable candour, how necessary it

to observe decorum and good manners even in disputation; he told them that no one ever gave way to heats or passion in China, and desired to be informed of the nature of their dispute?

My lord, said the Jesuit, I take you for judge in this affair. These two gentlemen refuse to submit to the decisions of the council of Trent.

I am surpris'd at that, replied the Mandarin. Then turning towards the two refractory parties, Gentlemen, said he, you ought to shew a deference to the opinion of a great assembly; I do not know what the council of Trent is; but a number of persons must always have opportunities of knowing better than one single man. No one ought to imagine that he knows more than all others, and that reason dwells only with him: this is the doctrine of our great Confucius; therefore, if you would take my advice, abide by what the council of Trent has decreed.

The Dane then began to speak in his turn. Your Excellence, said he, has delivered yourself with great wisdom and prudence: we have all that respect for great assemblies that we ought;

ought ; and accordingly we submit entirely to the opinions of several councils that were held at the same time with that of Trent.

Oh ! if that is the case, said the Mandarin, I ask your pardon, you may doubtless be in the right. So then, it seems you and the Dutchman are of one opinion against the Jesuit.

Not in the least, answered the Dutchman, this man here (pointing to the Dane) entertains notions almost as extravagant as those of the Jesuit, who pretends to so much mildness before you. 'Sblood ! there is no bearing this with patience !

I cannot conceive what you mean, said the Mandarin ; are you not all three Christians ? are you not all three come to teach the Christian religion in our empire ? and ought you not consequently to have all the same tenets ?

You see how it is, my lord, said the Jesuit : these two men here, are mortal enemies to each other ; and yet both of them dispute against me ; this makes it clear, that they are both in the wrong, and that reason is on my side.

I do not think it is so very clear, replied the Mandarin, for it may very well happen that you are all three in the wrong. But I should be glad to hear your arguments singly.

The Jesuit then made a long discourse, while the Dutchman and the Dane at every period shrugged up their shoulders, and the Mandarin could not make any thing of what he heard. The Dane now took the lead in his turn, while his two adversaries looked upon him with manifest signs of contempt; and the Mandarin, when he had finished, remained as wise as before. The Dutchman had the same success. At length, they began to talk all three together, and broke out into the most scurrilous revilings. The honest Mandarin could hardly get in a word; at length he dismissed them, saying, If you expect to have your doctrine tolerated here, begin by shewing an example of it to each other.

At leaving the house, the Jesuit met with a Dominican missionary, to whom he related what had passed; and told him, that he had gained his cause; for you may be assured, added he, that truth will always prevail. The Domini-

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can replied, Had I been there, friend, you would not so easily have gained your cause; for I should have proved you to be an idolator and a liar. Upon this, there arose a violent dispute between them; and the Jesuit and the Friar went to fifty-cuffs. The Mandarin being informed of this scandalous behaviour, ordered them both to be sent to prison. A sub-mandarin asked his Excellence, how long he would please to have them remain in confinement? Till they are both agreed, said the judge. Then, my lord, answered the sub-mandarin, they will remain in prison all their days. Well then, said the Mandarin, let them stay till they forgive one another. That they will never do, rejoined the deputy, I know them very well. Indeed! said the Mandarin; then let it be till they appear so to do.

C H A P. XX.

Whether it is of Service to indulge the People
in SUPERSTITION.

SUCH is the weakness and perversity of the human race, that it is undoubtedly more eligible for them to be subject to every possible kind of superstition, provided it is not of a bloody nature, than to live without religion. Man has always stood in need of a curb; and though it was certainly very ridiculous to sacrifice to fauns, satyrs, and naiads, yet it was more reasonable and advantageous to adore even those fantastic images of the Deity, than to be given up to atheism. An atheist of any capacity and invested with power, would be as dreadful a scourge to the rest of mankind, as the most bloody enthusiast.

When men have not true notions of the Deity, false ideas must supply their place, like as in troublesome and calamitous times, we are obliged to trade with base money when good is not to be procured. The heathens were afraid of committing crimes, lest they should be punish-

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ed by their false gods. The Malabar dreads the anger of his pagods. Wherever there is a fixed community, religion is necessary; the laws are a curb upon open crimes, and religion upon private ones.

But when once men have embraced a pure and holy religion, superstition then becomes not only needless, but very hurtful. Those whom God has been pleased to nourish with bread, ought not to be fed upon acorns.

Superstition is to religion what astrology is to astronomy, the foolish daughter of a wise mother. These two daughters however have for a long time governed this world with uncontrollable sway.

In those dark and barbarous times amongst us, when there were hardly two feudal lords who had a New-Testament in their houses, it might be pardonable to present the common people with fables; I mean those feudal lords, their ignorant wives, and brutish vassals. They were then made to believe, that St. Christopher carried the child Jesus on his shoulders from one side of the river to the other: they were entertained with stories of witches and witchcraft; they readily believed that St. Genou

cured the gout, and St. Clara fore eyes. The children believed in hobgoblins, and their fathers in St. Francis' girdle; and relicks swarmed out of number.

The common people have continued to be infected with the rust of these superstitions, even after religion became more enlightened. It is well known that when Mr. de Noailles, bishop of Chalons, ordered the pretended relick of the holy navel to be taken away and thrown into the fire, the whole city of Chalons joined in a prosecution against him; but he, who had resolution equal to his piety, soon brought the people of his diocese to believe, that one may adore Jesus Christ in spirit and in truth, without having his navel in a church.

Those whom we call Jansenists were not a little instrumental in rooting out by degrees, from the minds of the greatest part of the nation, the many absurd notions which were the disgrace of our holy religion. And it no longer continued to be thought sufficient to repeat the prayer of thirty days to the blessed Virgin, to obtain whatever one should ask, and sin with impunity.

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At length, the lower kind of people began to imagine, that it was not St. Geneviève who gave rain or caused it to cease, but God himself, who disposed the elements according to his good will and pleasure. The monks have been astonished to find their saints no longer perform miracles; and if the writers of the life of St. Francis Xavier were to come again into the world, they would not venture to assert that their saint raised nine people from the dead; that he was at one and the same time, both on the sea and on shore; or that a crab brought him his crucifix, which he had dropped out of his hand into the water.

It has happened much the same with regard to excommunications. Our French historians tell us, that when king Robert was excommunicated by pope Gregory V. for having married the princess Bertha, who was his god-mother, his domestics threw all the victuals that came from his table out of the windows, and that his queen Bertha was delivered of a goose, as a punishment for this incestuous alliance. It is not likely that the pages of the presence to a king of France now-a-days, would throw his dinner into the streets if he should be excommunicated; nor would it be very readily be-

lieved, that the queen was brought to bed of a bird.

If there are some few Convulsionists yet to be met with in an obscure corner of the town, it is a kind of lousy disease that infects only the dregs of the people. Reason is every day making her way into the tradesman's counting-house, as well as into the palaces of our nobility. It behoves us then to cultivate the fruits of this reason, more especially as it is impossible to prevent them from sprouting forth. France, after having been enlightened by a Pascal, a Nicole, an Arnaud, a Bossuet, a Descartes, a Gassendi, a Bayle, a Fontenelle, and other bright geniusses, like them, is no longer to be governed as in the times of Garasse and Mênôt.

If the masters of error, I mean the great masters who were so long time prayed to and revered for brutalizing the human species, were at present to enjoin us to believe that the seed must rot in the earth before it can sprout, that this earth continues immoveable on its basis, without revolving about the sun; that the tides are not the natural effect of gravitation;
that

that the rainbow is not formed by the refraction and reflection of the rays of light, &c. and were they to bring certain passages of Scripture badly understood, and worse interpreted, to authenticate their ordinances, how would they be looked upon by every person of common capacity? Would fools be thought too harsh a name to be imposed upon them? But if they should have recourse to compulsion and persecution to establish their insolent ignorance, would not madmen and butchers be deemed a proper appellation?

The more that monkish superstition becomes contemptible, the more bishops are respected, and the clergy in general esteemed. They do good in their professions; whereas the monkish superstition of foreign climates occasioned a great deal of mischief. But of all superstitions, that of hating our neighbours on account of his opinion, is surely the most dangerous! And will it not be granted me, that there would be more sense and reason in adoring the holy navel, the holy prepuce, and the milk, and the robe of the Blessed Virgin, than to detest and persecute our brother?

C H A P. XXI.

VIRTUE is better than LEARNING.

THE fewer dogmas, the fewer disputes ;
and the fewer disputes, the fewer calamities : if this is not true, I am much mistaken.

Religion is instituted to make us happy in this life and the next. But what is required to make us happy in the life to come ? To be just ; and in this ? To be merciful and forbearing.

It would be the height of madness to pretend to bring all mankind to think exactly in the same manner in regard to metaphysics. We might, with much greater ease, subject the whole universe by force of arms, than subject the minds of all the inhabitants of one single village.

But Euclid found no difficulty in persuading every one of the truths of geometry ; and why ? because there is not one of them which is not a self-evident corollary on this simple axiom ;
“ Two and two make four.” But is it not
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altogether the same with relation to the complicated maxims in metaphysics and divinity.

Eusebius and Socrates tell us, that when bishop Alexander and Arius the priest, began first to dispute in what manner the Logos or word proceeded from the father, the emperor Constantine wrote to them in the following terms. “ You are great fools to dispute
“ about things you do not understand.”

If the two contending parties had been wise enough to acknowledge that the emperor was in the right, Christendom would not have been drenched in blood for upwards of three centuries.

And indeed what can be more ridiculous, or rather detestable, than to address mankind in this manner? “ My friends, it is not sufficient that you are faithful subjects, dutiful
“ children, tender parents, and upright neighbours; that you live in the continual practice of virtue; that you are grateful, benevolent, and generous, and worship the Saviour
“ of the world in peace; it is furthermore required of you, that you should know how

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“ a thing may be begotten from all eternity,
 “ without being made from all eternity ; and
 “ if you cannot distinguish the homoufion in
 “ the hypoftafis, we declare to you that you
 “ are damned to all eternity ; and in the mean
 “ time we fhall begin by cutting your throats ?”

If fuch a decifion as this had been prefented
 to Archimedes, Poffidonius, Varro, Cato, or
 Cicero, what answer do you think they would
 have faid of it ?

Conftantine, however, did not perfevere in
 filencing the two parties ; he might eafily have
 fent for the chiefs of the difputes before him,
 and have demanded of them by what authority
 they difturbed the peace of mankind : “ Are you,
 “ he might have faid, poffeffed of the genealo-
 “ gy of the heavenly family ? What is it to you
 “ whether the fon was made or begotten, pro-
 “ vided that you are faithful to him ; that you
 “ preach a found doctrine, and praftife that
 “ doctrine if you can ? I have committed many
 “ faults in my life-time, and fo have you :
 “ I have been ambitious, fo have you : it has
 “ coft me many falshoods and cruelties to at-
 “ tain to the empire ; I have murdered my
 “ neareft

" nearest relations that stood in my way ; but
 " I now repent, and am willing to make a-
 " tonement for my crime by restoring peace to
 " the Roman empire ; do not you prevent me
 " from doing the only good action which can
 " possibly make my former cruel ones forgot-
 " ten ; but rather assist me to end my days in
 " peace." Perhaps Constantine might not, by
 this speech, have prevailed over the minds of the
 disputants, and perhaps he might rather be
 pleased with presiding in a council in a long
 crimson robe, and his forehead glittering with
 jewels.

This however opened a passage to all those
 dreadful calamities which over-run the West
 from Asia. Out of every contested verse
 there issued a fury armed with a quibble
 and a poniard, who inspired mankind at once
 with folly and cruelty. The Huns, the Heruli,
 the Goths and Vandals, who came afterwards,
 did infinitely less mischief ; and the greatest
 they did, was that of afterwards engaging in
 the same fatal disputes.

C H A P. XXII.

OF UNIVERSAL TOLERATION.

IT does not require any great art or studied elocution, to prove that Christians ought to tolerate each other. Nay, I shall go still farther, and say, that we ought to look upon all men as our brethren. How ! call a Turk, a Jew, and a Siamese, my brother ? Yes, doubtless ; for are we not all children of the same parent, and the creatures of the same creator ?

But these people hold us in contempt, and call us idolators ! Well then, I should tell them that they were to blame. And I fancy that I could stagger the headstrong pride of an Iman, or a Talapoin, was I too address them in the following manner.

“ This little globe, which is no more than a
 “ point, rolls together with many other globes,
 “ in that immensity of space in which we are
 “ all alike confounded. Man, who is an ani-
 “ mal, about five feet high, is certainly a very
 “ in-

“ inconsiderable part of the creation; but one of
 “ those hardly visible beings, says to others of
 “ the same kind inhabiting another spot of the
 “ globe, hearken to me, for the God of all these
 “ worlds has enlightened me: there are about
 “ nine hundred millions of us little insects who
 “ inhabit the earth, but my ant-hill is alone
 “ cherished by God, who holds all the rest in
 “ horror and detestation; those who live with
 “ me upon my spot will alone be happy, and
 “ all the rest eternally wretched.”

They would here stop me short and ask,
 What madman could have made so ridiculous
 a speech? I should then be obliged to answer
 them, It is yourselves. After which, I should
 endeavour to pacify them, but perhaps that
 would not be very easy.

I might next address myself to the Christians,
 and venture to say, for example, to a Domini-
 can, one of the judges of the inquisition,
 “ Brother, you know that every province in
 “ Italy has a jargon of its own, and that they
 “ do not speak at Venice and Bergamo as they
 “ do at Florence. The academy de la Crusca
 “ has fixed the standard of the Italian language;
 “ its dictionary is an unerring rule, and Buon
 “ Matei’s

“ Matei’s grammer is an infallible guide, from
 “ neither of which we ought to depart ; but do
 “ you think that the president of the academy,
 “ or in his absence Buon Matei, could in
 “ conscience order the tongues of all the Vene-
 “ tians and Bergamese, who persisted in their
 “ own country dialect, to be cut out ?”

The inquisitor would perhaps make me this
 reply ; “ There is a very wide difference ;
 “ here the salvation of your soul is concerned ;
 “ and it is entirely for your good that the di-
 “ rectory of the inquisition ordains that you
 “ shall be seized, upon the deposition of a
 “ single person, though of the most infamous
 “ character ; that you shall have no person to
 “ plead for you, nor even be acquainted with
 “ the name of your accuser ; that the inquisitor
 “ shall promise you favour, and afterwards
 “ condemn you ; that he shall make you un-
 “ dergo five different kinds of torture, and
 “ that at length you shall be either whipt, sent
 “ to the gallies, or burnt at the stake † ; father
 “ Ivouet, and the doctors Chaucalon, Zanchi-

† See that excellent book, intituled, *The Manual
 of the Inquisition*.

“ nus, Campegius, Royas, Felinus, Gomarus,
 “ Diarbarus, and Gemelinus are exactly of this
 “ opinion, consequently this pious practice will
 “ not admit of contradiction.”

To all which I should take the liberty of making the following reply: “ Dear brother,
 “ you may perhaps be in the right, and I am
 “ perfectly well convinced of the great benefit
 “ you intend me; but may I not be saved
 “ without all this?”

It is true that these horrible absurdities do not every day deform the face of the earth; but they have been very frequent, and one might easily collect instances enough to make a volume much larger than that of the holy gospels, which condemns such practices. It is not only very cruel to persecute in this short life, those who do not think in the same manner as we do, but I very much doubt if there is not an impious boldness in pronouncing them eternally damned. In my opinion, it little befits such insects of a summer's day, as we are, thus to anticipate the decrees of Providence. I am very far from opposing that maxim of the church, that “ out of her pale there is no salvation:” on the contrary, I respect that and every other
 part

part of her doctrine; but, after all, can we be supposed to be intimately acquainted with the ways of God, or to fathom the whole depth of his mercy? Is it not permitted us to hope in him, as well as to fear him? Is it not sufficient if we are faithful sons of the church, without every individual presuming to wrest the power out of the hand of God, and determine, before him, the future destiny of our fellow creatures?

When we wear mourning for a king of England, Denmark, Sweden, or Prussia, do we say that we are in mourning for a damned soul that is burning in hell? There are about forty millions of inhabitants in Europe who are not members of the church of Rome; should we say to every one of them, "Sir, as I look upon you
 " to be infallibly damned, I shall neither eat,
 " drink, converse, nor have any connections
 " with you?"

Is there an ambassador of France, who when he is presented to the Grand Seignior for an audience, will seriously say to himself, his sublime highness will infallibly burn to all eternity, for having submitted to be circumcised? If he really thought that the Grand Seignior was
 a mortal

a mortal enemy to God, and the object of divine vengeance, could he converse with such a person; nay indeed, ought he to be sent to him? But how could we carry on any commerce, or perform any of the civil duties of society, if we were convinced that we were conversing with persons destined to eternal damnation?

O ye different worshippers of a God of mercy! if ye have cruel hearts, if, while you adore that Deity who has placed the whole of his law in these few words, "Love God and your neighbour," you have loaded that pure and holy law with sophistical and unintelligible disputes, if you have lighted the flames of discord sometimes for a new word, and at others for a single letter only; if you have annexed eternal punishment to the omission of some few words, or of certain ceremonies, which other people cannot comprehend, I must say to you with tears of compassion for mankind: "Transport yourselves with me to that great instant in which all men are to receive judgment from the hand of God, who will then do unto every one according to their works, and with me behold all the dead of past ages appearing in his presence. Are you very sure that our
" hea-

“ heavenly father and creator will say to the
 “ wise and virtuous Confucius, to the great le-
 “ gislator Solon, to Pythagoras, Zaleucus,
 “ Socrates, Plato, the divine Antoninus, the
 “ good Trajan, to Titus the delight of hu-
 “ man kind, and to many others who have been
 “ the models of human kind : Depart from
 “ me, wretches ! into torments that know
 “ neither alleviation nor end ; but are, like
 “ himself, everlasting. But you, my well-be-
 “ loved servants, John Chatel, Ravailac, Car-
 “ touche, Damiens, &c. who have died accord-
 “ ing to the rules prescribed by the church,
 “ enter thou into the joy of your Lord, and
 “ sit for ever at my right-hand in majesty and
 “ glory ?”

Methinks I see you start with horror at these
 words ; however, as they have escaped me, let
 them pass ; I shall say nothing more to you.

C H A P. XXIII.

AN ADDRESS to the DEITY.

NO longer then do I address myself to men, but to thee, God of all beings, of all worlds, and of all ages ; if it may be permitted weak creatures, lost in immensity, and imperceptible to the rest of the universe, to presume to petition thee for aught, who hast given plenty of all things, and whose decrees are immutable as eternal. Deign to look with an eye of pity upon the errors annexed to our natures ! let not these errors prove the sources of misery to us ! Thou hast not given us hearts to hate, nor hands to kill each other ; grant then that we may mutually aid and assist each other to support the burthen of this painful and transitory life ! May the trifling differences in the garments that cover our frail bodies, in the mode of expressing our insignificant thoughts, in our ridiculous customs, and our imperfect laws, in our idle opinions, and in our several conditions and situations, that appear so disproportionate in our eyes, and all are equal in

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thine ; in a word, may the slight variations that are found amongst the atoms called men, not be made use of by us as signals of mutual hatred and persecution ! May those who worship thee by the light of tapers at noon-day, bear charitably with those who content themselves with the light of that glorious planet thou hast placed in the midst of the heavens ! May those who dress themselves in a robe of white linen to teach their hearers that thou art to be loved and feared, not detest or revile those who teach the same doctrine in long cloaks of black wool ! May it be accounted the same to adore thee in a dialect formed from an antient or a modern language ! May those, who, cloathed in vestments of crimson or violet colour, rule over a little parcel of that heap of dirt called the world, and are possessed of a few round fragments of a certain metal, enjoy without pride or insolence what they call grandeur and riches, and may others look on them without envy ; for thou knowest, O God, that there is nothing in all these vanities proper to inspire envy or pride.

May all men remember that they are brethren ! may they alike abhor that tyranny which seeks to subject the freedom of the will, as they do the rapine which tears from the arms of industry

try the fruits of its peaceful labours ! And if the scourge of war is not be avoided, let us not mutually hate and destroy each other in the midst of peace; but rather make use of the few moments of our existence to join in praising, in a thousand different languages, from one extremity of the world to the other, thy goodness, O all merciful creator, to whom we are indebted for that existence !

C H A P. XXIV.

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHILE I was employed in writing this treatise, purely with a desire to make mankind more benevolent and charitable, another author was using his pen to the very contrary purpose; for every one has his particular way of thinking. This writer has published a small code of persecution, under the title of, “ The harmony of religion and humanity :” but this last word seems to be an error of the press, and should be read “ Inhumanity.”

The author of this holy libel takes St. Augustine for his example and authority, who, after having preached up charity and forbearance, afterwards taught the doctrine of persecution, because he then had the upper hand, and was naturally of a changeable disposition. He also quotes M. Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, who persecuted the famous Fenelon archbishop of Cambray, whom he accused of having said in print, that God was well worthy to be loved for his own sake.

I will

I will readily grant, that Bossuet was a very eloquent writer ; and it must also be confessed, that the bishop of Hippo † is frequently inconsistent, and in general, more dry and barren than the rest of the African writers; and I must take the liberty of addressing them both in the words of Armanda, in Moliere's Learned Ladies, " If we would imitate any person, it certainly " should be in the most pleasing part of their " character." I should say to the bishop of Hippo: " My lord, as you have had two " opinions, your lordship will be kind enough " to suffer me to abide by your first, since I " really think it the best."

To the bishop of Meaux I shall say, " My " lord, you are certainly a very great man, and, " in my opinion, have to the full as much " learning as St. Augustine, and are far superior to him in eloquence ; but then, my " lord, why did you so distress your brother " prelate, who had as much eloquence as " yourself, though in another kind, and whose " disposition was more amiable than yours."

† Now Bona, a town of Constantina in Africa. St. Augustin was bishop of this see above forty years. It now belongs to Algiers.

The author of this Treatise on Inhumanity, (for so I shall call it) is neither a Bossuet, nor an Augustine; but seems admirably well qualified for an inquisitor; I wish he was at the head of that noble tribunal at Goa. Besides, he is a politician, and parades it in his book with several great maxims of state. "If you have
 "to deal with any considerable number of heretics," says he, "it will be necessary to use
 "gentle methods, and try to bring them over
 "by persuasion; but if they are only a few in
 "number, then make free use of the gibbet
 "and the gallies, you will find the advantage
 "of it." This is the good prelate's own advice, in the 89th and 90th pages of his work.

Heaven be praised, I am an orthodox catholic, and, therefore, am in no danger of what the Hugonots call martyrdom: but if ever this bishop should come to be prime-minister, as he seems to flatter himself in his libels, I give him my promise, that I will set out for England the very day his commission is signed.

In the mean time, we ought to be thankful to Providence, that those of his principles are always wretched reasoners. This writer has not scrupled to quote Bayle among the advocates

cates for non-toleration ; which is being equally sensible and honest ; for, because Bayle agrees, that it is necessary to punish incendiaries and rogues, our bishop directly concludes, that we ought to persecute with fire and sword every honest and peaceable person. See page 98.

Almost the whole of his book is no other than a copy of the apology for St. Bartholomew's-day. It is the apologist himself or his echo. But be this matter as it will, it is devoutly to be wished, that neither the master nor the pupil may ever be at the head of an administration.

But if ever such a thing should come to pass, let me beg leave to present them beforehand with the following hint, in regard to a passage in the ninety-third page of the bishop's holy libel.

“ Is the welfare of the whole nation to be
“ sacrificed to the ease of only the twentieth
“ part ? ”

Let us suppose then for once, that there are twenty Roman Catholics in France to one Hugonot, I am by no means for the Hugonots eating these twenty Catholics ; but, at the same

time, is there any reason why the twenty Catholics should eat the Hugonot? Besides, why should we hinder this latter from marrying? Are there not many bishops, abbots, and monks, that have estates in Dauphiny, Gevaudan, Agde, and Carcassonne? And have not most of these, farmers to manage those estates, who do not believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation? Is it not the interest of these bishops, &c. that the farmers should have numerous families? And should one be permitted to have children that take the sacrament in both kinds? Surely, there is neither justice nor common honesty in this!

“The revocation of the Edict of Nantes,” says my author, “has not been productive of so great inconveniencies as has been generally alledged.”

I must own if any have added to the number of bad effects that act produced, they must have greatly exaggerated; but then it is the common fault of all historians to exaggerate, as it is of all controversial writers to disguise the greatest part of those evils with which they are reproachable. But for once, let us neither pin our faith
upon

upon the doctors of the Sorbonne nor the preachers of Amsterdam. Let us take for judges in this matter those who have had the best opportunities of being acquainted with what they wrote upon ; and in the first place, I shall cite the count d'Avaux, ambassador from France to the States-General, during the years 1685, 1686, 1687, and 1688.

In the hundred and eighty-first page of the fifth volume of his works, he says that one man only offered to discover upwards of twenty millions of livres, that the persecuted Hugonots had found means to send out of France. Lewis XIV. in answer to this, writes to Mr. d'Avaux, " The accounts which I daily receive of the
 " prodigious numbers of those who are con-
 " verted, convince me, that in a short time
 " the most obstinate will follow the exam-
 " ple of the others."

This letter of the king's, plainly shews that he was firmly persuaded of the greatness of his power. He was accustomed to hear said to him every morning, Sire, you are the greatest monarch upon earth ; you have but to declare your opinion, and the whole world will be proud to follow it. Pelisson, who had accumulated a

prodigious fortune in the place of head-clerk of the treasury, who had been three years confined in the Bastile as an accomplice with Fouquet, who, changing his religion, was from a Calvinist made a Roman, a deacon, and a beneficed priest, who composed hymns for the mass and verses to Chloe, and who had got the post of comptroller and converter in chief of the heretics; this very Pelisson, I say, used to produce every morning a long list of pretended abjurations purchased at the rate of seven or eight crowns a-piece; and made his prince believe, that he could, whenever he pleased, convert the whole Mahometan empire at the same price. In short, every one was in league to impose upon him: how then was it possible for him to avoid being deceived?

This very M. d'Avaux also acquaints the court that one Vincent kept upwards of five hundred workmen employed in the neighbourhood of Angoulême, and that it would be of great prejudice to the nation should they quit the kingdom. Tom. v. page 194.

The count likewise mentions two regiments at that time actually raising by French refugee officers for the service of the prince of Orange: he observes that the entire crews of three French ships

ships of war had deserted and entered into the same service; and that besides the two regiments abovementioned, the prince was forming a company of cadet refugees, who were to be commanded by two refugee captains. Page 240. The same ambassador in another letter to Mr. de Segnelay, dated the 9th of May, 1686, says, "That he can no longer conceal the uneasiness it gives him to see the manufactures of France transported into Holland, where they will be established, never more to return."

Add to these incontestable evidences, the testimonies of the several intendants of the kingdom in 1698, and then let any one judge whether the revocation of the edict of Nantes has not done more harm than good, notwithstanding the opinion of the worthy author of the "Harmony of Religion and Inhumanity."

A marshal of France well known for his superior abilities, some few years ago made use of the following expression, "I know not whether the practice of dragooning may ever have been necessary, but I am sure it is very necessary to lay it aside."

And here I must confess, that I was apprehensive I had gone rather too far, in publishing the letter from a priest to father Le Tellier, in which the use of gunpowder is so humanely proposed. I said to myself, people will not believe me; they will certainly think this letter is a forged piece : but luckily my scruples were entirely eased, when in perusing the “ Harmony of Religion and Inhumanity,” I came to the following Christian and charitable passage.

“ The entire extirpation of the protestants
 “ in France, would not weaken that kingdom
 “ more than a plentiful bleeding would a pa-
 “ tient of a sound constitution.” Page 149.

Here this pious minister of Christ, who, but a few pages before, says, That the protestants make about a twentieth part of the nation, is for shedding the blood of that twentieth part, and advises the operation with as much unconcern as he would the taking away two or three ounces from the arm of a plethoric person ! Heaven preserve us and him from the other three twentieths !

Now if this worthy prelate is for destroying the twentieth part of the nation at one stroke,
 might

might not father Le Tellier's friend and correspondent as well have proposed the blowing up, stabbing, or poisoning the one third? Hence then it appears very probable, that such a letter was really wrote to Le Tellier.

Our pious author concludes upon the whole, that persecution is an excellent thing, "For," says he, "we do not find it absolutely condemned by our Saviour." Neither has our Saviour expressly condemned those who may set fire to the four corners of Paris; but ~~is that~~ a reason for canonizing all incendiaries?

In this manner, while the gentle voice of nature is every where pleading the cause of charity and benevolence, Enthusiasm, her avowed enemy, is continually howling against it; and while Peace opens her calm bosom to all mankind, Persecution is busied in forging weapons for their destruction. Let it be your care then, O ye princely arbiters, who have restored peace to the world, to pass sentence between the spirit of mutual love and harmony and that of discord and bloodshed.

C H A P. XXV.

SEQUEL and CONCLUSION.

ON the 7th of March, 1763, a council of state being held at Versailles, at which all the great ministers assisted, and the chancellor sat as president, Mr. de Crofne, one of the masters of requests, made a report of the affair of the Calas family with all the impartiality of a judge, and the precision of one perfectly well acquainted with the case; and with the plain truth and inspired eloquence of an orator and a statesman, which is alone suitable to such an assembly. The gallery was filled with a prodigious number of persons of all ranks, who impatiently waited the decision of the council. In a short time a deputation was sent to the king, to acquaint him that the council had come to an unanimous resolution, That the parliament of Thoulouse should transmit to them the whole account of its proceedings, together with the reasons on which it had framed the sentence condemning John Calas to be broken on the wheel; when his majesty was pleased to concur in the decree of the council.

Justice

Justice and humanity then still continue to reside amongst mankind ! and principally in the council of a king beloved, and deserving so to be ; who, with his ministers, his chancellor, and all the members of his council, have not disdained to employ their time in weighing all the circumstances relating to the sufferings of a private family with as much attention as if it had been the most interesting affair of war or peace ; whilst the judges have shewn themselves inspired by a love of equity, and a tender regard to the interests of their fellow subjects. All praise be given therefore to that merciful Being, the only giver of integrity and every other virtue !

And here we take occasion to declare, that we never had the least acquaintance with the unfortunate man who was condemned on the most frivolous evidence by the court of justice of Thoulouse, in direct contradiction to the ordonnances of our king, and the laws of all nations ; nor with his son Mark Anthony, the extraordinary manner of whose death led the judges into the error they committed ; nor with the mother, whose sufferings call aloud for compassion ; or yet with her innocent daughter, who, together with her, travelled upwards of

six hundred miles to lay their virtue and distresses at the foot of the throne.

The God in whose presence we declare this, knows that we have been actuated solely by the love of justice, mercy, and truth, in delivering our thoughts in the manner we have done on toleration, in regard to John Calas, who fell a victim to non-toleration and persecution.

We had not the least intent to offend the eight judges of Thoulouse, in saying that they were mistaken, as the council of state itself supposes them to have been : on the contrary, we have opened a way for them to vindicate themselves to all Europe, by acknowledging that equivocal circumstances, and the clamour of an headstrong and enraged populace, had biased their judgment ; and by asking pardon of the widow, and repairing as much as in them lies, the ruin they have brought upon an innocent family, by adding to the number of those who succour them in their affliction. They have put the father to death unjustly, let them then be as fathers to his children, provided those children are willing to accept of this poor token of repentance from them. It would be infinitely to the honour of the judges to make such an offer,

offer, and to that of the injured family to refuse it.

But it principally behoves the *sieur* David, capitoul of Thoulouse, to set the example of remorse and penitence, who was the first to raise this persecution against innocence, and who insulted the hapless father of a family when expiring on the scaffold. This was indeed an unparalleled act of cruelty; but as God is willing to shew mercy and forgiveness, it is the duty of mortals to pardon in like manner those who make atonement for their offences.

Having received a letter from a friend in Languedoc, dated the 20th of February, 1763, of which the following is an extract,

.
.

“ Your treatise on toleration appears to be
“ full of humanity and truth; but I am afraid
“ it will rather hurt than serve the Calas family.
“ It may gall the eight judges who were for the
“ sentence, and they may apply to the parlia-
“ ment to have your book burnt; besides, the
“ bigots, which you are sensible there is always
“ a considerable number, will oppose the voice
“ of reason with the clamours of prejudice, &c.”

My

My answer was as follows :

“ The eight judges of Thoulouse may, if
 “ they please, have my book burnt. It will cost
 “ them very little trouble, since the *Provincial*
 “ *Letters*, which had infinitely superior merit to
 “ any thing of mine, were condemned to the
 “ same fate. Every one, you know, is at
 “ liberty to burn in his own house such books
 “ as he does not like.

“ My treatise cannot possibly do either hurt
 “ or good to the Calas family, with whom I have
 “ not the least acquaintance. The king’s coun-
 “ cil is no less resolute than impartial: it judges
 “ according to law and equity of those things
 “ which fall properly under its cognizance;
 “ but it will not interfere with a common
 “ pamphlet, written upon a subject altogether
 “ foreign from the affair under consideration.

“ If an hundred volumes in folio should be
 “ written in condemnation or vindication of the
 “ judges of Thoulouse, or of toleration, neither
 “ the council, nor any other court of justice
 “ would look upon these as law matters.

“ I

“ I readily agree with you that there are
 “ numbers of enthusiasts who will set up the
 “ cry against me, but at the same time I do
 “ insist, that I shall have as many sensible rea-
 “ ders who make use of their reason.

“ I hear that the parliament of Thoulouse
 “ and some other courts of justice have a me-
 “ thod of proceeding peculiar to themselves,
 “ They admit fourths, thirds, and sixths of a
 “ proof; so that with six hear-says on one
 “ side, three on the other, and four fourths of
 “ presumption, they frame three complete
 “ proofs; and in consequence of this curious
 “ demonstration, will condemn you a man to
 “ be broke upon the wheel without mercy.
 “ Now the least acquaintance with the art of
 “ logic or reasoning would point out a diffe-
 “ rent method of proceeding to them. What
 “ we call an half proof can never amount to
 “ more than a suspicion: but there is no such
 “ thing in reality as an half-proof; for a thing
 “ must either be proved or not proved: there
 “ is no medium.

“ A million of suspicions put together can
 “ no more frame a regular proof, than a million
 “ of cyphers can compose an arithmetical num-
 “ ber.

“ There

“ There are fourths of tones or sounds in
 “ music, and these are to be expressed ; but
 “ there are no fourths in truth, nor in reason-
 “ ing.

“ Two witnesses agreeing in the same depo-
 “ sition, are esteemed to make a proof ; but this
 “ is not enough : these two witnesses should be
 “ clear of all passion and prejudice, and, above
 “ all, their testimony should be in every part
 “ consonant with reason.

“ Suppose four persons of the most respecta-
 “ ble appearance, were to come and swear in a
 “ court of justice that they saw an infirm old
 “ man take a vigorous young fellow by the
 “ collar, and toss him out of a window, to the
 “ distance of six or seven feet ; certainly such
 “ deponents ought to be sent to a mad-house.

“ But the eight judges of Thoulouse con-
 “ demned John Calas upon a much more im-
 “ probable accusation ; for there was no one ap-
 “ peared to swear that he had actually seen this
 “ feeble old man of seventy seize a stout young
 “ fellow of twenty-eight, and hang him up.
 “ Indeed certain enthusiastic wretches said, that
 “ they had been told by other enthusiasts like
 them-

“ themselves, that they had been told by some
 “ of their own sect, that they had heard that
 “ John Calas had by a supernatural strength
 “ overcome his son and hanged him. And
 “ thus was the most absurd of all sentences pas-
 “ sed upon the most absurd of all evidence.

“ In fine, there is no remedy against such
 “ kind of proceedings, but that those who pur-
 “ chase their seats in a court of justice, should,
 “ for the future, be obliged to study a little
 “ better.”

This treatise on toleration is a petition which humanity with all submission presents to power and prudence. I have sowed a grain that may perhaps produce a rich harvest. We may hope every thing from time, from the goodness of the heart of our gracious monarch, the wisdom of his ministers, and the spirit of sound reason, which begins to diffuse its salutary influence over all minds.

Nature addresses herself thus to mankind :
 “ I have formed you all weak and ignorant, to
 “ vegetate a few moments on that earth, which
 “ you are afterwards to fatten with your
 “ carcases. Let your weakness then teach you
 “ to

“ to succour each other ; and as you are igno-
 “ rant, bear with, and endeavour mutually to
 “ instruct each other. Even if ye were all of
 “ the same way of thinking, which certainly
 “ will never come to pass, and there should be
 “ one single person only found amongst you
 “ who differed from you in belief, you ought
 “ to forgive him ; for it is I who make him
 “ think in the manner he does. I have given
 “ you hands to cultivate the earth, and a faint
 “ glimmering of reason to conduct yourselves
 “ by ; and I have planted in your hearts a spirit
 “ of compassion, that you may assist each other
 “ under the burthen of life. Do not smother
 “ that spark, nor suffer it to be corrupted ; for
 “ know, it is of divine origin : neither substi-
 “ tute the wretched debates of the schools in
 “ the place of the voice of nature.

“ It is I alone who unite you all, in despite
 “ of yourselves, by your mutual wants, even in
 “ the midst of those bloody wars that you under-
 “ take for the slightest causes, and that afford
 “ a continual scene of error, chances, and mis-
 “ fortunes : It is I alone, who, in a nation, pre-
 “ vent the fatal effects of the inextinguishable
 “ differences that subsist between the sword
 “ and the law, between those two professions
 “ and

“ and the clergy, and between even the citizen
 “ and the husbandman. Tho’ ignorant of the
 “ limits of their own prerogatives, they are in
 “ despight of themselves obliged to listen to my
 “ voice, which speaks to their hearts. It is I alone
 “ who maintain equity in the courts of judica-
 “ ture, where otherwise every thing would be
 “ determined by error and caprice, in the midst
 “ of a confused heap of laws, framed too often
 “ at a venture, and to supply an immediate call,
 “ differing from each other in every province
 “ and town, and almost always contradictory
 “ in the same place. I alone can inspire the
 “ love and knowledge of justice, while the
 “ laws inspire only chicanery and subterfuge.
 “ He who listens to me seldom forms a wrong
 “ judgment; while he who seeks only to recon-
 “ cile contradictory opinions, loses himself in
 “ the fruitless labour.

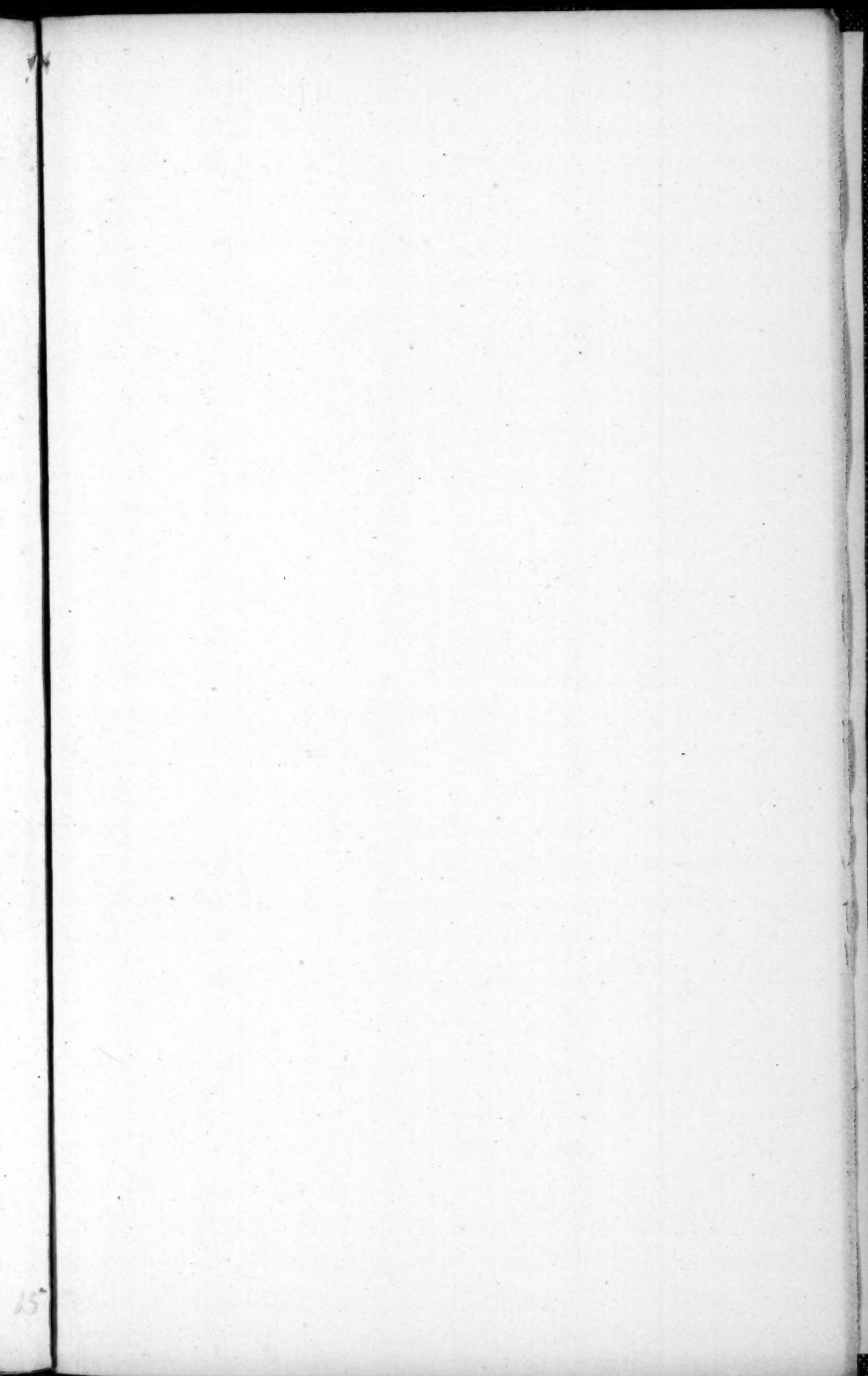
“ There is an immense edifice whose foun-
 “ dation I laid with my own hands. It was at
 “ once solid and simple; all mankind might have
 “ have entered into it with safety; but they,
 “ in seeking to ornament, overloaded it with
 “ useless and fantastic decorations. The
 “ building is continually falling to decay,
 “ and they gather up the stones to throw at one

264 TREATISE upon TOLERATION.

“ another ; while I am incessantly calling out
“ to them, Hold, madmen ! clear away the
“ ruins with which you are surrounded, and
“ which you yourselves have made ; come and
“ live with me in uninterrupted tranquility
“ within my mansion, that is not to be
“ shaken.”

END of the TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

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THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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W O R K S

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Translated from the French

Notes, Historical and Critical

By T. B. S. S. S. S.

Translated by J. M. C. S.

VOLUME XXII

L O N D O N

Printed by J. M. C. S.

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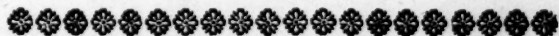
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THE
T A L E S
OF
WILLIAM VADÉ.



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THE

TABLES

OF

WILLIAM VADE

oooooooooooooooooooo

P R E F A C E.

By CATHERINE VADÉ.

I Still lament the death of my cousin, William Vadé, who, as it is universally known, departed this life a few years ago. He was taken ill of the small-pox; I attended him, and said to him, with tears in my eyes, "Ah, my dear cousin, this is the consequence of your not getting yourself inoculated; the same neglect cost your brother Anthony his life, and he was, like you, one of the luminaries of the age." "What would you have me say to you?" answered William; "I waited for the permission of the Sorbonne, and I find my over-scrupulousness will cost me my life." "The state will have a heavy loss when you die," returned I. "Ah," cried William, "Alexander and brother Bertier are dead; Semiramis, Phillon, Sophocles, and d'Anchet are in their graves." "Yes, my dear cousin, but their great names shall never die:—Are you not desirous of living a second life in the noblest part of yourself? Do you not give me leave to give the public, in order to console them for your loss, those entertaining tales with which you obliged us last year? They were the delight of our family; and Jerome Carré, your cousin-german, set almost as great a value upon your works, as upon his own; B 2 " they

“ they will, doubtless, please the whole universe;
“ that is to say, about thirty idle men who have
“ nothing to do but to read.”

William’s pretensions were not quite so extravagant. He said to me, with a humility highly becoming in an author, but very rarely to be met with, “ Ah, my cousin, do you think that
“ amongst ninety thousand pamphlets printed at
“ Paris during these last ten years, my work can
“ possibly find a place? or that I can swim
“ upon the river of oblivion, which every day
“ swallows up so many fine things?”

“ Were you but to live a fortnight after your
“ death,” returned I, “ it would still be a great
“ matter; ’tis a privilege enjoyed but by a very
“ small number; it is the fate of most men to
“ be unheard of during their lives; and those
“ who have made the greatest noise in the world,
“ are sometimes forgot the day after they die.
“ You will be distinguished from the crowd;
“ and perhaps the name of William Vadé, being
“ made honourable mention of in a journal
“ or two, may pass to the latest posterity. What
“ title would you have us give your works?”
“ Cousin, said he, I think that of Trifle is the
“ properest; there are few things said, done, or
“ printed, that don’t deserve this name.”

I admired the modesty of my cousin, and was greatly affected with it. Just then Jerome Carré entered the chamber. William made his will, by which he left me sole possessor of his manuscripts. Jerome and I asked him, where he chose to be buried? I shall never forget the answer he made, it was as follows: “ I am very
“ sensible that as I was not born to any of those
“ dignities which are productive of high senti-
“ ments

P R E F A C E.

v

“ ments in their possessors, as I was never either
 “ a privy counsellor, a sheriff, or a church-
 “ warden, I shall be treated, after my death,
 “ with very little ceremony. I shall be thrown
 “ into the charnel-house of St. Innocent, and
 “ nothing will be set over my tomb but a
 “ wooden cross, which has served others before :
 “ but I have always had so great a love for my
 “ country, that I cannot bear the thought of
 “ being buried in a church-yard. Certain it is,
 “ that dying of this disease, I shall stink most
 “ horridly. The putrefaction of so many bodies
 “ which are buried at or near the churches of
 “ Paris, must inevitably infect the air ; and, as
 “ the young king Ptolomy says, very properly,
 “ when he deliberates what reception he should
 “ give Pompey,

*Ces troncs pourries exhalent dans les vents
 De quoi faire la guerre au reste de vivants.*

Infected by the putrid stench, each gale
 Threatens with death e'en those who 'scap'd the
 sword.

“ This odious and ridiculous custom of paving
 “ the churches with dead bodies, every year occa-
 “ sions at Paris epidemical diseases, and all the
 “ deceased contribute more or less to infect their
 “ country. The Greeks and Romans were
 “ wiser than we ; their burying places were at
 “ a distance from their towns ; and there are
 “ even at this day many countries in Europe
 “ where this salutary custom prevails. What a
 “ satisfaction would it be to a benevolent citi-
 “ zen, to go fatten the barren plain of Sablons,
 “ and contribute to render the harvest plentiful !

“ succeeding generations would become useful
“ to each other by this prudent regulation ; the
“ towns would be more healthy, the land more
“ fruitful. I must say, there is very little œco-
“ nomy in the affairs both of the living and the
“ dead.”

William spoke a long time to the same purpose : he had extensive views for the public good, and he died talking, which is an incontestable proof of genius.

When he was dead, I resolved to bury him with pomp, and in a manner worthy of the great name which he had acquired in the world. I ran to all the most eminent booksellers of Paris, and offered to deal with them for the posthumous works of my cousin William ; to these I added some fine dissertations of my brother Anthony, and a few pieces of my cousin german Jerome Carré. I obtained three Lewis-d'ors, a sum which William had never been possessed of in any period of his life. I caused funeral tickets to be printed, I requested all the wits of Paris to honour with their presence the mass which I had ordered for the repose of William's soul ; no body came. I could not attend the procession, and William was interred without any body's being the wiser. In this manner had he lived ; for though he had enriched the fair with many comic operas, which were admired by all Paris, the world enjoyed the fruits of his genius, and neglected the author : it is thus, as the divine Plato has it, men suck the orange, and throw away the rind ; thus they pluck the fruit off the tree, and then cut it down. I have been always astonished at this ingratitude.

Soon

P R E F A C E.

vii

Soon after the demise of William Vadé, we lost our worthy relation and friend William Carré, so well known in his time for the comedy of the Scotch Woman, which he said he translated in order to promote useful literature. I think it my duty to inform the public of the distress Jerome was in at the conclusion of his life; it was thus he expressed himself in my presence to brother Giroflée, his confessor. You know, said he, that at my baptism there were given me for patrons St. Jerome, St. Thomas, and St. Raymond of Pennafort; and that when I had the happiness of being confirmed, there were added to my patrons, St. Ignatius de Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis of Borgia, and St. Regis, all jesuits; so that I am called Jerome Thomas Raymond Ignatius Xavier Francis Regis Carré. I long thought that with so many patrons I could not possibly ever know want. Ah, brother Giroflée, how much was I mistaken! It must doubtless be the same thing with patrons as with footmen, the more one has, the worse one is served. But observe, if you please, how I was nonplus'd, for the expression is very good, whatever the commonalty may say to the contrary; Montagne, Marot, and many most facetious authors, often make use of it, nay, it is to be found in the dictionary of the academy. This then is my adventure.

The reverend father Jesuites, or Jesuits, are banished because their institution is pernicious, inconsistent with all the rights of kings and of human society, &c. &c. Now Ignatius de Loyola having created the institution called Regimen, after having undergone discipline at the college

of St. Barbe, Xavier, Francis Borgia and Regis, having lived under this regimen, it is evident that they are all blameable alike, and that I had equal reason to give all these four saints to the devil.

This made me entertain some scruples concerning St. Thomas and St. Raymond of Penafort. I read their works, and I was amazed when I saw almost the same words in St. Thomas and in Raymond as in Bussembaum. I immediately forsook these two patrons, and burnt their books.

In this manner I saw myself reduced to the name of Jerome only; but this Jerome, the only patron that I had left, did me no more service than the rest: is it possible that Jerome can have no credit in Paradise! hereupon I consulted a person of profound learning, and he told me that Jerome was the most passionate of mankind, that he had grossly abused the holy bishop of Jerusalem, John, and the holy priest Rufinus, that he had even called this last a hydra and a scorpion, and that he insulted him after his death: he shewed me the passages. Thus I at last find myself under a necessity of renouncing Jerome, and calling myself plain Carré, which is no small mortification.

Thus did Carré deposit his grief in the bosom of brother Giroflée, who answered him thus: You will never want for saints, my dear child, take St. Francis D'Assize. No, returned Carré, his wife of snow would tempt me to laugh, and this is a very serious affair. Well then, take St. Dominic. No, — he is the founder of the inquisition. — Do you then chuse St. Bernard?

He

He too severely persecuted the poor Abelard, that had more understanding than himself, and he meddled in too great a variety of affairs; give me a patron of such perfect humility, that no body has ever heard him spoken of; that's the saint for me.

Brother Giroflée remonstrated to him the impossibility of being canonized and unheard of; he gave him a list of many more patrons whom our friend did not know, which was just the same thing; but upon proposing every saint, he asked something for his convent; for he knew that Carré had money. Jerome Carré then told him the following story, which to me appeared curious:

There was formerly a king of Spain who had promised a large distribution of alms to all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Burgos that had been ruined by the war. They came to the gates of the palace, but the porters would not suffer them to enter, except upon condition that they should share with them. The good man Cardero was the first that presented himself before the monarch; he threw himself at his feet, and said, Great king, I entreat you to order an hundred lashes to be given to each of us. A comical request this, said the king; why do you ask such a thing of me? It is, replied Cardero, because your domestics insist upon going shares with us in whatever we are to receive from you. The king laughed heartily, and made Cardero a considerable present. From thence came the proverb, "It is better to be concerned with God than his saints."

With such sentiments as these, my dear Jerome Carré, whose works I here join to those of William, departed this life; and I flatter myself that the gentlemen of Paris, for whom Vadé and Carré laboured all their lives, will excuse this preface.

CATHERINE VADÉ.

T H E

T H E
T A L E S
O F
W I L L I A M V A D É.

What pleases the LADIES.

NOW that the brilliant god of day
Burns Africk up with scorching ray,
Now that the tropic in a sphere
Oblique contracts his bright career ;
Whilst slowly lags each winter's night,
My friends, this story may delight ;
'Tis of a knight, as poor as bold,
Th' adventure's worthy to be told.
'Tis Sir John Robert that I sing,
He lived when Dagobert was king.
A trip to holy Rome he made,
Less splendid when the Cæsars sway'd ;
From that fam'd capital he brought
Not laurels pluck'd in fields well fought,
Of dispensations, pardons, store,
Indulgencies he plenty bore ;

Of money little had he ; then
Knights errant were poor gentlemen ;
Then, to the churches sons alone
Were affluence and riches known.
A suit of armour, which, with rust,
Revolving years must needs incrust,
An ambling steed, a dog was all,
Robert his property cou'd call ;
But whar's more precious he possess'd,
With youth's bright gifts our knight was blest'd ;
Alcides' strength, Adonis' grace,
Gifts priz'd in ev'ry age and place.
Robert, near Paris, chanc'd to ride
By a wood, on Charenton's side ;
Marton he saw, the blithe and fair,
A ribbon ty'd her flaxen hair :
Her shape was easy, dress so light,
Her leg it hid not from the sight.
Soon Robert's eyes such charms explor'd
As even saints might have ador'd ;
The lilly, with the blushing rose,
Combine a nosegay to compose,
Whose variegated hues are seen
Two panting globes of snow between ;
Which never fail loves flame to raise
In all who on their beauties gaze ;
Whilst her complexion's charms divine
The lustre of the flow'rs outshine.
To tell what was not told before,
A basket this fair creature bore,
And with attractions various grac'd
Made to the neighb'ring market haste
Of eggs and butter to dispose,
Which all her little stock compose.
Robert, who felt the am'rous flame,
Leap'd forward and embrac'd the dame ;

I've twenty crowns, my dear, he cry'd,
Take them, and take my heart beside,
Take all I have, and take the donor:
Said Marton, Sir, 'tis too much honour.
But Robert still so briskly ply'd her,
That down she fell, he fell beside her,
And, oh disaster dire to tell!
He broke her eggs as down he fell.
His courser started at the sight,
To the next thicket took his flight.
An honest monk, as people say,
Happen'd, just then, to pass that way,
The steed his monkship quickly strides,
And, post-haste, to his convent rides;
Her cap, which was become a fright,
Marton's first care, was to set right.
To Robert turning then she said,
My twenty crowns where are they fled?
The knight, in hesitating strain,
Seeking his purse and steed in vain,
Excuses offer'd, all were lame,
For no excuse would serve the dame.
Being thus injur'd, straight she went
To tell the king her discontent:
A knight has robb'd me, Sire, she said,
And ravish'd too, but never paid.
Wisely the king reply'd, 'Tis clear
A rape is what has brought you here:
Go plead before queen Berthe your cause,
In these points well she kens the laws;
She'll hear attentive what you say,
And judgment pass without delay.
Marton, with rev'rence bow'd the head,
And to the queen her way she sped.
The queen was quite humane and mild,
Look'd on each subject as a child;

But

But she was still severely bent
To punish the incontinent :
Of prudes her council she assembl'd,
The knight uncapp'd before them trembl'd ;
With downcast eyes ne'er dared to stir,
He then had neither boot nor spur ;
The court by no chicane delay'd,
But ample full confession made ;
That taking by Charonne his way
He was by Satan led astray ;
That he repented of his crime,
Wou'd ne'er offend a second time :
But that the first might prove the last,
Sentence of death was on him past.
Robert had so much youthful grace,
So fine his person, fair his face,
That Berthe and her assessors all
Awarding sentence, tears let fall.
Pangs of remorse sad Marton felt,
And ev'ry heart began to melt :
Berthe to the court then made it plain,
That the knight pardon might obtain,
And that if ready witted, he
Might from all punishment be free ;
Since by the laws establish'd there,
Who tells what pleases all the fair,
Has to his pardon a just claim,
Acquitted by each virtuous dame ;
But then he must the thing explain
Compleatly, or his hopes are vain.
What thus had been in council started
Quickly to Robert was imparted.
The good queen Berthe being bent to save him,
Eight days to think upon it gave him ;
He swore in eight days he'd appear,
And strive to make the matter clear ;

Then,

Then for this favour unexpected,
Thank'd Berthe, and went out much dejected.
Then thus the matter he debated
Thus he his difficulty stated ;
How can I in plain terms declare
What 'tis that pleases all the fair,
And not her majesty offend ?
She marrs what she propos'd to mend.
Since to be hang'd must be my lot,
Wou'd I'd been hang'd upon the spot.
Robert, whene'er in road or street,
He chanc'd a wife or maid to meet,
Her he in urgent manner press'd
To say what 'twas she lov'd the best.
All gave evasive answers, none
The real truth wou'd fairly own.
Robert, despairing e'er to hit,
Wish'd him in hell's profoundest pit.
Sev'n times the star that rules the year
Had gilded o'er the hemisphere,
When under a refreshing shade,
Which trees with winding boughs had made,
He saw a score of beauties bright,
Who danc'd in circling mazes light ;
Of their rich robes the wavy pride
Their secret beauties scarce cou'd hide.
Soft Zephyr sporting near the fair,
Play'd in the ringlets of their hair ;
On the green turf they lightly danc'd,
Their feet scarce on its surface glanc'd.
Robert draws nigh, in hopes to find
Ease from perplexity of mind.
Just then all vanish'd from his sight,
Scarcely had day giv'n place to night ;
A toothless hag then met his eyes,
Sooty in hue and short of size,

Bent

Bent double, and with age oppress'd
She lean'd upon a stick for rest.
Her nose prodigious long and thin
Extended till it met her chin;
Her eyes with rheum were gall'd and red,
A few white hairs her pate o'erspread;
A scrap of tapestry was her gown,
It o'er her wrinkl'd thigh hung down.
At such an odd and uncouth sight,
A sort of terror seiz'd our knight.
The beldame, with familiar tone,
Accosts him thus : I see, my son,
By your dejected thoughtful air
Your heart feels some corroding care :
Relate to me your secret grief :
(To talk of woes gives some relief)
Altho' your case be e'er so bad,
Some consolation may be had.
I've long beheld this earthly stage,
And wisdom must increase with age.
The most unhappy oft' have sped
To bliss by my directions led.
Alas ! replied the knight, in vain
I've sought instruction to obtain :
The fatal hour is drawing nigh,
I must upon a gibbet die !
Unless I can the queen tell right
What 'tis gives women most delight.
Courage, my son, the dame reply'd,
'Tis God has to me been your guide,
'Tis for your good ; then straight to court,
Boldly proceed and make report.
Let's go together, I'll unfold
The secret which must there be told ;
But swear that for the life you owe,
Becoming gratitude you'll shew ;

That

That from you I shall have with ease
What never fails our sex to please.
An oath then from you I require
That you'll do all that I desire.
Robert, who scrupl'd not to swear,
From laughter could not well forbear.
Be serious, cry'd the antient dame,
To laugh shews want of grace and shame;
Then moving onward, hand in hand,
Before queen Berthe they quickly stand.
The council met without delay,
Robert ask'd what he had to say,
Cry'd, ladies, now your secret's out,
What you love most admits no doubt:
What, at all seasons, can content ye,
Is not of lovers to have plenty;
But woman, of whate'er degree,
Whate'er her qualities may be,
Desires to bear both night and day
O'er all about her sov'reign sway:
Woman wou'd always fain command,
If I lie, hang me out of hand.
Whilst thus harangu'd our doughty spark,
All present said he hit the mark.
Robert kiss'd Berthe's fair hand, when clear'd;
Then straight a haggard form appear'd,
The hag of whom we spoke before,
With rags and dirt all cover'd o'er,
Crying out, justice, forward press'd,
And in these terms queen Berthe address'd:
Oh lovely queen, thy sex's pride,
Who always justly dost decide,
To whom fair equity is known,
Whilst mercy dwells beside thy throne;
By me this knight your secret knew,
The life I sav'd to me is due:

He

He swore, nor should the oath prove vain,
That I should what I wish'd obtain ;
Upon your justice I rely,
And hope you won't my right deny.
Says Robert, I deny it not,
I never a good turn forgot ;
But, bate my armour, all I had
Was baggage, twenty crowns, and pad.
A monk, when Marton I carest,
With pure religious zeal possess'd,
As lawful prize seiz'd on the whole,
For 'twere a sin to say he stole.
Tho' honest, since I'm broke outright,
I can't this friendly turn requite.
The queen reply'd, What you have lost
Shall be repay'd to fryar's cost ;
All parties shall be satisfy'd ;
In three your fortune we'll divide ;
For her lost eggs and chastity,
The twenty crowns shall Marton's be ;
The steed I to this dame consign,
The armour, Robert, shall be thine.
Most generously you've decreed,
Said madam, but I want no steed ;
'Tis Robert's person I desire,
His grace and valour I admire :
I o'er his am'rous heart would reign,
That's all the prize I wish to gain ;
Robert with me must pass his life,
This day must take me for a wife.
Her purpose being thus declar'd,
Robert stood motionless, and star'd :
Then o'er her rags and figure strange,
His rolling eyes began to range ;
With horror struck, he back retreated,
Crossing himself, these words repeated ;

Why

Why should this ridicule and shame
With foul dishonour blast my name?
With the d'el's dam I'd rather wed
Than to that beldame go to bed;
The hag must doubtless be run mad,
Or else she doats, and that's as bad.
The hag then tenderly reply'd,
My person, queen, he can't abide;
He's like the whole ungrateful crew
Of males, but soon I'll bring him too;
I feel love's flame so brightly burn,
He needs must love me in his turn.
The heart does all, I can't but say
My charms begin to fade away;
But I'll more tender prove and kind;
'Tis best to cultivate the mind:
We find e'en Solomon declare
The wise by far exceed the fair.
I'm poor, is that so hard a case?
Sure poverty is no disgrace.
Can't one enjoy content of mind,
Except on iv'ry bed reclin'd?
Madam, in all this regal pride,
When you lie by our monarch's side,
Do you enjoy more kindly rest?
Does love sincerer warm your breast?
You've read of old Philemon's flame
For Baucis, tho' an antient dame.
Those jealousies by old age bred,
Dwell not beneath the rustic shed;
Vice flies where luxury is unknown,
We equal kings, serve God alone;
Your country's glory we support,
We furnish soldiers for the court:
In rend'ring populous the state,
The poor by much outdo the great.

If

If heav'n should to my chaste desire
Refuse the offspring I require,
Love's flowers without its fruits can please,
Upon love's tree those flowers I'll seize.
While thus the antient dame descanted,
All the court ladies were enchanted.
Robert was to her arms consign'd,
Disgust was vain, for oaths must bind ;
The dame insisted on her right
Of riding with her much lov'd knight
To her thatch'd hut, where wedlock's bands
Were to unite their hearts and hands.
Robert his courser 'gins to stride,
With sorrow takes his future bride ;
With horror seiz'd, and red with shame,
He often strove to throw the dame,
Or drown her, but was by the law
Of chivalry still kept in awe.
The lady with her knight delighted
To him her race's deeds recited,
How the great Clovis royal sword
The bosoms of three monarchs gor'd,
Who were his friends, yet could obtain
Pardon and heaven's high favour gain.
From heav'n she saw the fam'd dove bring
To Remi, that illustrious king,
The flask and oil so highly priz'd,
Which he was smear'd with when baptiz'd.
With all her narratives she blended
Thoughts and reflections well intended,
Sallies of wit, remarks refin'd,
Which, without calling off the mind,
Attention in who heard excited,
And both instructed and delighted.
Still does our knight with eager ears
Devour the stories that he hears ;

Charm'd

Charm'd when he heard his wife, but when
He saw, th' unhappiest of men.
At length the ill match'd couple came
To the thatch'd cabin of the dame ;
Preparing things with eager haste,
The table for her spouse the plac'd ;
Such fare might suit with Saturn's age,
'Tis now but talk'd of by the sage.
Three sticks support two rotten boards,
Such table that poor hut affords ;
At this our couple sat at meat,
Each odly plac'd on narrow seat ;
The husband sadly hung his head,
The bride a thousand gay things said ;
Wit she combin'd with graceful ease,
Utter'd bon mots which pique and please,
So nat'ral that to those who hear,
Said by themselves they must appear.
So pleas'd was Robert, that a smile
Escap'd him, and he thought a while
His wife less ugly than before,
But she would fain, the supper o'er,
Have her spouse go with her to bed ;
He raves, he wishes to be dead :
He yields, tho' not with a good grace,
Since without remedy his case.
Foul clothes our knight but little matters,
Quite gnaw'd by rats and torn to tatters,
On pieces of old wood extended,
And frequently with packthread mended ;
All this the knight could have digested,
But Hymen's rites he quite detested.
Of these indeed he much complain'd ;
Good heav'n, cry'd he, is't so ordain'd !
At Rome, 'tis said, grace from on high
Can both the pow'r and will supply ;

But

But orace does for the present fail,
 And I for my part am out tran;
 My wife can by her wit impart
 Delight, she has a feeling heart;
 But when with sense there's conflict dire,
 Can heart or head true joy inspire?
 Our knight benumb'd like ice, this said,
 Threw himself flat upon his bed;
 And, to conceal his anguish, tries
 To feign a sleep, sleep from him flies.
 The beldame, pinching Robert, cry'd,
 Do you then slumber by your bride?
 Dear but ungrateful spouse, you see
 I am subdu'd, now yield to me;
 The timid voice of struggling shame
 Is stifled by my am'rous flame;
 Reign o'er my sense without controul,
 Since you reign pow'rful o'er my soul;
 I die! just heaven say to what end
 With virtue must our love contend?
 'I'm quite dissolv'd in love's bright flame,
 Pleasure thrills thro' my vital frame;
 Must I, alas! without thee die?
 'Tis to thy conscience I apply.
 Our knight was complaisant and kind,
 Religion, candour, grac'd his mind;
 He took compassion on the dame;
 Madam, said he, I wish my flame
 Like yours, might strong and brightly shine,
 The power t'effect it is not mine.
 You can effect it, said his wife,
 A great heart, at your stage of life,
 By fortitude, by art, and care,
 Performs with ease atchievements rare:
 Think how the ladies will approve
 At court this miracle of love.

Per-

Perhaps I your disgust excite,
Wrinkles are shocking to your sight;
Heroes magnanimous despise
Such trifles, only shut your eyes.
Our knight of glory fond wou'd fain
This conquest of himself obtain;
Obedience then became his choice,
Lis't'ning alone to honour's voice,
Finding in vig'rous youth alone
What cou'd for beauty's want atone,
And love's supply, he shuts his eyes,
And, to perform his duty, tries.
Enough, enough, then said the bride,
I ask no more; I'm satisfy'd;
My influence o'er your heart I know,
That influence to me you owe;
Acknowledge then, as matters stand,
The wife will still at home command.
Robert, all that I ask of thee
Is to be always rul'd by me;
My love enjoins an easy task,
Now view me well, 'tis all I ask.
Then Robert looks, and sees in clusters
A hundred flambeaux plac'd on lustres,
In a proud palace, which he saw
Before a cabin thatch'd with straw.
There underneath rich curtains grac'd
With fringe of pearls in highest taste.
A beauty bright appear'd to view,
Such as Apelles never drew;
E'en Vanlo's colours wou'd prove faint,
That heaven of charms divine, to paint;
No Phideas nor no Pigal e'er
Could carve a busto of the fair.
Her form like lovely Venus shew'd,
Whose golden tresses graceful flow'd,

Whose

Whose melting eyes appear'd to languish,
Whilst soothing Mars's am'rous anguish,
Myself, she said, this palace, all
This wealth, your own, dear Robert, call :
You did not ugliness despise,
You therefore merit beauty's prize.
But now, methinks, my readers claim
To know what was this fair one's name,
Whose heart our knight had won ; why then
'Twas fairy Urgelle, gentlemen,
Who, warriors, in her time, carefs'd,
And knights assisted when distress'd.
Happy the age ! thrice blest'd mankind,
When tales like these belief cou'd find,
Of spirits hov'ring in the air,
Of demons who make men their care !
In castle close by roasting fire,
The daughter, mother, husband, fire,
The neighbourhood and all the race,
Attended with a wond'ring face,
Whilst, by the almoner, were told
Deeds done by forcerers of old.
We of the marvellous are rifl'd,
By reason's weight the graces stiff'd,
Have to th' insipid men consign'd
The soul by reas'ning is confin'd ;
Still hunting after truth we go ;
From error too some good may flow.

THE
E D U C A T I O N
O F A
P R I N C E.

SINCE the bright god of day, in the course
of his race,

In Aquarius resides with a sorrowful face,
Since tempests so loudly on our high mountains
blow,

And our meadows are all cover'd over with snow,
By the fire I'll a new story tell in new style,
Amusements the time that hangs heavy beguile.
I am old, I must own't, and will therefore descend
To the pleasures of children, since near my life's
end.

A prince erst reign'd at Beneventum, 'tis said,
Quite mad with his pow'r, and in luxury bred,
To knowledge a stranger, and not ill educated,
By his neighbours despised, by his own subjects
hated.

This small state to govern two arch-knaves com-
bin'd,

They exerted themselves their young master to
blind ;

In this project they were by his confessor aided,
They by turns succeeded, he by all was persuaded
That his talents, his virtues, and his great repu-
tation,

Cou'd insure perfect bliss to the mightiest nation ;

C

That

That when once their duke had to manhood attain'd,

He was dreaded and lov'd, and in all mens hearts reign'd :

That his arms cou'd both France and Italia conquer ;

That with wealth his exchequer wou'd ever abound ;

That Solomon ne'er had so much wealth of old,
Tho' the torrent of Cedron o'er golden sands roll'd.

Alamon (for by that name this prince we must call)

Still was dupe to gross flatt'ries, for he swallow'd 'em all,

With pastimes delighted, court buffoons he caress'd,

And when he had din'd thought his people were bless'd.

One valiant old gen'ral at court still remain'd,
Ernon, greatly esteem'd when the duke's father reign'd,

Who not being brib'd spoke his mind uncontrol'd,
And undaunted, the government's ruin foretold.

To jealousy rous'd, those who bore supreme sway
Soon found means to remove Ernon out of the way ;

Unknown to the prince he to exile was sent,
But there at a farm the old man liv'd content ;

There with friends he liv'd happy, resign'd to his fate,

And he wept for his master as well as the state ;
Whilst with sloth and with pleasure the young duke content,

On the down of soft ease both his days and nights spent.

The

The murmurs by which oft his subjects express
Discontent, wou'd however sometimes break his
rest,

But that distant din, which he hardly cou'd hear,
Grows weak in its course, and scarce beats on his
ear;

Whilst with woe overloaded men groan'd thro'
the realm,

Alamon led a languishing life at the helm.

Then was tyranny's triumph, but the heav'ns took
his part,

And to work reformation with love touch'd his
heart.

Young Amida he saw, he both saw her and heard,
His heart felt emotion, and to live he appear'd;
He was handsome, and might with assurance ad-
dress her,

But the mystery soon was smok'd by his confessor;
In his penitent's breast straight he scruples excited,
Superstition and ign'rance are easily frightened:

And the two wicked rulers who fear'd lest the
lover

Might one day their sinister proceedings discover,
Were for making Amida like Ernon depart:

Her all to pack up she prepar'd with sad heart.

The weak Alamon all this insolence bore,

His reluctance was vain, from his charmer he tore.

He doubted and waver'd, for just in that season

His soul was but faintly illumin'd by reason.

When Amida was going there were heard loud
alarms,

The cry was, All's lost, let us die and to arms,

On Allah, St. Germain, Christ, and Mahomet
loud,

They call'd, and on every side fled a crowd:

A warrior turban'd who led on a band
 Of mussulmen holding a faulchion in hand,
 Over heaps of the dead, or expiring, who lay
 All reeking in gore, with his sword cut a way,
 With sword and with fire to the palace he flew,
 The women he seiz'd on, their husbands he slew.
 From Cuma this gen'ral march'd to Beneventum,
 But the rulers ne'er dream'd he wou'd thus circumvent 'em;

Desolation and ruin up to Rome's walls he spread,
 And St. Paul and St. Peter were both seiz'd with dread.

My dear readers, this chief was Abdallah the Proud,
 Who, by God, to chastise his own church was allow'd.

When the palace he enter'd, in chains all were cast,

Prince, monks, lacquies, ministers, and chiefs
 were made fast,

As calves ty'd in couples upon sledges are laid,

And to the next market sad victims convey'd.

Thus appear'd the young duke and each worthy assessor,

All laid by the heels with the father confessor,
 Who cross'd himself often, and with fervency pray'd,

And preach'd resolution, tho' sorely dismay'd.

The victors then shar'd when the vanquish'd
 were ty'd,

The booty the emirs in three parts divide;

Of men, and of horses, and saints they dispose,

And first from their captives they strip off their clothes.

In all ages have taylors disguis'd human nature,
 So that man to man always was a most unknown creature.

Dress

Dress changes mens figures and their characters
too,

To judge of man rightly we shou'd naked him
view.

The mussulman chief had the duke, at that time,
As already was said, he was in his youth's prime;
Since he seem'd to be strong, muleteer he was made,
And soon he was highly improv'd by that trade.

His nerves, which by sloth and by ease weak
were grown,

Inur'd to hard labour, acquir'd a new tone;

His sloth, by adversity taught, he subdu'd,

And valour in him sprung from mean servitude.

Valour, when without pow'r, makes the state of
man worse,

His impotence then is the heavier curse.

Abdallah to pleasure began to resign

His soul, and in spite of his prophet drank wine.

The court and townladies, all prone to adore him,

Were by the black eunuch each night brought
before him;

By beauties attended he prepares for repose,

And she's happy to whom he the handkerchief
throws.

Whilst the chief led a life of unceasing delight,

Whilst joy wing'd each hour, and love triumph'd
at night,

In the stable much hardship and woe the prince
bore,

Those his comrades were now who were subjects
before.

His mules all his care and attention requir'd,

He comb'd 'em each day till his hands were quite
tir'd.

His woe to compleat, and to make him quite rave,
He beheld fair Amida led by the black slave

To share, in her turn, the fell conqueror's bed :
 Fir'd with rage at the sight, to the eunuch he said,
 To make me quite wretched, there but wanted
 this stroke.

Wonder seiz'd on the slave at the words which he
 spoke ;

In a language quite diff'rent, fair Amida reply'd,
 With affection and sorrow her young lover shee'y'd ;
 Her eloquent looks her full meaning express,
 They meant, Bear your woes, live my wrongs
 to redress ;

Your present mean station I do not despise,
 Your sufferings give you new worth in my eyes.
 Alamon took the meaning which her looks thus
 express'd,

And heart-cheering hope was reviv'd in his breast.
 Amida with beauty transcendently bright,
 So dazzl'd the chief of the musliuman's fight,
 That, transported with passion, by Allah he swore,
 He enjoyment had known but ne'er knew love
 before.

The fair one resist'd to increase his desires,
 Resistance serv'd only to fan the chief's fires.
 A woman's head still with invention is fraught,
 Said she, Sir, your conquest I well may be thought ;
 You're unconquer'd in love as in warlike alarms,
 All fall at your feet, or rush into your arms ;
 But the honour you mean me defer for three days,
 And grant, to console me for such sad delays,
 Two things, which as proofs of your love, I
 require ;

I'll grant, said the pirate, whate'er you desire.
 Then make three Beneventers, said she, undergo
 A couple of hundred sound lashes, or so ;
 This discipline for their transgressions is due ;
 This, Sir's, the first favour I hope for from you.

The

The second, Sir, is, that you two mules wou'd
spare me,
Which may on a litter from time to time bear me;
And to drive 'em a muleeter of my own chusing:
Your requests, said Abdallah, there is no refusing.
'Twas done soon as said, and the hypocrite vile
With both courtiers who join'd their lord's youth
to beguile,
Receiv'd each their full quota, which pleas'd all
of the nation,
Who had often complain'd of mal-administration,
And the duke was the happiest mortal alive,
Since permitted his mistress in litter to drive.
All's not o'er, said Amida, you must conquer
and reign,
Now's the time, or to die, or your crown to regain;
You're not wanting in courage, Ernon's faithful,
and I
Am resolv'd to serve you and my country, or die.
Then make no delay but to Ernon repair,
To ask pardon for all he has suffer'd take care;
To serve you what remains of his life he'll expose,
Return in three days, and then fall on your foes;
There's no time to be lost, for Abdallah is bent
To accomplish in three days his lustful intent:
In love and in war time is precious you know;
Alamon with alacrity answer'd, I go.
Ernon, whom Amida had informed of all,
Lov'd his prince, tho' ungrateful, and lamented
his fall;
His gen'rous, brave friends all stood ready at hand,
And of soldiers he headed a most resolute band.
Ernon tenderly wept when his prince he had found,
They arm'd in secret, march'd in silence profound.
Amida address'd 'em, and her words cou'd impart
The love of true glory to each abject slave's heart,

Alamon cou'd both conduct and courage unite,
And a hero became when he first went to fight.
The Turk plung'd in lux'ry, who nothing mis-
trusted,

Surpriz'd by the vanquish'd, in his turn was
worsted.

Alamon to the palace had in triumph advanc'd
At the time when the Turk by soft pleasure
intrans'd,

Not having yet heard the dire turn of his fate,
Was with hopes of enjoying fair Amida elate.
His right he asserted, and took the Turk's place;
Then straight there appear'd with a confident face,
The priest in whose air there appear'd much re-
signment,

And the two knavish courtiers just broke from
confinement ;

Boasting that they did all, tho' their boasts were
quite vain,

The influence they once had they hop'd to main-
tain.

To prove cruel and spiteful cowards but seldom
have fail'd,

The monk was for having Abdallah impal'd.

The prince then reply'd with a resolute tone,
Vile wretch, such a punishment shou'd be your
own ;

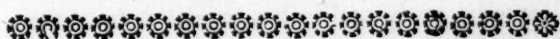
By a shameful repose you to ruin had brought me,
This Turk and my mistress true courage have
taught me ;

By your precepts misguided, false zeal I ador'd,
But misfortunes and love have my virtues restor'd.

At peace, brave Abdallah, and in freedom depart,
'Tis you have reform'd both my mind and my
heart:

Then

Then in freedom depart, no more trouble this
 state,
 And if ever it shou'd be so order'd by fate,
 That o'er your dominions three knaves shou'd
 bear sway,
 Send directly for me, I'll your favour repay.



T H E
 E D U C A T I O N
 O F A
 D A U G H T E R.

WINTER still lasts, my friends, and
 my greatest delight
 Is by telling long stories t' amuse you at night.
 Let us talk of dame Gertrude, I ne'er yet knew
 a prude
 With charms more attractive or more various en-
 du'd :
 Tho' thirty-six years had pass'd over her head,
 The graces and loves were not yet from her fled.
 Tho' grave in behaviour, she was ne'er seen to
 frown,
 Her eyes had much lustre, yet she ever look'd
 down ;
 Her breast white as snow was with gauze cover'd
 o'er,
 Thro' which curious eyes cou'd its beauties ex-
 plore.

A few touches of art, and a little red lead,
 Gave a delicate glow to her natural red :
 Her person neglecting more brightly she shone,
 Her dress struck the eye by its neatness alone.
 On her toilet a Bible was always display'd,
 And near Massillon was a pot of paint laid ;
 The devotions for Lent she sti'll read o'er and o'er,
 But what made zeal in her respected the more,
 Was that she in woman excus'd each rash action,
 For Gertrude the devout was no friend to detrac-
 tion.

This dame had one daughter alone, seventeen
 Was her age ; a more bright beauty never was
 seen ;

Of this lovely creature Isabel was the name,
 More fair than her mother, but her beauty the same.
 They appear'd like Minerva and like Venus the
 fair,

To breed up her daughter was Gertrude's chief
 care.

Like a flow'r newly blown she her child kept a
 stranger

To this wicked world's contagion and danger.
 Cards, public diversions, and gay conversation
 To each innocent soul direful baits of temptation,
 The true snares of Satan which the saints ever fly,
 Were pleasures which Gertrude's house ne'er
 durst come nigh.

Gertrude had a chapel whereto to repair,
 When minded to heaven to put up a pray'r ;
 There her leisure she oft' past in good meditations,
 And her soul breath'd to heaven in ejaculations.
 Resplendent with richest of furniture shone
 This retreat, to the eye of the public unknown :
 A pair of stairs where the prophane ne'er durst
 tread,

To the garden and from it into the street led.

You

You all know that in summer the sun's scorching
ray

Makes night oft more agreeable far than the day ;
By the moon's silver light then the heavens are
o'erspread,

And girls take no pleasure to slumber in bed.

Isabel, whilst with pleasing pain throbb'd her soft
breast,

(As girls at seventeen can't be always at rest)

Pass'd the night under shelter of some cooling
shade,

Yet scarce ever thought for what use it was made.

Unmov'd she saw nature, and never admir'd,

But rose, went and came, just as caprice inspir'd ;

No object impression could make on her mind,

She knew not how to think, yet to think was in-
clin'd.

At the chapel she chanc'd to hear one day some stir,

That moment she felt curiosity's spur ;

No suspicion she had which could justly raise fear,

Yet trembling and with hesitation drew near ;

One foot putting forward, on the stairs she as-
cended,

One hand she held back, and the other extended ;

With eye fix'd, out-stretch'd neck, and heart
throbbing fast,

Herself she exerted to hear all that pass.

The first thing she hears is the voice of soft an-
guish,

Words half interrupted, sighs of lovers that lan-
guish.

My mother's oppress'd by some pain or some care,

Cry'd she, in her troubles I shou'd have my share.

Approaching she heard these soft words, Dear

Andrew

For the bliss of my life I'm indebted to you.

Isabella

Isabella this hearing took heart, and she cry'd,
 My mother is well, I shou'd be satisfy'd.
 At length Isabella retires to her bed,
 But for fighting can't sleep, strange things run
 in her head :

Bliss Andrew bestows, but how, by what art ?
 'Tis sure a rare talent happiness to impart.
 Thus she argu'd the case by herself all the night,
 And impatiently wish'd the return of the night.
 Isabel the next morning shew'd some inquietude,
 Her concern was quickly perceiv'd by Gertrude.
 To Isabel silence prov'd a task too severe,
 To ask prying questions she cou'd not forbear.
 Who's this Andrew, said she, madam, who's
 said to know

The way upon woman true bliss to bestow ?
 Gertrude started, as justly it might be suppos'd
 That all was discover'd, yet herself she compos'd :
 Then with perfect assurance to her daughter re-
 ply'd,

O'er every family a saint shou'd preside;
 I've made choice of St. Andrew, to him I'm de-
 voted,

By him is my temporal welfare promoted :
 I invoke him in secret, his assistance implore,
 He often appears to me whilst I adore ;
 There does not one saint in all Paradise dwell,
 Who in holiness can my St. Andrew excel.
 A well-shap'd young man whom we Dennis shall
 name,

Soon of fair Isabella enamour'd became.
 From Isabel Dennis most kind treatment found,
 And their loves with enjoyment were frequently
 crown'd.

Gertrude to ev'ry stir in her turn giving ear,
 Chanc'd the anthems sung by Isabella to hear,
 And

And the pray'rs which she made whilst she Dennis caress'd,

In extacy straining him to her soft breast.

Surprizing our lovers, Gertrude was enrag'd :

Her passion the daughter by this answer asswag'd :

Dear mother, excuse me, for patron I claim

St. Dennis, as your saint St. Andrew you name.

Gertrude then grown wiser greater happiness knew,

Retaining her lover, she to saints bid adieu,

She dropt the vain project of deceiving mankind :

They're not to be cheated, for Envy's not blind ;

With piercing eye Envy will see thro' your mask ;

To conjecture is easy, to feign a hard task ;

To live free is a blessing, but all pleasures are faint

To the wretch who lives under perpetual constraint.

The fair Isabel liv'd no longer retir'd,

In charms she increas'd, by the town was admir'd.

Those pleasures which Gertrude had excluded before,

She agreed as companions of love to restore :

There the most polite people in joy pass their days,

Nought is found in good company undeserving of praise.



T H E

T H R E E M A N N E R S.

HOW form'd were th' Athenians true joy
to impart !

How their genius delights and enlivens my heart !

How under their fictions ingenious I trace

Truth's likeness, and soon grow in love with her
face !

But

But of all their inventions that which strikes me
the most

Is the stage, of Athenians the pride and the boast ;
Whereon heroes renown'd, and the chiefs of old
times,

Cou'd act over again both their good deeds and
crimes.

You see how all nations in this present age
Adopt their example, and wou'd rival their stage.
No folio instruction like the drama conveys,
Perish, perish the wretches who wou'd censure all
plays ;

When that vile, abject race first existed below,
A heart Nature on them forgot to bestow.
At the Greeks solemn games, 'twas the custom to
crown

Men of eminent virtue and chiefs of renown ;
Before the people justice was done to their merit,
Thus oft' I've seen Villars and Maurice, whose
spirit

And conduct from courtiers met with censure se-
vere,

When they went to the opera receive laurels there.
Thus when Richlieu victorious return'd from
Mahon,

Which he bravely had taken as curs'd envy must
own,

Wherever he pass'd he receiv'd loud applause ;
Not greater Clairon from the crowded pit draws.
Before buskins were known in old Æschylus' time,
Ere Melpomene trod the stage with steps sublime,
To young lovers was granted a much envy'd prize,
Whoever inspir'd by his mistress' bright eyes,
In the year had done most, and most tenderness
shewn,

That man was before all the Greeks crown'd alone.
The

The cause of her passion was by each fair one
pleaded,

Her lover's claim she by her eloquence aided,
Having first made an oath to abstain from all art,
Nor like orators aim at misleading the heart,
Without exaggeration their cause to support ;
A hard task to women as to lawyers at court.
Still extant remains one of these fine debates,
Which took rise from the leisure of Greece's
free states.

Eudames being archon, if my mem'ry's right,
Three beauties appearing fill'd all Greece with
delight ;

Ægle, Apamis, and Teone were their names ;
The wits of all Greece ran in crowds to the
games :

Tho' great talkers, they then kept a silence pro-
found,

Attentively list'ning as the stage they went round.
In a golden cloud Venus with young Cupid de-
scended,

To all that the disputants utter'd attended.

First began youthful Ægle, who had graces and
art,

Which charming eye and ear found a way to the
heart.

Hermotimes my much lov'd, my much honour'd
fire,

Throughout his whole life felt true genius's fire,
He attach'd himself always to those gifts of the
mind,

Those elegant arts which have polish'd mankind ;
To science devoted, from all honours he fled,
And life unambitious with his family led ;

His daughter he would to no husband consign,
But to one who like him felt the influ'nce divine,

Who

Who best knew to sing to the lyre, and to paint
The few charms nature gave me, which indeed
are but faint.

Young Lygdamon lov'd me ; nat'ral genius alone,
By art unassisted, in him brightly shone,
Discreet and ingenious, both refin'd and polite,
He ne'er spoke as a scholar, but always spoke right ;
He no talents possess'd, yet could judge of each art,
Ev'ry grace his mind form'd, and soft love fill'd
his heart ;

He knew to love only ; in that art he excell'd ;
My heart soon to learn it from him was compell'd.
When my fire would have acted a tyrannical part,
And have torn me from him who possess'd my
sad heart,

And would with some painter have caus'd me to
wed,

Some genius to musick and poetry bred,
How incessant the tears trickl'd from my sad eyes,
Despotic power o'er us parents would exercise !
Since we owe life to them, o'er our lives they
have power

Like gods, so for death I prepar'd in sad hour ;
Confus'd and despairing wretched Lygdamon fled,
And sought some asylum where to shelter his head.
My fire meant in six months to dispose of my hand,
That delay was expected by the whole am'rous
band.

No room had they then their sad talents to shew,
I was grown a mere picture of sorrow and woe.
The moments swift flying increas'd my alarms,
My lov'd Lygdamon had retir'd from my arms ;
When my lovers shou'd meet I expected my doom,
To escape 'em, I wish'd to sink into my tomb.
Twenty rivals productions were expos'd to men's
eyes ;

To

To a thousand debates their productions gave rise :
 I who had not seen any for none cou'd decide,
 My father impatient wou'd have made me the
 bride

Of the proud Harpagus, whose works greatly
 were priz'd,

To him I was going to be sacrific'd.

A slave then who seem'd to arrive in post-haste
 The work of a stranger full in their view plac'd :
 All present then fix'd on the canvas their eyes,
 'Twas my picture, so like that it caus'd much
 surprize.

In the picture I seem'd both to breathe and to
 speak,

And sigh as my heart were just going to break ;
 In my air, in my eyes perfect love was express'd,
 Art appear'd not, 'twas nature represented at best ;
 On the canvas appear'd by art wond'rous and new,
 The soul and the body at once to the view ;
 There deep shade was united with light's mildest
 gleams,

As at morning we see the sun dart his bright beams
 Athwart our vast forests circl'd round with thick
 shades,

And gild fruits and harvests, green meadows and
 glades.

To find fault was only Harpagus' desire,
 The rest all stood silent and were forc'd to admire.
 Who's this, cry'd out Harpagus, lost in amaze,
 That painting to such high perfection cou'd raise ?
 To whom at last shall I my daughter consign ?
 Lygdamon then appearing, said, shall she be mine ?
 'Tis love that's the painter, love alone on my
 breast

Has this lively image of my Ægle impress'd.

T was

'Twas love's pow'r on the canvas directed my hand,

What art is not subject to that god's high command?

'Tis his power alone that can all arts inspire.

Then to voice soft and tender attuning his lyre,
Of tones and notes various he made music so fine,
All thought themselves seated at a concert divine;
Like Apelles he painted, and like Orpheus he sung,
With rage and with fury was Harpagus stung;
Fire flash'd from his eyes, and his anger suppress'd,
His visage inflam'd, and boil'd fierce in his breast.

Then seizing with frenzy a javelin, he flew,
In Lygdamon's blood his fell hands to embrue;
My lover to slay the barbarian intended,
And over two lives dire destruction impended.
Lygdamon, who perceiv'd him, was no way dismay'd;

But with the same hand that so skillfully play'd,
Which the hearts and the minds of his hearers
had charm'd,

He rais'd his foe whom he had fought and disarm'd.
Then sure to love's prize he may justly lay claim,
Permit me to grant the reward of his flame.

Thus spoke the fair Ægle. Love applauds her discourse,

And the theatre rung, the Greeks clapp'd with
such force.

To hear this applause drew a blush from the dame,
And her passion for Lygdamon fiercer became.

Then rose Teone, nor her speech nor her air
Were formed by art, or seem'd study'd with care;
The Greeks when she rose, for a time seem'd more
gay,

Her adventure with smiles she began to display
In

In verse of less length, and a different measure,
Which runs with great ease, and is heard with
much pleasure :

'Twas in such the gay Hamilton still chose to
write ;

Such nature has often been known to indite.

T E O N E.

Young Agaton you all must know,
His charms like those of Nereus shew ;
His cheeks glow'd with a lovely red,
And scarce with down were overspread ;
His eyes like Venus's are sweet,
His voice like hers with love replete.
Lilies united with the rose
The tincture of his hue compose ;
The ringlets of Apollo's hair
Are not so graceful, long, and fair.
When of fit age to be a wife,
I chose him as my own for life,
My heart was not his captive made
By outward charms which quickly fade ;
Like Paris he can strike the eye,
In strength with fam'd Achilles vie.
One evening as I with my aunt
Took on the Ægean sea a jaunt,
Near one of those delightful isles
On which kind heav'n for ever smiles,
A Lydian vessel, great of size,
Seiz'd on our sloop as lawful prize.
Long had the corsair, then grown grey,
Cruiz'd near those isles in quest of prey,
Girls in the bloom of youth he sought,
These to his governor he brought.

He

He wanted one about my age,
Saw something in me to engage ;
He let my antient aunt go free,
And as men sparrows catch, seiz'd me ;
With haste then to his master goes,
Of his new booty to dispose.
My good aunt then with clam'rous cries
And bosom swoln with sorrow flies
To the Pyreum, there to tell
Whoe'er she met of what befel ;
How her Teone was the prey
Of a corsair that rov'd the sea ;
Of one who dealt in female ware ,
And meant to sell me at some fair.
Think you was Agaton content
With tears what happen'd to lament ?
On canvas with a brush to trace
The various features of my face,
To tune his lyre, his voice to raise,
To sing my loss and beauties praise ?
To arms my lover had recourse,
Resolv'd to get me back by force :
Not having wherewithal to pay
Those that engage in ev'ry fray,
He to his youthful figure trusted,
And like a girl himself adjusted,
With petticoat and stays when dress'd,
He hid a poniard in his breast ;
Then in a sloop he brav'd the main,
Bent or to die or me regain.
The youth arrived soon thus array'd,
To where Mæander winding play'd.
So bright his charms were, he seem'd born
The court of some prince to adorn ;
He seem'd a sheep made for the fold
To which I just before was sold.

When

When he began on shore to tread,
To my seraglio he was led.
No girl before was ever blest'd
With joy like that which fill'd my breast,
When I in my seraglio spy'd
My Grecian lover at my side,
And that within my pow'r it lay
All that his love dar'd to repay ;
Him I accepted as my own,
The deities appear'd alone
At nuptials in such hurry made ;
No priest was by in robes array'd ;
And those who to a master bend,
Have seldom servants to attend.
At night the am'rous satrap came
To my bed-side, talk'd of his flame,
His lust to gratify he thought,
But one fine girl was to him brought.
On seeing two, with great surprize,
I can't too many have, he cries,
Your lovely friend I much admire,
Company's all that I desire ;
Tho' two, I'll find means to content you,
Let no curs'd jealousy torment you.
When thus he had his mind express'd,
He both his mistresses carefs'd,
His word preparing to make good,
To do as he had said he would ;
For Agaton I was afraid,
But my brave Greek quite undismay'd
Upon the lustful satrap flew,
Seiz'd on his hair, his poniard drew,
Discover'd that he was a man,
And boldly thus to speak began :
Your doors this instant open throw,
Out of this house let us three go ;

By

By signs your whole attendant band
 Not to follow after us command ;
 To the shore let us take our way,
 And there embark without delay.
 I'll watch you with attentive eyes,
 If word 'or gesture I surprize,
 If the least doubtful sign I spy,
 That very instant you shall die ;
 Your corpse into the river thrown
 Shall to the bottom quick go down.
 The satrap, tho' a noble peer,
 Was very liable to fear ;
 He with great readiness obey'd ;
 The man is gentle that's afraid.
 Then in the little bark with haste
 With us the governor we plac'd.
 Soon as in Greece we all were landed,
 The vanquish'd's ransom was demanded ;
 A round sum in good gold was paid,
 This money was my dowry made.
 Acknowledge then my lover's deed
 Does that of Lygdamon exceed ;
 That just had been my sad complaint,
 Had he amus'd himself to paint
 My face, or in elab'rate verse
 My various graces to rehearse.

Her passion delighted, Greece heard her display
 With ease unaffected, with simplicity gay,
 All that Teone said was with fire animated,
 Grace in telling has more force than what is
 related.
 They applauded, they laugh'd, laughter Greeks
 never tires,
 When man's happy what signifies what he ad-
 mires.

Apamis

Apamis then, her eyes with tears flowing, ad-
 vanc'd,
 Her sorrows enchanted and her charms inhanc'd.
 The Greeks when she spoke took a more serious
 air,
 No heart in her favour delay'd to declare.
 In moderate measure she related the woes
 Which from her unhappy love's adventure arose;
 The smooth running syllables gave delight to each
 ear,
 And arrang'd with much art quite neglected ap-
 pear.
 The melody of this easy metre's divine,
 The long oft' tires the ear, tho' acknowledg'd
 more fine.

A P A M I S.

Tho' some curs'd star then rul'd the earth,
 'Twas Amatonte first gave me birth,
 Bless'd region! where in Greece, 'tis said,
 The mother of the loves was bred,
 Her cradle to that happy shore
 The ever-smiling pleasures bore;
 Tho' born the human race to bless,
 Me she has loaded with distress.
 From her pure law no ill cou'd flow,
 She pour'd down only good below,
 Whilst her law nature's law remain'd;
 Curs'd rigour has her altars stain'd:
 The gods are merciful and kind,
 But priests to cruelty inclin'd.
 A law they made severe as new,
 That any nymph that prov'd untrue,
 Her life shou'd in that water close
 From whence Love's goddess once arose,

Unless

Unless her forfeit life to save
Some lover chose a watr'y grave.
Can nothing then but punishment
Incontancy in love prevent ?
Should woman, weak and prone to change
From love to love, inconstant range ?
We'll own 'tis bad, but cannot see
Of drowning the necessity.
Oh Venus, beauty of the skies,
From whom my woes and joys took rise,
Whom I with so devout a care
Serv'd with young Batilus the fair,
I upon you as witness call
Of my love's force, you know it all ;
You know if e'er my flame to feed
My passion stood of fear in need ;
With love reciprocal delighted,
Our two souls were as one united ;
I and my lover felt that fire
Which once the goddess did inspire.
The sun when he began his course,
Was witness of our passion's force ;
And when his setting rays the vale
Began to gild, he heard our tale ;
But most the sable shades of night
Were conscious of our soft delight.
Arenorax, by love disclaim'd,
Whose heart to ev'ry vice was fram'd,
Lov'd me, but 'twas thro' spight alone,
'This all his words and deeds made known :
Still he was jealous, for by fate
The wretch was pre-ordain'd to hate ;
Envy's curst poisons he let fall,
His tongue distill'd vile slander's gall.
Hateful informers, monsters dire,
To hell, which gave you birth, retire ;

To hurt me so much art was us'd,
 That e'en my lover was abus'd,
 And innocence a victim fell
 To fraud, the off-spring curst of hell.
 Do not require to have display'd
 The horrid plot this monster laid;
 Such thoughts no place have in my soul,
 My lover there still claims the whole.
 In vain I to Love's goddess pray'd,
 By all I found myself betray'd;
 Condemn'd to end my life and woes
 In the sea whence fair Venus rose.
 To death I was a victim led,
 Tears, as I pass, by all were shed
 With unavailing sorrow all
 Lamented my untimely fall;
 When to me Batilus address'd
 A letter, which my fate revers'd,
 Dear fatal note, which with it brought
 Tidings that worse than death I thought!
 I almost sunk in endless night,
 When words like these first struck my sight:
 "Tho' to my love you were not true,
 "I'm yet resolv'd to die for you."
 'Twas done as said; my life to save,
 My lover plung'd into the wave.
 All at his boldness were amaz'd,
 They wept, and much his courage prais'd.
 Oh death thy aid I then requir'd,
 To end my woes alone desir'd:
 To follow Batilus I meant,
 But cruel friendship would prevent;
 By force kept from the shades below,
 I was condemn'd to life and woe.
 The curs'd impostor's hellish spight,
 Altho' too late, was brought to light;

He in his turn death underwent,
 I gain not by his punishment.
 Lovely Batilus is no more,
 For me he sought the Stygian shore.
 To you, O judges, I repair,
 Grant to my sighs and tender care
 Such needful aid, such kind relief
 As may but mitigate my grief :
 Grant the youth who resign'd his breath
 The prize he merited by death ;
 'Twill cheer him in the shades below,
 But I shall comfort no more know :
 Then let your generous hearts once more
 Force to this trembling hand restore,
 That on his tomb before your eyes
 It may write, " Athens gives this prize."
 Sobs stopp'd her when she thus had said,
 Ceasing, a flood of tears she shed.
 Compassion touch'd each judge's breast ;
 They first took *Ægle's* side,
 With *Teone* laugh'd at each jest,
 With *Apamis* they cry'd.
 I'm sorry that I cannot find
 To whom the laurel was assign'd.

My friends close by the fire-side seated
 These tales for you I have repeated ;
 I to an antient author owe 'em,
 And hope you will some favour show 'em ;
 You of their merit must decide,
 I by your judgment will abide.

THELEMA

THELEMA and MACAREUS.

THELEMA's lively, all admire
 Her charms, but she's too full of fire;
 Impatience ever racks her breast,
 Her heart a stranger is to rest.
 A jocund youth of bulky size
 This nymph beheld with tender eyes,
 From hers his humour differ'd quite,
 Black does not differ more from white.
 On his broad face and open mien
 There dwelt tranquility serene;
 His converse is from languor free
 And boisterous vivacity.
 His sleep was sound and sweet at night,
 Active he was at morn likeligh;
 As day advanc'd he pleas'd still more,
 Macareus was the name he bore.
 His mistress void of thought as fair
 Tormented him with too much care:
 She adoration thought her due,
 And into fierce reproaches flew;
 Her Macareus with laughter left,
 And of all hopes of bliss bereft.
 From clime to clime like mad she ran
 To seek the dear, the faithless man:
 From him she cou'd not live content,
 So first of all to court she went.
 There she of ev'ry one inquir'd,
 Is Macareus with you retir'd?
 Hearing that name the wittlings there
 To laugh and smile cou'd scarce forbear.
 Madam, said they, who is this 'squire
 Macareus for whom you inquire?

D 2

Madam,

Madam, his character display,
Or else we sha'n't know what to say.
He is a man, return'd the fair,
Possess'd of each endowment rare,
A man of virtue so refin'd,
He hated none of human kind ;
To whom no man e'er ow'd a spite
Who always knew to reason right,
Who void of care liv'd still at ease,
And knew all human kind to please.
The courtiers answer'd with a sneer,
You are not like to find him here,
Mortals with such endowments rare
But seldom to the court repair :
The fair then to the city bent
Her way, and stopp'd at a convent.
She thought that in that calm retreat
She might her tranquil lover meet.
Madam, then said the under prior,
The man for whom you thus inquire
We long have waited for in vain,
To visit us he ne'er did deign.
But such a loss to compensate,
We've idle time and vigils late ;
We have our stated days of fasting
With discord and divisions lasting.
A short monk then with crown shav'd o'er,
Said, madam, seek this man no more ;
For I'm by false reports misled,
Or else your lover's long since dead.
What the monk insolently said
Made Thelema with rage grow red :
Brother, said she, I'd have you know
The man who has caus'd all my woe
Was made for me, and me alone,
He's in this world on which I'm thrown ;

With

With me he'll live and die content,
 I'm properly his element :
 Who ought else told you on my word
 Has said a thing that's most absurd.
 This said, away the fair one ran,
 Resolv'd to find th' inconstant man.
 At Paris, where the wits abound,
 Perhaps, said she, he may be found,
 The wits speak of him as a sage ;
 One of them said, you by our page,
 Madam, perhaps have been misled ;
 When there of Macareus you read,
 We spoke of one we never knew.
 Then near she to the palace drew,
 Shutting her eyes, quick pass'd the fair,
 My love, she cry'd, can't sure be there ;
 There's some attractions in a court,
 But who'd to this vile place resort ?
 Themis' black followers needs must prove
 Eternal foes to him I love.
 Fair Thelema at Rameau's shrine,
 Where the muse utters strains divine,
 The man who her so much neglected
 There to meet, was what she expected.
 At those feasts oft' she was a guest,
 Where meet gay people richly dress'd ;
 Such people as we all agree
 To call the best of company.
 People of an address polite,
 She look'd upon at the first sight
 As perfect copies of her lover ;
 But she soon after cou'd discover,
 That striving most to appear the same,
 They still were widest of their aim.
 At last the fair one in despair,
 Finding how vain was all her care.

And grown of her inquiries tir'd,
 To her retreat wou'd have retir'd :
 The object which she there first spy'd
 Was Macareus by her bed side ;
 He waited there hid from her eyes,
 That he the fair one might surprize :
 Henceforward, said he, live with me,
 From all inquietude be free,
 Do not, like vain and haughty dames,
 Be too assuming in your claims ;
 And if you wou'd henceforth possess
 My person and my tenderness,
 Never more make demands more high
 Than suits me with them to comply.
 Who's understood by either name,
 Both of the lover and the dame,
 The folks who are profound in Greek
 Cannot be very far to seek.
 Taught by this emblem they'll relate
 What's to be ev'ry mortal's fate,
 Thee Macareus * tho' all men chuse,
 Tho' much they love thee, oft' they lose ;
 And I'm perswaded that you dwell
 With me, tho' this I fear to tell.
 Who boasts that with thee he is blest'd,
 By envy oft' is dispossest'd ;
 A man shou'd know, to make thee sure,
 How to live happy whilst obscure.

* The late Mr. Vadé has done his readers the justice to
 believe that they know, that Macareus is happiness, and
 Thelema desire or will,

A Z O L A N.

AT village liv'd, in days of yore,
 A youth bred in Mohammed's lore;
 His well-turn'd limbs were form'd with grace,
 With blooming beauty glow'd his face;
 His name was Azolan, with care
 The Khoran he had wrote out fair;
 Was on its study ever bent,
 To get it all by heart he meant.
 From the most early youth his breast
 By zeal for Gabriel was possess'd;
 This minister of the most high
 Descended to him from the sky.
 The zeal that in thy bosom glows,
 Said he, thy guardian Gabriel knows:
 To Gabriel gratitude is dear,
 To make your fortune I'm come here;
 You'll in short time as first divine
 Of Medina and Mecca shine;
 This, next to his place who is chief
 Of all who hold the true belief,
 Is the most high and wealthy station
 In holy Mahomet's donation.
 When you your duties once begin,
 Honours on all sides will pour in;
 But you a solemn oath must make
 The whole sex female to forsake;
 To lead a life most chaste, and ne'er
 But thro' a grate to view the fair.
 Too hastily the beauteous boy,
 That he church treasures might enjoy,
 Fell easily into the snare,
 Nor of his folly was aware.

Our new-made imam was elate,
Seeing himself become so great ;
His joy the salary enhanc'd,
Which was immediately advanc'd
By a clerk of important air,
Who with him still went share and share.
No joy can dignity supply,
Nor wealth, shou'd love his aid deny.
Each morning as the day return'd,
The youth, who with love's flames still burn'd,
Being by his curs'd oath enchain'd,
Of his sad slavery complain'd,
Avowing freely in his heart,
That he had play'd a foolish part.
Amina fair by chance he spies,
With youthful bloom and charming eyes ;
He loves Amina, she in turn
For him feels love's flame equal burn.
Then Medina farewell, he cry'd,
Mecca, vain pomp and foolish pride ;
Amina, mistress of my breast,
We'll both live in my village blest'd.
From heav'n th' archangel made descent,
Severely to reproach him bent :
The tender lover thus replies ;
Do but behold my mistress' eyes ;
I find of me you've made a jest,
I'm by your contract quite distress'd ;
With all you gave I'll freely part,
I ask alone Amina's heart.
The prudent and the sacred lore
Of Mahomet I must adore ;
Love's joys he grants to the elect,
Nay he allows 'em to expect
Amina's and eternal love,
In his bright Paradise above.

To heaven again dear Gabriel go,
 My zeal for you shall still o'erflow;
 To the empyreum then repair,
 Without my love I'd not go there.



T H E
 O R I G I N of T R A D E S.

WHEN with a skilful hand Prometheus
 made
 A statue that the human form display'd,
 Pandora his own work to wed he chose,
 And from those two the human race arose.
 When first to know herself the fair began,
 She play'd her smile's enchantment upon man;
 By softness and alluring speech she gain'd
 Th' ascendant, and her master soon enchain'd;
 Her beauty on Prometheus' sense ne'er pall'd,
 And the first husband was the first enthrall'd.
 The god of war soon saw the new-form'd fair;
 His manly beauty and his martial air,
 His golden casque and all his glitt'ring arms
 Pandora pleas'd, and he enjoy'd her charms.
 When the sea's ruler in his humid court
 Had heard of this intrigue from fame's report,
 The fair he sought, a like reception found,
 Could Neptune fail where Mars a triumph found?
 Day's light-hair'd god from his resplendent height
 Their pleasures saw, and hop'd the same delight;
 She could not to refuse him have the heart,
 Who o'er the day presides and ev'ry art.

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THE

ORIGIN of TRADES.

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Mercury with eloquence declar'd his flame,
And in his turn he triumph'd o'er the dame.
Squalid and sooty from his forge, at first
Vulcan was ill receiv'd, and gave disgust ;
But he by importunity obtain'd
What other gods with so much ease had gain'd.
Pandora's prime thus wing'd with pleasure flew,
Then she in languor liv'd, nor wherefore knew.
She that devotes to love her life's first spring,
As years increafe can do no other thing ;
For e'en to gods inconstancy is known,
And those who dwell in heav'n to change are
prone.

Pandora of her favours had been free
To gods who left her ; happ'ning then to see
A satyr who thro' plains and meadows stray'd,
Smit with his mien, she love-advances made ;
To these amours our race existence owes,
From such amusements all mankind arose ;
Hence those varieties in talents spring,
In genius, passions, bus'ness, every thing :
To Vulcan one, to Mars one owes his birth,
This to a satyr ; very few on earth
Claim any kindred with the god of day,
Few that celestial origin display.
From parents each his taste and turn derives ;
But most of all trades now Pandora's thrives ;
The most delightful, tho' least rare it seems,
And is the trade all Paris most esteems.

THE

BLACK AND THE WHITE.

THE adventure of the youthful Rustan is generally known throughout the whole province of Candahar. He was the only son of a mirza of that country: the title of mirza there is much the same with that of marquis amongst us, or that of baron amongst the Germans. The mirza his father had a handsome fortune. Young Rustan was to be married to a mirzasse, or young lady of his own rank; the two families earnestly desired their union. Rustan was to become the comfort of his parents, to make his wife happy, and to live blest in her possession.

But he had unfortunately seen the princess of Cachemire at the fair of Kaboul, which is the most considerable fair in the world, and much more frequented than those of Bassora and Astracan; the occasion that brought the old prince of Cachemire to the fair with his daughter was as follows:

He had lost the two most precious curiosities of his treasury; one of them was a diamond as thick as a man's thumb, upon which the figure of his daughter was engraved by an art which was then possessed by the Indians and has since been lost; the other was a javelin which went of itself wherever its owner thought proper to send it; this is nothing very extraordinary amongst us, but it was thought so at Cachemire.

A faquir belonging to his highness stole these two curiosities; he carried them to the princess: keep these two curiosities with the utmost care, said he, your destiny depends upon them. Having spoke thus he departed, and was not afterwards seen. The duke of Cachemire in despair resolved to visit the fair of Kaboul, in order to see whether there might not, amongst the merchants who go thither from all the quarters of the world, be some one possessed of his diamond and his weapon. He carried his daughter with him in all his travels. She carried her diamond well fastened to her girdle; but the javelin, which she could not so easily hide, she had carefully locked up at Cachemire in a large chest.

Rustan and she saw each other at Kaboul; they loved one another with all the sincerity of persons of their age, and all the tenderness of affection natural to those of their country. The princess gave Rustan her diamond as a pledge of her love, and he promised at his departure to go incognito to Cachemire, in order to pay her a visit.

The young mirza had two favourites, who served him as secretaries, grooms, stewards, and valets de chambre; the name of one was Topaze; he was handsome, well-shaped, fair as a Circassian beauty, as mild and ready to serve as an Armenian, and as wise as a Guebre. The name of the other was Ebene; he was a very beautiful negro, more active and industrious than Topaze, and one that thought nothing difficult. The young mirza communicated his intention of travelling to these. Topaze endeavoured to dissuade him from it with the circumpect zeal of a servant who was unwilling to offend him; he

represented to him the great danger to which he exposed himself; he asked him how he could leave two families in despair? how he could pierce the hearts of his parents? He shook the resolution of Rustan; but Ebene confirmed it anew, and obviated all his objections.

The young man was not furnished with money to defray the charge of so long a voyage; the prudent Topaze would not have lent him any; Ebene supplied him; he with great address stole his master's diamond, made a false one exactly like it which he put in its place, and pledged the true one to an Armenian for several thousand roupies.

As soon as the marquis was possessed of his roupies, all things were in readiness for his departure; an elephant was loaden with his baggage, his attendants mounted on horse-back. Topaze said to his master, I have taken the liberty to expostulate with you upon your enterprise, but after expostulating, it is my duty to obey; I am devoted to you, I love you, I will follow you to the extremity of the earth; but let us by the way consult the oracle that is but two parasonges distant from here: Rustan consented. The answer returned by the oracle was, "If you go to the east you will be at the west." Rustan could not guess the meaning of this answer. Topaze maintained that it boded no good. Ebene, always complaisant to his master, persuaded him that it was highly favourable.

There was another oracle at Kaboul; they went to it; the oracle of Kaboul made answer in these words, "If you possess, you will cease
" to possess; if you are conqueror you will not
" conquer; if you are Rustan, you will cease

" to

“to be so.” This oracle appeared still more unintelligible than the former. Take care of yourself, said Topaze : fear nothing, said Ebene ; and this minister, as may well be imagined, was always thought in the right by his master, whose passions and hopes he encouraged. Having left Kaboul, they passed through a vast forest ; they seated themselves upon the grass, in order to take a repast, and left their horses grazing. The attendants were preparing to unload the elephant which carried the dinner, the table, cloth, plates, &c. when all on a sudden Topaze and Ebene were perceived by the little caravan to be missing. They were called, the forest resounded with the names of Topaze and Ebene ; the lacquies seek them on every side, and fill the forest with their cries ; they return without having seen any thing, and without having received any answer. We have, said they to Rustan, found nothing but a vulture that fought with an eagle, and stript it of all its feathers. The mention of this combat excited the curiosity of Rustan ; he went on foot to the place, he perceived neither vulture nor eagle ; but he saw his elephant, which was still loaden with baggage, attacked by a huge rhinoceros : one struck with its horn, the other with its proboscis. The rhinoceros desisted upon seeing Rustan ; his elephant was brought back, but his horses were not to be found. Strange things happen in forests to travellers, cried Rustan. The servants were in great consternation, and the master in despair, for having at once lost his horses, his dear negro, and the wife Topaze, for whom he still had a friendship, though he always differed from him in opinion.

The

The hopes of being soon at the feet of the beauteous princess of Cachemire consoled the mirza, when he met with a huge streaked ass, which a vigorous two-handed country clown beat with an oaken cudgel. The asses of this sort are extremely beautiful, very scarce, and beyond expression swift in running. The ass returned the reiterated blows of the clown by kicks which might have rooted up an oak. The young mirza, as was reasonable, took upon him the defence of the ass, which was a charming creature. The clown betook himself to flight, crying to the ass, You shall pay for this.

The ass thanked her deliverer in her own language, approached him, let herself be caressed, and caressed him in her turn. After dinner, Rustan mounts her, and takes the road to Cachemire with his servants, who follow him some on foot and some upon the elephant. Scarce was he got upon his ass, when that animal turned towards Kaboul, instead of proceeding to Cachemire. It was to no purpose for her master to turn the bridle, to kick, to press the sides of the beast with his knees, to spur, to slacken the bridle, to pull towards him, to whip both on the right and the left, the obstinate animal persisted to run towards Kaboul.

Rustan sweated, fretted, and raved; when he met with a dealer in camels, who said to him, Master, you have got a very malicious beast, which carries you where you do not chuse to go; if you will give it to me, I will give you the choice of four of my camels. Rustan thanked providence for having thrown so good a bargain in his way. Topaze was very much in the wrong, said he, to tell me that my journey would

would prove unprosperous. He mounts the handsomest camel, the other three follow; he rejoins his caravan, and sees himself in the road to his happiness.

Scarce had he walked four parasonges, when he was stopped by a deep, broad, and impetuous torrent, which rolled upon rocks white with foam; the two banks were frightful precipices which dazzled the sight and made the blood run cold: to pass was impracticable, it was impossible to go to the right or the left. I am beginning to be afraid, said Rustan, that Topaze was in the right in blaming my journey, and that I was in the wrong in undertaking it; if he was still here he might give me good advice; if I had Ebene with me, he would comfort me and find expedients; but every thing fails me. This perplexity was increased by the consternation of his attendants: the night was dark, and they passed it in lamentations. At last fatigue and dejection made the amorous traveller fall asleep. He awakes at day-break, and sees a beautiful marble bridge built upon the torrent, which reached from shore to shore.

Nothing was heard but exclamations, cries of astonishment, and joy. Is it possible? Is this a dream? What a prodigy is this! What an enchantment! Shall we venture to pass? The whole company kneeled, rose up, went to the bridge, kissed the ground, looked up to heaven, stretched out their hands, set their feet on it with trembling, went to and fro, fell into extacies; and Rustan said, At last heaven favours me, Topaze did not know what he was saying, oracles were favourable to me, Ebene was in the right, but why is he not here?

Scarce

Scarce had the company got beyond the torrent, when the bridge sunk into the water with a prodigious noise. So much the better, so much the better, cried Rustan, praised be God, blessed be heaven ; it would not have me return to my country, where I should be nothing more than a gentleman ; the intention of heaven is that I should wed her I love ; I shall become prince of Cachemire ; thus in “possessing” my mistress I shall cease to “possess” my little marquise at Candahar. “I shall be Rustan, and I shall “not be Rustan”, because I shall become a great prince : thus is a great part of the oracle clearly explained in my favour, the rest will be explained in the same manner, I am too happy : but why is not Ebene with me ? I regret him a thousand times more than Topaze.

He proceeded a few parasonges farther with the greatest alacrity imaginable ; but at the close of day, a chain of mountains, more rugged than a counterescarp, and higher than the tower of Babel would have been if it had been finished, stopped the passage of the caravan, which was seized with dread.

All the company cried out, it is the will of God that we perish here ; he broke the bridge meely to take from us all hopes of returning ; he raised the mountain for no other reason but to deprive us of all means of advancing. Oh Rustan, oh unhappy marquis ! we shall never see Cachemire, we shall never return to the land of Candahar.

The most poignant anguish, the most insupportable dejection, succeeded in the soul of Rustan to the immoderate joy which he had felt, to the hopes with which he had intoxicated himself,

self. He was by no means disposed to interpret the prophecies in his favour. Oh heavens! oh God of my fathers! said he, must I then lose my friend Topaze?

As he pronounced these words, fetching deep sighs and shedding tears in the midst of his disconsolate followers, the basis of the mountain opens, a long gallery appears to the dazzled eyes in a vault lighted with a hundred thousand torches; Rustan immediately begins to lament, and his people to throw themselves upon their knees, and to fall upon their backs in astonishment, and cry out, a miracle! and say, Rustan is the favourite of Witsnow, the well-beloved of Brama; he will become the master of mankind. Rustan believed it, he was quite beside himself, he was raised above himself. Alas, Ebene, said he, my dear Ebene, where are you? Why are you not witness of all these wonders? How did I lose you? Beauteous princess of Cachemire, when shall I again behold your charms?

He advances with his attendants, his elephants, and his camels, under the hollow of the mountain, at the end of which he enters into a meadow enamelled with flowers and encompassed with rivulets; at the extremity of the meadows are walks of trees to the end of which the eye cannot reach, and at the end of these alleys is a river, on the sides of which are a thousand pleasure-houses with delicious gardens. He every where hears concerts of vocal and instrumental music, he sees dances; he makes haste to go upon one of the bridges of the river; he asks the first man he meets, what fine country that is.

He

He whom he addressed himself to answered, You are in the province of Cachemire; you see the inhabitants immersed in joy and pleasures; we celebrate the marriage of our beauteous princess, who is going to be married to the lord Barbabou, to whom his father promised her; may God perpetuate their felicity! At these words Rustan fainted away, and the Cachemirian lord thought he was troubled with the falling sickness; he caused him to be carried to his house, where he remained a long time insensible. He sent in search of the two most able physicians in that part of the country: they felt the patient's pulse, who having somewhat recovered his spirits, sobbed, rolled his eyes, and cried from time to time, Topaze, Topaze, you were entirely in the right!

One of the two physicians said to the Cachemirian lord, I perceive by this young man's accent, that he is from Candahar, and that the air of this country is hurtful to him; he must be sent home: I perceive by his eyes that he has lost his senses; entrust me with him, I will carry him back to his own country, and cure him. The other physician maintained, that grief was his only disorder; and that it was proper to carry him to the wedding of the princess, and make him dance. Whilst they were in consultation, the patient recovered his health; the two physicians were dismissed, and Rustan remained alone with his host.

My lord, said he, I ask your pardon for having been so free as to faint in your presence; I know it to be a breach of politeness; I intreat you to accept of my elephant, as an acknowledgment of the kindness you have shewed me.

He

He then related to him all his adventure, taking particular care to conceal from him the occasion of his journey. But, in the name of Witfnow and Bramia, said he to him, tell me who is this happy Barbabou, who is to marry the princess of Cachemire; why has her father chosen him for his son-in-law, and why has the princess accepted of him for an husband?

Sir, answered the Cachemirian, the princess has by no means accepted of Barbabou; she is, on the contrary, in tears, whilst the whole province joyfully celebrates her marriage: she has shut herself up in a tower of her palace; she does not chuse to see any of the rejoicings made upon the occasion. Rustan, at hearing this, perceived himself revive; the bloom of his complexion, which grief had caused to fade, appeared again upon his countenance. Tell me, I intreat you, continued he, why the prince of Cachemire is obstinately bent upon giving his daughter to a Barbabou whom she does not like?

This is the fact, answered the Cachemirian: Do you know that our august prince lost a large diamond and a javelin which he had a great value for? Ah! I very well know that, said Rustan. Know then, said his host, that our prince being in despair at not having heard of his two precious curiosities, after having caused them to be sought for all over the world, promised his daughter to whoever should bring him either the one or the other: a lord Barbabou came, who had got the diamond, and he is to marry the princess to-morrow.

Rustan turned pale, stammered out a compliment, took his leave of his host, and galloped upon

upon his dromedary to the capital city, where the ceremony was performed. He arrives at the palace of the prince, he tells him he has something of importance to communicate to him, he demands an audience; he is told that the prince is taken up with the preparations for the wedding. It is for that very reason, said he, that I am desirous of speaking to him: such is his importunity, that he is at last admitted. Prince, said he, may God crown all your days with glory and magnificence! your son-in-law is a knave.

What, a knave! how dare you speak in such terms? Is that a proper way of speaking to a duke of Cachemire of a son-in-law whom he has made choice of? Yes, he is a knave, continued Rustan; and to prove it to your highness, I have brought you back your diamond.

The duke, surprized at what he heard, compared the two diamonds; and as he was no judge of precious stones, he could not determine which was the true one. Here are two diamonds, said he, and I have but one daughter; I am in a strange perplexity.

He sent for Barbabou, and asked him if he had not imposed upon him. Barbabou swore he had bought his diamond from an Armenian; the other did not tell him who he had his from; but he proposed an expedient, which was, that his highness would please to permit him to engage his rival in single combat. It is not enough for your son-in-law to give a diamond, said he, he should also give proofs of valour. Do not you think it just that he who kills his rival should marry the princess. Undoubtedly, answered the prince, it will be a fine fight for the

court; fight directly: the conqueror shall take the arms of the conquered, according to the customs of Cachemire, and he shall marry my daughter.

The two pretenders to the princess immediately go down into the court. Upon the stairs there was a pie and a raven; the raven cried, fight, fight; the pie cried, don't fight. This made the prince laugh; the two rivals scarce took any notice of it; they begin the combat; all the courtiers made a circle round them. The princess, who kept herself constantly shut up in her tower, did not chuse to behold this fight; she never dreamt of her lover's being at Cachemire, and she hated Barbabou to such a degree, that she could not bear the sight of him. The combat had the happiest event imaginable; Barbabou was killed outright; and this greatly rejoiced the people, because he was ugly, and Rustan was very handsome; the favour of the public is almost always determined by this circumstance.

The conqueror put on the coat of mail, the scarf, and the casque of the conquered, and came, followed by the whole court, to present himself under the windows of his mistress. The multitude cried aloud, Beautiful princess, come and see your handsome lover, who has killed his ugly rival. These words were re-echoed by her women. The princess unluckily looked out of the window, and seeing the armour of a man she hated, she ran like one frantic to her strong box, and took out the fatal javelin, which flew to pierce Rustan, notwithstanding his cuirass; he cried out loudly, and at this cry the princess

thought she again knew the voice of her unhappy lover.

She ran down stairs, with her hair dishevelled, and death in her eyes as well as her heart. Rustan had already fallen, all bloody, into the arms of his father: she sees him. Oh moment! oh sight! oh! discovery of inexpressible grief, tenderness, and horror. She throws herself upon him, and embraces him: You receive, said she, the first and last kisses of your mistress and your murderer. She pulls the dart from the wound, plunges it in her heart, and dies upon the body of the lover whom she adores. The father, terrified, in despair, and ready to die like his daughter, tries in vain to bring her to life; she was no more: he curses the fatal dart, breaks it to pieces, throws away the two fatal diamonds; and whilst he prepared the funeral of his daughter, instead of her marriage, he caused Rustan, who weltered in his blood, and had still some remains of life, to be carried to his palace.

He was put into bed: the first objects he saw on each side of his death-bed were Topaze and Ebene. This surprize made him in some degree recover his strength. Cruel men, said he, why did you abandon me? Perhaps the princess would still be alive if you had been with the unhappy Rustan. I have not forsaken you a moment, said Topaze: I have been always with you, said Ebene. Ah, what do you say? why do you insult me in my last moments, answered Rustan with a languishing voice? You may believe me, said Topaze; you know I never approved of this fatal journey, the dreadful consequences of which I foresaw: I was the eagle that fought with the vulture and stript it
of

of its feathers; I was the elephant that carried away the baggage, in order to force you to return to your own country; I was the streaked ass that carried you, whether you would or no, to your father; it was I that made your horses go astray; it was I that caused the torrent that prevented your passage; it was I that raised the mountain which stopped up a road so fatal to you: I was the physician that advised you to return to your own country; I was the pie that cried out to you not to fight.

And I, said Ebene, was the vulture that he stripped of his feathers, the rhinoceros who gave him a hundred strokes with my horn, the clown that beat the streaked ass, the merchant who made you a present of camels to hasten to your destruction; I dug the cavern that you crossed, I am the physician that encouraged you to walk, the raven that cried out to you to combat.

Alas! said Topaze, "Remember the oracles, "If you go to the east you will be at the west." Yes, said Ebene, here the dead are buried with their faces turned to the west: the oracle was plain enough, though you did not understand it. "You possessed and you did not possess;" for you had the diamond, but it was a false one, though you did not know it. "You are conqueror and you die, you are Rustan and you cease to be so;" all has been accomplished. Whilst he spoke thus, four white wings covered the body of Topaze, and four black wings that of Ebene. What do I see! cried Rustan. Topaze and Ebene answered together, You see your two geniuses. Good gentlemen, cried the unhappy Rustan, how came you to meddle? and what occasion had a poor man for two geniuses?

niuses? It is a law, answered Topaze; every man has two geniuses: Plato was the first man that said so, and others have repeated it after him; you see that nothing can be more true: I, who now speak to you, am your good genius; I was charged to watch over you to the last moment of your life; of this task I have faithfully acquitted myself.

But, said the dying man, if your business was to serve me, I am of a nature much superior to yours; and then how can you have the assurance to say you are my good genius, since you have suffered me to be deceived in every thing I have undertaken, and since you suffer both my mistress and I to die miserably? Alas! said Topaze, it was your destiny. If destiny does all, answered the dying man, what is a genius good for? And you, Ebene, with your four black wings, you are doubtless my evil genius. You have hit it, answered Ebene. Then I suppose you were the evil genius of my princess likewise, said Rustan. No, replied Ebene, she had an evil genius of her own, and I seconded him perfectly. Ah, cursed Ebene, said Rustan, if you are so malicious, you don't belong to the same master with Topaze: you have been formed by two different principles, one of which is by nature good, the other evil. That does not follow, said Ebene, this is a very knotty point. It is not possible, answered the dying man, that a benevolent being could create so destructive a genius. Possible or not possible, replied the genius, the thing is just as I say. Alas, said Topaze, my poor unfortunate friend, don't you see that that rogue is so malicious as to encourage you to dispute, in order to inflame

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your blood and hasten your death? Get you gone, said the melancholy Rustan, I am not much better satisfied with you than with him: he at least acknowledges that it was his intention to hurt me; and you, who pretended to defend me, have done me no service at all. I am very sorry for it, said the good genius. And I too, said the dying man, there is something at the bottom of this which I cannot comprehend. Nor I neither, said the poor genius. I shall know the truth of the matter in a moment, said Rustan. We shall see that, said Topaze. The whole scene then vanished. Rustan again found himself in the house of his father, which he had not quitted, and in his bed, where he had slept an hour.

He awakes in astonishment, sweating all over, and quite wild; he rubs himself, he calls, he rings the bell. His valet-de-chambre, Topaze, runs in, in his night-cap, and yawning. Am I dead or alive, cried out Rustan? Shall the beauteous princess of Cachemire escape? Does your lordship rave, answered Topaze coldly.

Ah, cried Rustan, what then is become of this barbarous Ebene, with his four black wings? It is he that makes me die by so cruel a death. My lord, answered Topaze, I left him snoring above stairs, would you have me bid him come down? The villain, said Rustan, has persecuted me for six months together; it was he carried me to the fatal fair of Kaboul; it is he that cheated me of the diamond with which the princess presented me; he is the sole cause of my journey, of the death of my princess, and of the wound with a javelin of which I die in the flower of my age.

Take

Take heart, said Topaze, you were never at Kaboul; there is no princess of Cachemire; her father never had any children but two boys, who are now at college: you never had a diamond: the princess cannot be dead, because she is not born; and you are perfectly well in health.

What, is it not then true that you attended me whilst dying, and in the bed of the prince of Cachemire? Did you not acknowledge to me, that, in order to preserve me from so many dangers, you were an eagle, an elephant, a streaked ass, a physician, and a pie? My lord, you have dreamt all this, answered Topaze; our ideas are no more of our own creating whilst we are asleep than whilst we are awake: God has thought proper that this train of ideas should pass in your head, most probably to convey some instruction to you, of which you may make a good use.

You make a jest of me, replied Rustan, how long have I slept? My lord, said Topaze, you have not yet slept an hour. Curst reasoner, returned Rustan, how is it possible that I could be, in the space of an hour, at the fair of Kaboul six months ago, that I could have returned from thence, have travelled to Cachemire, and that Barbabou, the princess and I, should have died? My lord, said Topaze, nothing can be more easy and more common, and you might have travelled round the world, and have met with a great many more adventures in much less time.

Is it not true that you can, in an hour's time, read the abridgment of the Persian history, written by Zoroaster? yet this abridgment con-

tains eight hundred thousand years. All these events pass before your eyes one after another, in an hour's time. Now you must acknowledge, that it is as easy to Brama to confine them to the space of an hour, as to extend them to the space of eight hundred thousand years; it is exactly the same thing. Imagine to yourself that time turns upon a wheel whose diameter is infinite. Under this vast wheel is a numerous multitude of wheels one within another; that in the center is imperceptible, and goes round an infinite number of times, whilst the great wheel performs but one revolution. It is evident, that all the events which have happened from the beginning of the world, to its end, might have happened in much less time than the hundred thousandth part of a second; and one may even go so far as to assert that the thing is so.

I cannot comprehend all this, said Rustan. If you want information, said Topaze, I have a parrot that will easily explain it to you. He was born some time before the deluge; he has been in the ark; he has seen a great deal; yet he is but a year and a half old: he will relate to you his history, which is extremely interesting.

Go fetch your parrot, said Rustan, it will amuse me till I again find myself disposed to sleep. It is with my sister, the nun, said Topaze, I will go and fetch it; it will please you; its memory is faithful, it relates in a simple manner, without endeavouring to shew wit at every turn. So much the better, said Rustan, I like that manner of telling stories. The parrot being brought to him, spoke in this manner: —

N. B. Mademoiselle Catherine Vadé could never find the history of the parrot in the common-

mon-place book of her late cousin Anthony Vadé, author of that tale : this is a great misfortune, considering what age that parrot lived in.



JEANNOT AND COLIN.

MANY persons worthy of credit have seen Jeannot and Colin at school, in the town of Issoire, in Auvergne, a town famous all over the world for its college and its caldrons. Jeannot was the son of a dealer in mules of great reputation ; and Colin owed his birth to a good substantial farmer in the neighbourhood, who cultivated the land with four mules ; and who, after he had paid all taxes and duties at the rate of a sol per pound, was not very rich at the year's end.

Jeannot and Colin were very handsome, considering they were natives of Auvergne : they highly loved each other ; and they had little secret connexions, certain little familiarities, of such a nature as men always recollect with pleasure, when they afterwards meet in the world.

Their studies were very nigh finished, when a taylor brought Jeannot a velvet suit of three colours, with a waistcoat of Lyons, which was extremely well fancied : with these came a letter addressed to Monf. de la Jeannotiere. Colin admired the coat, and was not at all jealous ; but Jeannot assumed an air of superiority, which gave Colin some uneasiness. From that moment

Jeannot abandoned his studies; he contemplated himself in a glass, and despised all mankind. Soon after, a valet-de-chambre arrives post-haste, and brings a second letter to the marquis de la Jeannotiere; it was an order from his father, by which he was desired to repair directly to him at Paris. Jeannot got into his chaise, giving his hand to Colin with a smile, which denoted the superiority of a patron. Colin felt his littleness, and wept. Jeannot departed in all the pomp of his glory.

Such readers as take a pleasure in being instructed should be informed, that Mons. Jeannot the father, had, with great rapidity, acquired an immense fortune by business. You will ask how such great fortunes are made? My answer is, by luck. Mons. Jeannot had a good person, so had his wife; and she had still some freshness remaining. They went to Paris on account of a law-suit, which ruined them; when fortune, which raises and depresses men at her pleasure, presented them to the wife of an undertaker belonging to one of the hospitals for the army, a man of great talents, who might make it his boast, that he had killed more soldiers in a year than cannons destroy in ten. Jeannot pleased the wife; the wife of Jeannot pleased the undertaker. Jeannot was soon employed in the undertaker's business; this introduced him to other business. When our boat runs with wind and stream, we have nothing to do but let it sail on; we then make an immense fortune with ease: the poor creatures who from the shore see you pursue your voyage with full sail, stare with astonishment; they cannot conceive to what you owe your success; they envy you at random,

random, and write pamphlets against you which you never read. This is just what happened to Jeannot the father, who soon became *Monsi. de la Jeannotiere*; and who having purchased a marquisate in six months time, took the young marquis his son from school, in order to introduce him to the polite world at Paris.

Colin, whose heart was replete with tenderness, wrote a letter of compliments to his old companion, and congratulated him on his good fortune. The little marquis wrote him no answer. Colin was so much afflicted at this, that he was taken ill.

The father and mother immediately consigned the young marquis to the care of a governor: this governor, who was a man of fashion, and who knew nothing, was not able to teach his pupil any thing. The marquis would have had his son learn Latin; this his lady was against. They hereupon referred the matter to the judgment of an author, who had at that time acquired great reputation by his entertaining performances. He was invited to dinner. The master of the house immediately addressed him thus: "Sir, as you understand Latin, and are a man acquainted with the court."—"I understand Latin! I don't know one word of it, answered the wit; and I think myself the better for being unacquainted with it: it is very evident that a man speaks his own language in greater perfection when he does not divide his application between it and foreign languages. Only consider our ladies; they have a much more agreeable turn of wit than the men; their letters are written with a hundred times the

grace of ours : this superiority they owe to nothing else but their not understanding Latin."

"Well, was I not in the right ? said the lady : I would have my son prove a notable man, I would have him succeed in the world ; and you see that if he was to understand Latin he would be ruined. Pray, are plays and operas performed in Latin ? do lawyers plead in Latin ? do men court a mistress in Latin ?" The marquis, dazzled by these reasons, gave up the point ; and it was resolved, that the young marquis should not mispend his time in endeavouring to become acquainted with Cicero, Horace, and Virgil. "Then what shall he learn ? for he must know something ; might not one teach him a little geography ?" said the father. "Of what use will that be ? answered the governor : when the marquis goes to his estate, won't the postillion know the roads ? they certainly will not carry him out of his way : there is no occasion for a quadrant to travel thither ; and one can go very commodiously from Paris to Auvergne without knowing what latitude one is in."

"You are in the right, replied the father : but I have heard of a fine science called astronomy, if I am not mistaken." "Bless me ! said the governor, do people regulate their conduct by the influence of the stars in this world ? and must the young gentleman perplex himself with the calculation of an eclipse, when he finds it ready calculated to his hand in an almanac, which, at the same time, teaches him the moveable feasts, the age of the moon, and that of all the princesses in Europe ?"

The lady agreed perfectly with the governor ; the little marquis was transported with joy ; the father

father remained undetermined. "What then is my son to learn?" said he. "To become amiable, answered the friend who was consulted; and if he knows how to please, he will know all that need be known; this art he will learn in the company of his mother, without either he or she being at any trouble.

The lady, upon hearing this, embraced the ignorant flatterer, and said, "It is easy to see, Sir, that you are the most knowing man in the world; my son will be entirely indebted to you for his education: I think, however, it would not be amiss if he was to know something of history." "Alas, madam, what is that good for, answered he; there certainly is no useful or entertaining history but the history of the day: all antient histories, as one of our wits has observed, are only fables that men have agreed to admit as true: with regard to modern history, it is a meer chaos, a confusion which it is impossible to make any thing of. Of what consequence is it to the young marquis your son, to know that Charlemagne instituted the twelve peers of France, and that his successor stammered?"

"Admirably said, cried the governor; the genius of young persons is smothered under a heap of useless knowledge: but of all sciences, the most absurd, and that which, in my opinion, is most calculated to stifle genius of every kind, is geometry. The objects about which this ridiculous science is conversant, are surfaces, lines, and points, that have no existence in nature: by the force of imagination, the geometrician makes a hundred thousand curve lines pass between a circle and a right line that touches it,

when, in reality, there is not room for a straw to pass there. Geometry, if we consider it in its true light, is a meer jest, and nothing more."

The marquis and his lady did not well understand the governor's meaning, yet they were entirely of his opinion.

"A man of quality, like the young marquis, continued he, should not rack his brains with useless sciences. If he one day should have occasion for a sublime geometry, to take a plan of the lands of his estate, he may get them surveyed for money: if he has a mind to trace the antiquity of his noble family, which leads the inquirer back to the most remote ages, he will send for a Benedictine: it will be the same thing with regard to all other arts. A young man of quality, endowed with a happy genius, is neither a painter, a musician, an architect, nor a graver; but he makes all these arts flourish, by generously encouraging them: it is, doubtless, better to patronize than to practise them: it is enough for the young marquis to have a taste; it is the business of artists to exert themselves for him; and it is in this sense that it is said, very justly, of people of quality (I mean those that are very rich) that they know all things, without having learnt any thing; for they, in fact, come at last to know how to form a judgment concerning whatever they order or pay for."

The ignorant man of fashion then spoke to this purpose: "You have very justly observed, madam, that the grand end which a man should have in view is to succeed in the world: can it possibly be said that this success is to be obtained by cultivating the sciences? did any body ever so
much

much as think of talking of geometry in good company? does any one ever inquire of a man of the world, what star rises with the sun? who enquires at supper, whether the long-haired Clodio passed the Rhine? No, doubtless, cried the marchioness, whom her charms had, in some measure, initiated in the polite world; and my son should not extinguish his genius by the study of all this stuff. But what is he, after all, to learn? for it is proper that a young person of quality should know how to shine upon an occasion, as my husband observes.—I remember to have heard an abbé say, that the most delightful of all the sciences, is something that begins with a *B*. “With a *B*, madam? is it not botany you mean?” “No, it was not botany he spoke of; the name of the science he mentioned began with *B*, and ended with *on*.” “Oh, I take you, madam, said the man of fashion; it is *Blason* you mean; it is indeed a profound science; but it is no longer in fashion, since the people of quality have ceased to cause their arms to be painted upon the doors of their coaches; it was once the most useful thing in the world, in a well regulated state. Besides, this study would be endless; now a-days there’s hardly a barber that has not his coat of arms; and you know that whatever becomes common is but little esteemed.” In fine, after they had examined the excellencies and defects of all the sciences, it was determined that the young marquis should learn to dance.

Nature, which does all, had given him a talent that quickly displayed itself surprisngly; it was that of singing ballads agreeably. The graces of youth, joined to this superior gift,

caused him to be looked upon as a young man of the brightest hopes. He was beloved by the women ; and having his head full of songs, he composed some for his mistress. He stole from the song " Bacchus and Love " in one ballad ; from that of " Night and day " in another ; from that of " Charms and alarms " in a third. But as there were always in his verses some superfluous feet, or not enough, he had them corrected for twenty Lewis-d'ors a song ; and in the annals of literature he was put upon a level with the La Fares, Chaulieus, Hamiltons, Sarrazins, and Voitures.

The marchioness then looked upon herself as the mother of a wit, and gave a supper to the wits of Paris. The young man's brain was soon turned ; he acquired the art of speaking without knowing his own meaning, and he became perfect in the habit of being good for nothing. When his father found he was so eloquent, he very much regretted that his son had not learned Latin ; for he would have bought him a lucrative place among the gentry of the long robe. The mother, who had more elevated sentiments, undertook to procure a regiment for her son ; and in the mean time, courtship was his occupation. Love is sometimes more expensive than a regiment. He was extremely profuse, whilst his parents exhausted their finances still more, by living like people of the first quality.

A young widow of quality, their neighbour, who had but a moderate fortune, had an inclination to secure the great wealth of mons. and madame de la Jeannotiere, by appropriating it to herself, by the means of a marriage with the young marquis. She allured him to visit her ;

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she admitted his addresses; she shewed that she was not indifferent to him; she led him on by degrees; she enchanted and captivated him without much difficulty: sometimes she lavished praises upon him, sometimes she gave him advice; she became the most intimate friend both of the father and mother. An elderly lady, who was their neighbour, proposed the match. The parents, dazzled by the glory of such an alliance, accepted the proposal with joy. They gave their only son to their intimate friend. The young marquis was upon the point of marrying a woman whom he adored, and by whom he was beloved; the friends of the family congratulated them, the marriage articles were just going to be drawn up, whilst wedding clothes were making for the young couple, and their epithalamium composing.

The young marquis was one day upon his knees before his charming mistress, whom love, esteem, and friendship were going to make his own; in a tender and spirited conversation, they enjoyed a foretaste of their happiness; they concerted measures to lead a happy life: when all on a sudden a valet-de-chambre belonging to the old marchioness, arrives in a great fright. "Here's sad news, said he; officers remove the effects of my master and mistress; the creditors have seized upon all, by virtue of an execution; and I am obliged to make the best shift I can to have my wages paid." "Let's see, said the marquis, what's this? what can this adventure mean?" "Go, said the widow, go quickly, and punish those villains." He runs, he arrives at the house; his father was already in prison: all the servants had fled different ways, each car-

carrying off whatever he could lay his hands upon. His mother was alone, without assistance, without comfort, drowned in tears; she had nothing left but the remembrance of her fortune, of her beauty, her faults, and her extravagant expences.

After the son had wept a long time with his mother, he at length said to her: "Let us not give ourselves up to despair; this young widow loves me to excess; she is more generous than rich, I can answer for her; I'll fly to her, and bring her to you." He returns to his mistress, and finds her in company with a very amiable young officer. "What is it you, Mr. de la Jeannotiere, said she; what business have you here?" "Is it proper to forsake one's mother in such a manner?" "Go to that poor, unfortunate woman, and tell her that I still wish her well: I have occasion for a chamber-maid, and will give her the preference." "My lad, said the officer, you are well shaped; if you are willing to list in my company, you may depend upon good usage."

The marquis, thunderstruck, and with a heart enraged, went in quest of his old governor, made him acquainted with his misfortune, and asked his advice. The governor proposed to him to become a tutor, like himself. "Alas! said the marquis, I know nothing, you have taught me nothing, and you are the first cause of my misfortunes;" he sobb'd when he spoke thus. "Write romances, said a wit who was present; it is an admirable resource at Paris."

The young man, in greater despair than ever, ran to his mother's confessor; he was a Theatin of great reputation, who directed the consciences

only of women of the first rank. As soon as he saw him, he ran up to him, "My God, Mr. marquis, where is your coach? said he: how is the good lady your mother." The poor unfortunate young man gave him an account of what had befallen his family. In proportion as he explained himself, the Theatin assumed an air more grave, more indifferent, and more distant. "My son, said he, it is the will of God that you should be reduced to this condition; riches serve only to corrupt the heart; God, in his great mercy, has then reduced your mother to beggary." "Yes, Sir," answered the marquis. "So much the better, said the confessor; her election is the more sure." "But father, said the marquis, is there in the mean time no hopes of some assistance in this world?" "Farewel, my son, said the confessor; a court lady is waiting for me."

The marquis was almost ready to faint; he met with much the same treatment from all; and acquired more knowledge of the world in half a day than he had done in all the rest of his life.

Being quite overwhelmed with despair, he saw an old-fashioned chaise advance, which resembled an open waggon with leather curtains; it was followed by four enormous carts which were loaded. In the chaise there was a young man, dressed in the rustic manner; he had a round, fresh countenance, replete with sweetness and gaiety. His wife, a little woman of a brown complexion, and an agreeable figure, though somewhat fat, sat close by him: the carriage did not move on like the chaise of a *petit-maitre*; the traveller had time sufficient to con-

contemplate the marquis, who was motionless, and immersed in sorrow. "Good God, cried he, I think that is Jeannot." Upon hearing this name, the marquis lifts up his eyes, the carriage stops, and the marquis cries out, "'Tis Jeannot, 'tis Jeannot himself." The little fat bumpkin gives but one spring from his carriage, and runs to embrace his old companion. Jeannot recollected his friend Colin; shame and tears overspread his countenance. "You have abandoned me, said Colin; but, though you are a great man, I will love you for ever." Jeannot, confused and affected, with sobs related to him a great part of his history. "Come to the inn where I lodge, and tell me the rest of it, said Colin; embrace my wife here, and let us go and dine together."

They walk all three on foot, followed by their baggage. "What's all this train, said Jeannot; does it belong to you?" "Yes, answered Colin, it all belongs to me and to my wife: we are just come from the country; I am at the head of a good manufacture of tin and copper; I have married the daughter of a merchant well provided with all utensils necessary to the great as well as the little: we work a great deal; God blesses us; we have not changed our condition; we are happy; we will assist our friend Jeannot. Be no longer a marquis; all the grandeur in the world is not to be compared to a good friend. You shall return with me to the country; I will teach you the trade; it is not very difficult; I will make you my partner, and we will live merrily in the remote corner where we were born."

Jeannot,

Jeannot, quite transported, felt emotions of grief and joy, tenderness and shame; and he said within himself, "My fashionable friends have betrayed me, and Colin, whom I despised, is the only one who comes to relieve me." What instruction is this! Colin's goodness of heart causes the seeds of a virtuous disposition, which the world had not quite stifled in Jeannot, to sprout up: he was sensible that he could not forsake his father and mother. "We'll take care of your mother, said Colin; and as to the good man your father, who is in jail, I know something of business; his creditors, seeing he has nothing, will compromise matters for a trifle; I take the whole affair upon myself." Colin found means to procure the father's enlargement: Jeannot returned to the country with his relations, who resumed their former way of life: he married a sister of Colin, who, being of the same temper with her brother, made him compleatly happy. Jeannot the father, Jeannot the mother, and Jeannot the son, were thus convinced that happiness is not the result of vanity.



CANTO of an EPIC POEM,

Composed by JEROME CARRE.

Found amongst his Papers after his Decease.

KING Charles was born to undergo,
Thro' ev'ry stage of life, much woe;
To education nought he ow'd;
Small care was on his youth bestow'd;

Bur

* Burgundy's duke, in broils and strife
 Involv'd him in the prime of life ;
 A lawyer at † Gones would fain
 Have wrought his ruin by chicane :
 Before a court a crier call'd him ‡ ;
 An English chief in battle maul'd him :
 He wander'd much, and, like poor sinner,
 Oft miss'd a mass, and oft a dinner ;
 Not long in the same place he stay'd ;
 By || mother, uncle, friends betray'd,
 And by his mistress : thus unfriended
 Was the poor king, and unattended.
 His Agnes' heart an English page
 Found means to share as to engage :
 A sorcerer dire, nam'd Conculix,
 By hell inspir'd, with magic tricks
 His head quite topsy-turvy turn'd ;
 By destiny he long was spurn'd ;
 Hardships to bear was his sad case ;
 To bear them well God gave him grace.
 The troop of lovers, proud and gay,
 Took distant from that tower its way,
 Where Conculix disturb'd the brain
 Of Agnes, Bonneau, and their train.

* The Duke of Burgundy, who assassinated the Duke of Orleans ; but the good king Charles paid him well for it at the bridge of Montereau.

† Gones, a village near Paris, famous all over the world for its bakers, and for many battles ; but, above all, for the best cloth manufactured then in France.

‡ Charles VII. was cited before the marble table.

|| His own mother, Isabella of Bavaria, was his greatest persecutor. She promoted the treaty of Troyes, by which her son-in-law, Henry V. king of England, obtained the crown of France.

They march'd along that forest wild,
Which now of Orleans is stil'd.
The spouse of Titan, queen of night,
Rising scarce streak'd the shades with light ;
Soldiers they saw on distant ground,
With doublets short and bonnets round ;
Upon their corsets bright combin'd
Leopards and flower-de-luces * shin'd.
The monarch halted when he spy'd
The cohort thro' the forest ride ;
Dunois and Joan some space before
Advance, the matter to explore.
Agnes her arms, as lilies white,
Extending, urg'd the king to flight ;
But virtuous Joan, who straight drew nigh,
On captives chain'd soon cast her eye ;
With downcast eyes the earth they view'd,
Each face sad consternation shew'd :
Alas, said she, it plain appears,
That these are captive cavaliers ;
The voice of duty now commands
From fetters to unloose their hands :
Let's fall on, Bastard, undismay'd ;
You're Dunois, I am Orleans' maid.
This said, they fell with rested lance
On those who with the chiefs advance ;
So fierce were Dunois and the maid,
Such fury too the afs display'd,
That all those warriors, fill'd with fright,
Nimble betook themselves to flight.
Joan then, transported with delight,
Accosted thus each setter'd knight :
Knights, who the chains of England wore,
Thanks to the king, you're slaves no more ;

* The arms of England.

Now follow him where'er he goes,
And wreak just vengeance on his foes.
Altho' this was propos'd with grace,
Distrust still sat on each knight's face ;
My readers with impatience glow
Who were these doughty knights to know.
These knights were blades in Paris known
For deeds they would not chuse to own,
Who were condemn'd to plow the seas,
Which might by all be seen with ease.
The king this seeing, deeply sigh'd ;
These stab me to the heart, he cry'd.
Do here the English empire claim,
Are then decrees made in their name ?
The mass is only said for them ;
They can my subjects now condemn.
The king came, by compassion led,
To him who seem'd the band to head.
No felon's air could eyes shock more ;
His beard a pointed chin curl'd o'er,
With strange distortion roll'd his eyes
Replete, more than his mouth with lies,
They squinted ever on the ground ;
His eye-brows red most sternly frown'd ;
There sat imposture, leagu'd with fraud ;
Boldness dwelt on his forehead broad,
Contempt of all remorse and laws,
His teeth still gnash'd, and foam'd his jaws.
Seeing his prince, the knave took care
T'assume an humble, contrite air,
And fram'd into some shew of grace
The features of his shocking face.
The mastiff impudent and sour,
Hoarse-throated, eager to devour,
Thus fawns when he his master spies,
Licks both his hands, and crouching lies ;
Grows

Grows mild, although by nature rude,
And humbly cringes for his food.
Or satan has been painted so,
When just 'scap'd from the realms below;
He paws and tail hides from the eyes,
And in an anchorite's disguise,
Like lecherous monk in secret goes,
Sister discreet to tempt, or Rose.
The king of France, by such grimace
Impos'd on, pity'd much his case,
And thinking him by fraud oppress'd,
Words of encouragement address'd.
What is your trade, said he, and name?
Say for what deed deserving blame
Severe tribunals thus ordain
That you shou'd plough the angry main?
The man condemn'd, with mournful tone,
Reply'd, great Sir, my name's Frelon*;
Nantz is the famous city, where
These lips first breath'd the vital air;
No mortal e'er lov'd Jesus more,
Some time the dress of monks I wore;
My morals are as pure as theirs;
The pettiest boys had all my cares;
Urg'd by the love of honest praise,
To virtue I consign'd my days;

* According to the chronicles of that age, there was a fellow of the name of Frelon, who wrote pamphlets and lampoons. He played some pranks, for which he was frequently confined in the Chatelet, at Biffetre, and at Fort l'Eveque. He had been for some time a monk, and had been expelled the convent. Many celebrated authors have done him justice. He was a native of Nantz; and at Paris carried on the trade of satirical gazetteer. See Froissart's Chronicle.

Genius at Paris I display'd,
 Fam'd in the author's noble trade;
 Dearly L—— my writings bought,
 Great I at Place-Maubert am thought;
 There justice never was refus'd me,
 Tho' authors often have abus'd me:
 But impious malice oft' wou'd hit me,
 And with the cloysters vices twit me;
 The world's and many cheats beside,
 But I'm by conscience justify'd.
 The king, when this account he hears,
 Cries, Henceforth lay aside your fears;
 And say are all now bound like you
 To Marseilles, valiant men and true?
 Oh, royal Sir, Frelon reply'd,
 In all these men you may confide;
 All were alike by nature fram'd,
 This abbé next me, Guignon† nam'd,
 Is, tho' he otherwise might seem
 To some, most worthy of esteem;
 Nor quarrelsome nor liar he,
 Nor stand'rer, but from malice free.
 An humble mien cannot conceal
 In Maucheix‡ true religious zeal,
 His ardour, for the truth to shew,
 He discipline wou'd undergo.
 When Chaugat|| talks on gloss and text,
 Rabbins themselves wou'd be perplex'd.

† An author who lived in the reign of Charles VI. He wrote a Roman history, which, tho' execrably bad, was tolerable for the age in which he lived; he composed also the oracle of philosophers. It is a ridiculous heap of calumnies, which he repented having wrote at the latter part of his life, as we are told by Monstrelet.

‡ Another calumniator of that age.

|| Another calumniator.

That lawyer unemploy'd has taken
 The road to heav'n, the bar forsak'n. -
 In Vaceras* all virtues meet,
 He's honest, and his temper's sweet,
 He's mild, to charity inclin'd,
 The love of truth inspires his mind.
 All these who laurels justly claim,
 Who rival Cicero's great name,
 Oh dire disgrace and sad to tell!
 Victims like me to envy sell.
 Unjustly to our charge 'tis laid,
 That we from truth have often stray'd : †
 From virtue persecution springs,
 You know this truth, oh best of kings.
 Whilst thus all faults he strove to hide,
 Two persons grave the monarch spy'd,
 Whilst each to hide his visage tries,
 Who are these bashful slaves he cries.
 Said Frelon, there two worthies stand,
 Honest as e'er took oar in hand.
 One's Fantin ‡, preacher of great name,
 Whom neither rich nor poor can blame;
 To spare the living he thought best,
 The dying robb'd whom he confess'd.

* He wrote, in conjunction with Dr. John Petit, to justify assassination.

† The crimes alluded to here, are the unjust accusations of which these informers were often guilty. Perhaps likewise they were condemned for forgery.

‡ This canto of the abbé Triteme seems to be a prophecy; we have in fact seen one Fantin, a doctor of divinity and curate at Versailles, who was caught stealing a note of 50 Louis-d'ors from a sick person whom he confessed; he was turned off, but he was not hanged.

'T'other's Brizet †, who nuns directed,
 No favours from them he expected,
 But still their properties wou'd take,
 And only did it for God's sake :
 Tho' money he lov'd not at all,
 He'd not in bad hands have it fall.
 A wretch there meets your royal eye,
 With a long head plac'd quite awry,
 On number three it often runs,
 He looks like one of Tartuff's ‡ sons,
 All his curst tricks his village knows,
 He's pointed at where'er he goes,
 Such stories of him go about,
 That some are true, I make no doubt.
 But wretches with such malice fraught,
 Are quite below a monarch's thought.
 This nob'e band of worthies ends
 With Meaulabelle || my best of friends ;
 This the most mean but most devoted
 Of six poor dogs who for me voted ;
 He oft' quite rapt with thoughts high flown,
 Takes others pockets for his own :

† Another prophecy. All Paris has seen the abbé Brizet, a famous director of women of quality, squander in secret debaucheries the money he extorted from his penitents, and which he was entrusted with for the relief of the poor. It seems highly probable, that some body, acquainted with our manners, has inserted these lines in the divine poem of Jerome Carré ; the same person should have made mention of the abbé la Coste, condemned to be branded and sent to the galleys for life, in the year 1759, for various impositions.

‡ The author must here have in view some master Gonnin of that age, who had been heterodox with regard to the trinity.

|| Meaulabelle, another falsifier of manuscripts, well known in that age,

But in his works he is so wise,
To hide strong truths from feeble eyes;
Of truth he always had a dread,
He knows it fools has oft' mislead;
Therefore he always wou'd conceal it,
And never lik'd much to reveal it.
The truth I to my prince declare;
That's dealing openly and fair.
All as a hero you excel,
This to posterity I'll tell.
The victims of black calumny
Protect, as you have made 'em free;
Save the good from the wicked's snare,
To pay us, and revenge, take care,
And here Frelon his word does plight,
We all will in your favour write.
Then at the English much he rail'd,
Who had so long in France prevail'd;
Spoke loudly for the Salic law,
And swore that he his pen wou'd draw;
Wou'd by it save the state alone,
And prop his injur'd monarch's throne.
The king admir'd his skill profound,
Look'd kindly upon all around;
Telling them with most gracious air,
They all shou'd his protection share.
Fair Agnes sympathy express'd,
Emotions tender fill'd her breast:
Her heart was good; the female mind,
By love, to mercy is inclin'd;
The heroine and the rigid prude
With virtue are not so endu'd.
It needs, said she, must be confess'd,
This day these wretches have been bless'd;
Since they behold your royal face,
Freedom smiles on their happy race.

Too much the judges now presume,
Without their prince to fix men's doom;
All law my lover should ordain,
Their sentence is both void and vain.
But Joan, less tender, told the king,
They all deserv'd alike to swing;
That all who were of Frelon's trade,
Public examples should be made.
Dunois, more prudent and more wise,
Like warrior deeply skill'd, replies:
Soldiers we lack t' assert our right,
Limbs are most needful in a fight;
Limbs these men have, and as things stand,
Whilst we by arms would win the land,
Whilst combats are our only care,
Writing we may contrive to spare:
Then let us list the fraudulent band,
And with a musquet arm each hand;
Who us'd the pen, should henceforth wield
The warrior's arms in tented field.
Dunois' advice the king lik'd well;
The band before him prostrate fell,
They sigh'd, a flood of tears they shed,
Then to a yard they all were led,
Before the banquet house, where all
The courtiers, in a gorgeous hall,
Waited on Charles, and on the fair,
And drank and feasted, void of care.
Agnes to Bonneau gave command,
With plenty to regale the band;
And not one soul of them complain'd,
For well they far'd with what remain'd.
The time of supper gayly spent,
To bed the king and Agnes went.
Next day with great surprize they rose,
Finding they all had lost their clothes;

Her

Her jewels Agnes fought with care,
And pearl necklace rich and rare ;
But all in vain ; yet what she most
Regretted, was Charles' picture lost.
Bonneau, the purser, could not find
The treasure to his care consign'd ;
It cost him many a heavy groan,
To see plate, linen, wardrobe, flown.
The scribbling crew, to thieving bred,
Who by the Gazetteer were led,
With eager haste, had in the night
Plunder'd the court, and taken flight.
They all with Plato were agreed,
That soldiers luxury don't need ;
Then thro' bye-path their way they win,
And share the booty at an inn ;
There they a tract compos'd profound,
For morals and for doctrine sound ;
Pleasure and wealth it taught to scorn,
And shew'd that man for man was born ;
That, born equals, they should share
God's gifts, and all their burdens bear ;
And that, to make their lot more blest'd,
Goods should in common be possess'd.
'Twas soon expos'd to publick view,
Enrich'd with notes and comments too,
Wrote with religious good intent,
With preface and advertisement.
The royal household, quite distressed,
Was, the mean time, depriv'd of rest ;
Thro' ev'ry forest and each plain
They ran about, but all in vain.
Thus Phineus erst whom Thrace obey'd,
And thus Æneas were afraid,

When † Harpies, flutt'ring on the wing,
 Seiz'd on the dinner of each king.
 Agnes and Dorothea now,
 Their charms to cover knew not how :
 Poor Bonneau griev'd in such a strain,
 From laughter they could scarce refrain :
 Ah, cry'd he, we such loss ne'er bore
 By war's sad fortune heretofore ;
 The rogues took all ; our monarch's mind
 Too much to mercy is inclin'd ;
 Thus his indulgence is repaid ;
 We gain this by the scribbling trade.
 Agnes, compassionate and mild,
 Who on each turn of fortune smil'd,
 In answer said, My dear Bonneau,
 Take not the thing in dudgeon so ;
 Do not from hence conceive a spight
 To learning, and to those that write :
 For I could many authors name,
 Whom Envy's self could scarce defame ;

† The Harpies, Celeno, Ocipete, and Aëlo, daughters of Neptune and the Earth, came to devour all the victuals that were served up to the table of Phineus, king of Thrace, and defiled his whole house. Zetes and Colaes, sons of Boreas, drove these Harpies to the island called the Strophades, near Greece. They treated Æneas as they had done Phineus. But Virgil has represented them as prophetesses : Strange ! that such creatures should be thought inspired by the deities !

*Virginei volucrum vultus, scdissima ventris
 Proluvies, uncræque manus & pallida semper
 Ora fame.*

They upbraid Æneas for making war upon them for a few pieces of beef, and foretel that he and his people shall be one day reduced to eat their dishes in Italy. The admirers of the antients look upon this fiction as extremely beautiful.

Who

Who still prove faithful to the throne,
 Do good, but never make it known ;
 Whose song to virtue gives the prize,
 Who practise it before our eyes ;
 Who, on the public good intent,
 T'instruct as well as charm are bent ;
 These are belov'd, tho' some are drones † ;
 Industrious bees our country owns.
 Bonneau replies, 'Tis mighty fine ;
 But yet, methinks, the king should dine ;
 And I cannot, as I'm a sinner,
 Without the ready find a dinner.
 They comfort him, with courage rare
 All strive their suff'rings to repair :
 Then to the town they make retreat,
 And to the castle, noble seat
 Of Charles, and of his valiant knights,
 Whither good cheer and wine invites.
 The knights were but half clad at best,
 The ladies were but simply drest ;
 They enter'd harrafs'd, sight most odd !
 Bare one foot, t'other badly shod.



DISCOURSE address'd to the WELSH.

By ANTHONY VADE, brother of WILLIAM.

OH Welsh! my countrymen, if you surpass
 the antient Greeks and Romans, never
 bite the bosom of your nurses, never insult your
 masters, be modest in your triumphs ; consider
 who you are, and from whom you descend.

† In the original there is a quibble upon the word Frelon,
 which signifies a drone.

It is true, you had the honour to be subdued by Julius Cæsar, who caused all the members of your parliament of Vannes to be hanged, sold the remainder of the inhabitants, ordered the hands of the inhabitants of Quercy to be cut off, and then governed you with great mildness. You remained above five hundred years subject to the laws of the Roman empire: your Druids, who treated you as slaves and animals; who piously burned you in osier baskets, no longer retained their influence when you became a province of the Roman empire. But honestly confess, that you were always somewhat barbarous.

In the 5th age of your vulgar æra, Vandales, to whom you gave the sonorous appellation of Bourgonfions, or Bourguignons, people of great genius, and extremely cleanly, who rubbed their hair with strong butter, to use the phrase of Sidonius Apollinaris, *infundens acido comam butiro*: these people, I say, made you all slaves, from the territory of your town of Vienne to the source of your river Seine; and it is one of the remaining customs of that illustrious age, for monks and canons to have vassals in this country*. This fine prerogative of the human species subsists amongst you as a testimony of your wisdom.

One part of your remaining provinces, which you so long called the provinces of Oc, and which you so nobly distinguished from the provinces of Oui, were invaded by the Visigoths: and as to your provinces of Oui, they were

* At St. Claude, and other places belonging to the monks, the citizens are still their vassals.

taken from you by a Sicambrian named Hilclovie †, whose ancestors had been condemned to be devoured by wild beasts at Triers, by the emperor Constantine. This Sicambrian, dignified with the title of the Roman Patrician, reduced you to slavery with a handful of Franks, which came out of the marshes of the Rhine, the Mayne, and the Meuse. The noble exploits of this great man were the assassinations of three petit kings his friends and relations, one near the town of Boulogne upon the sea, the other near the village of Cambrai, and the third near the village of Mans, which your chronicles call cities: it was at that time that the Welsh country had the melodious name of Frankreick, the antient name of France, in commemoration of its conquerors; and you were the first nation of the world, for you had the standard of St. Denis.

Northern pirates came some time after to pillage you, and took from you the province which has been since called Normandy. You were afterwards divided into many different nations under different masters, and each nation had its peculiar laws, as well as its peculiar jargon.

One half of your country soon belonged to the inhabitants of the island called Britain, or England, in their idiom, which was then as harmonious as yours. Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, Mayne, Xaintonge, Guienne, Gascony, Angoumois, Perigueux, Rouergue, and Auvergne, were a long time in the hands of this people, the Angles; whilst you had neither

† Clovis.

Lyons, nor Marseilles, nor Dauphine, nor Provence, nor Languedoc.

Notwithstanding this your miserable situation, your compilers, whom you take for historians, often call you The first people of the earth, and your kingdom, The first kingdom. This is treating other nations somewhat unpolitely. You are a modest and amiable people; and if you add modesty to your graces, the rest of Europe will be highly pleased with you.

Return your hearty thanks to God for delivering you from the Angles, by the factions of the red and white Rose; and above all, return thanks, that the civil wars of Germany prevented Charles V. from swallowing up your country, and making it a province of the empire.

You had a brilliant moment under Lewis XIV. but don't, for that reason, think yourselves superior in every thing to the antient Romans and Greeks.

Consider, that during the space of six hundred years, scarce any body amongst you, except a few of your new Druids, could either read or write. Your excessive ignorance gave you up to the Flamen of Rome and his associates, like children, whom pedagogues govern and correct as they think proper. Your contracts of marriage, when you made contracts, which was but seldom, were written, in bad Latin, by clerks; you did not know what you had stipulated: and when you had children, there came a shaven monk from Rome, who proved to you, that your wife was not your wife, that she was your cousin in the last degree, that your marriage was sacrilegious, that your children were bastards,
and

and that you were damned if you did not, without delay, make over one half of your property to the chamber called Apostolical.

Your basiloï (kings) were not better treated than yourselves : you had nine excommunicated (if I am not mistaken) by the servant of the servants of God. Excommunication implied, of consequence, the confiscation of goods ; so that your basiloï lost all right to their crown, which the Roman pontiff made a present of to which ever of his friends he thought proper.

You will tell me, my dear Welsh, that the people of Britain, or England, and even the Teutonic emperors, have been worse used than you, and that they were full as ignorant. That is true, but that does not justify you : and if the British nation was so stupid as to be a long time a feudatory province to a Druid beyond the Alps, you will acknowledge that it contrived to revenge the affront ; endeavour to follow the example if you can.

You had formerly a king who, though unfortunate in all his designs and expeditions, deserves some praise, for having taught you to read and write ; he even sent to Italy for persons who taught you the Greek language, and for others who taught you painting and statuary : but there passed above a hundred years before you had a tolerable painter or statuary ; and as for those who learned the Greek, and even the Hebrew, they were almost all burnt alive, having incurred the suspicion of reading certain Judaical books ; a thing highly dangerous.

I am willing to allow you, my dear Welsh men, that your country is the first country in the world ; and yet you do not possess the largest

domain in the smallest of the four quarters of the earth. Consider that Spain is of somewhat greater extent, that Germany is still more so, that Poland and Switzerland are bigger, and that there are provinces in Russia, of which the country of the Welsh would not make a fourth part.

I wish your country may prove the first in the world for the fertility of its soil : but, for God's sake, think of your forty leagues of lands towards Bourdeaux, of that part of your Champagne to which you have given the noble appellation of the Louisy, of whole provinces where the inhabitants live entirely upon chefnuts, and of others, where there is no bread to be had but rye bread : take notice of the prohibition you lie under to export corn out of your country ; a prohibition founded upon your want, and perhaps too upon your character, which would excite you to sell all you have as fast as possible, in order to purchase it again at a very high price three months after : in this you resemble certain inhabitants of America, who sell their beds in the morning, forgetting that they will want them at night.

Add to this, that the expence which the fashionable part of the nation is at, in flour to powder themselves, whether you have your hair dressed in the royal bird fashion, or whether you wear it loose, like king Clodio and the privy counsellors, is an expence so universal, that it is very reasonable to prevent the exportation of a commodity of which you make so good a use.

First people of the earth, consider that you have in your kingdom of Frankreik, about two millions of inhabitants who walk in wooden
shoes.

shoes during six months of the year, and who go bare-footed during the remaining six.

Are you the first people of the earth for commerce and maritime glory? Alas!

I have heard it said, but I cannot believe that yours is the only nation in the world that buys the right of judging men, and even of leading them to be killed in battle. I have been assured, that you make the public treasure pass through fifty hands before it arrives at the royal treasury; and when it has gone through all these strainers, it is at last reduced to the fifth part of its value at most.

In answer to this you will alledge, that you are extremely successful in comic operas: but can you deny that you are indebted to Italy for your comic as well as your serious operas? I will own that you have invented some modes, though you now adopt almost all those of the people of Britain. But was it not a Genoese who discovered the fourth part of the world, where you possess only two or three little islands? Was it not a native of Portugal who opened to you a passage to the East Indies, where you lately lost your little factories?

Perhaps you may be the first people in the world for the invention of arts: yet, was not the compass invented by John Goya, of Melphi? Was it not the German, Schwartz, who discovered the secret of inflammable powder? Was not printing, which you make so much use of, the fruit of a German's ingenious labour?

When you are disposed to read the new pamphlets, which represent you as so learned a people, you sometimes make use of spectacles: thank Francis Spina for this; for without him

you would never have been able to read small characters. You have telescopes; for them thank James Meius the Dutchman, and Galilei Galileo the Florentine.

If you sometimes amuse yourselves with barometers and thermometers, to whom are you indebted for them? To Torricelli, who invented the former; to Drebellius, who invented the latter.

Many of you study the true system of the planetary world: it was a man born in Polish Prussia who discovered this secret of the Creator. You are aided in your calculations by logarithms; it is to the immense labour of lord Napier and his associates that you are obliged for them: it is Guericke of Magdebourg, that you should thank for the air-pump.

It is this same Galileo, whom I have just mentioned, who first discovered the satellites of Jupiter, the spots in the sun, and its rotation upon its axis. The Dutchman Huygens, could see the ring of Saturn; an Italian could see its satellites, when you could perceive nothing at all.

In fine, it was the great Newton who demonstrated to you the nature of light, and who discovered the great law which causes the stars to move, and which directs heavy bodies towards the centre of the earth.

First people of the world, you love to adorn your closets, you hang up fine prints in them; but reflect, that the Florentine Finiguerra is the father of this art, which immortalizes what the pencil cannot preserve. You have also fine clocks; this likewise is an invention of the Dutchman Huygens.

You

You sometimes wear brilliants upon your fingers; reflect that it was the people of Venice that first began to cut them, and to imitate pearls.

You sometimes contemplate yourselves in a looking-glass; it is to Venice likewise that you are indebted for this invention.

I should therefore be glad that you would shew in your books a little more respect for your neighbours. You don't indeed do like Rome, where all those who discover any truth are brought before the inquisition, let that truth be of what nature it will; and where Galileo was obliged to fast upon bread and water, for having taught them that the planets move round the sun. But what do you do? As soon as an useful discovery renders another nation illustrious, you combat it, and that for a long time. Newton shews the astonished world the seven primitive and unchangeable rays of light; you, for twenty years, deny what has been proved by experiments, instead of making those experiments yourselves. He demonstrated gravitation to you; and during forty years, you, in opposition to him, maintain the impertinent romance of the Cartesian vortices. In a word, you never yield, till all Europe has laughed at your obstinacy.

In other countries, inoculation saves the lives of thousands; you exert yourselves, for above forty years, in endeavours to decry this salutary practice. If sometimes, in carrying to the grave your wives or your children, dead of a natural small-pox, you feel a moment's remorse (as you happen to have a moment of grief and regret) if you then repent the not having adopted the practice of nations more wise and more resolute
than

than you ; if you sometimes venture to do that which is so common among them ; this resolution does not hold, prejudice and lightness reassume their antient empire over you.

You either are ignorant, or pretend to be ignorant, that in the London hospitals set apart for the natural and artificial small-pox, one fourth part of the patients who have the common small-pox die, whilst there scarcely dies one out of four hundred of those that have been inoculated.

Thus you let one fourth of your fellow-citizens perish ; and when you are shocked at this calculation, which shews you to be so imprudent and so blame-worthy, what do you do ? you consult licentiates, either those of the foundation of Robert Sorbon, or others : you present requisitions ! It is thus you maintained theses against Harvey, when he had discovered the circulation of the blood : in this manner were decrees issued by the parliament of Paris, which condemned to the galleys those who wrote against the Categories of Aristotle.

Oh, first people of the earth, when will you become reasonable ? You are under a necessity of acknowledging the truth of all I have said to you. You make answer, that all your follies do not prevent mademoiselle Du Chap from selling female habits and ornaments all over the North, no more than it prevents your language from being spoken at Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Moscow. I shall not take into consideration the importance of the first of these articles ; the second is alone the subject of my discourse. You make it your boast, that your language is almost as universal as the Greek and Latin were
for-

formerly. To whom are you indebted for this ? To about a score authors of genius ; all of whom you neglected, persecuted, and tormented, during their lives. You chiefly owe this triumph of your language in foreign countries, to the multitudes of natives who were obliged to quit their country about the year 1613 : Bayle, Le Clerc, Basnage, Bernard, Rapin Thoiras, Beaufobre, L'Enfant, and many more, departed to make Holland and Germany illustrious : literary commerce was one of the greatest advantages of the United Provinces, and was entirely lost to you. The misfortunes of your countrymen contributed greatly to make your language known to so many nations : the Racines, the Corneilles, the Molières, the Boileaus, the Quinauts, the La Fontaines, and your good writers in prose, have doubtless greatly contributed to spread abroad your language and your reputation : it is a great advantage, but it does not justify you in thinking that you surpass the Greeks and Romans in every thing.

In the first place, be so good as to consider, that you have no art or science, for the knowledge of which you are not indebted to the Greeks : the very names of those arts and sciences sufficiently prove this ; logic, dialectics, geometry, metaphysics, poetry, geography, even theology, if it be a science, all declare to you the source from whence you derive them.

There is not a single woman that does not speak Greek without being aware of it ; for if she says that she has seen a tragedy or a comedy ; that an ode has been read to her ; that one of her relations has had a fit of the apoplexy, or is become paralytic ; that he has a quincy, or that

a surgeon has bled him in the cephalic vein; that she has been at church, where a deacon has sung the Litany; if she speaks of bishops, priests, arch deacons, pope, liturgy, anthem, eucharist, baptism, mysteries, decalogue, evangelists, hierarchy, &c. it is very certain that she has scarce pronounced a word that is not Greek.

True it is, that those who derive all these terms from a foreign language, may make so happy a use of them, that the disciples may at last surpass the masters. But when, in process of time, you had formed your language of the ruins of the Greek and Latin, blended with your antient Welsh and Teutonic terms, did you then succeed so far as to compose a language sufficiently copious, expressive, and harmonious? Does not your sterility sufficiently appear from the dry and barbarous terms you employ upon all occasions? *Bout du pied, bout de doigt, bout d'oreille, bout de nez, bout de fil, bout de pont, &c.* End of the foot, end of the finger, end of the ear, end of the nose, end of the thread, end of the bridge, &c. whilst the Greeks express all these different things by terms full of energy and harmony. You have been likewise reproached with using the expressions *un bras de riviere, un bras de mer, un cu d'artichaud, un cu de lampe, un cu de sac, &c.** Scarcely do you allow yourselves to use the word *cu* in its proper sense before matrons worthy of respect; and yet you make use of no other word to express things with which it has no sort of connexion. Jerome

* Some of these French phrases would appear indecent if rendered literally.

Carré has proposed to you the word *impasse*, to signify your streets that have no passage from them; this term is noble and significant; yet, to your shame be it spoken, it is constantly printed in your royal almanac, that one of you lives in the *cu de Sac*, and the other in the *cu de blancs Manteux*. Fie! are you not ashamed? The Romans called such streets as had no issue, *angiportus*; they could not find any resemblance between a street and the thing signified by the word *cu*.

What shall I say of the word *trou hole*, of which you make so frequent and so noble a use?

Do not you think that the names of your gates, your streets, and your temples, would have a fine effect in an epic poem? We take pleasure in seeing Hector run from the temple of Pallas to the Scæan gate. The ear is as much pleased as the imagination delighted, when the Greeks advance from Tenedos to the Trojan shore, upon the banks of the rivers Simois and Scamander; but, speak honestly, could a poet represent your heroes descending from the church of *St. Pierre au Bœufs*, St. Peter with oxen; or *St. Jacques du haut pas*, St. James of high step; advancing with fury by the street of *Pet au diable*, devil's fart; and by the street *Troussévache*, drive-cow; embarking upon the galley of St. Cloud, and going to join battle at the square of *Long-jumeau*, long-twin?

The curious amongst you preserve a prodigious number of memoirs of the transactions that passed between the death of Henry II. and Henry IV. These are monuments of rudeness produced by the itch of writing; they are collections of satires occasioned by shocking events,

trans-

transmitted to posterity in the low stile of the populace: at that time you had but one historian, and he was obliged to write in Latin.

At last, you have cleared your language of this barbarous rust, of this sordid meanness; you have composed some good books; but have you in them surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes? Have you wrote better than Livy, Tacitus, Thucydides, and Xenophon? What author, of a genius above mediocrity, has hitherto wrote your annals?

Is it becoming in Daniel to say, in the very first page of his history, "It was not till the reign of the great Clovis, that the French made themselves for ever masters of these vast provinces" Certain it is, that the great Clovis did not make himself master of them *for ever*; as his successors lost the whole tract that lies between Cologne and Franche-compte. This Daniel tells you, from the romancer Gregory of Tours, that the soldiers of Clovis, after the battle of Tolbiac, "Cried out, as it were in concert: We renounce mortal gods; we will no longer adore any but the eternal God; we no longer acknowledge any other God but him whom the holy bishop Remi preaches to us."

It is not indeed possible that a whole French army should, in concert, pronounce these words, and these antitheses of mortal and immortal. Your Daniel resembles your La Motte, who, in an abridgment of the Iliad, makes the whole Grecian army pronounce this verse, when Achilles is reconciled to Agamemnon.

Que ne vaincra-t-il point? il s'est vaincu lui-même.
Whom can't he conquer? he himself subdues.

How

How could the army of the Franks renounce mortal gods? Did it worship men? Were not Theut, Irminful, Odin, and Fridda, whom these barbarians adored, immortal in their opinion? Daniel should not have been ignorant, that all the inhabitants of the North adored a Supreme Being, who presided over these secondary divinities; he had nothing to do but to cite the antient book of Edda, quoted by the learned Huet, bishop of Avranches; he had nothing to do but to read what Huet has said expressly in his treatise concerning the manners of the Germans: *Regnator omnium Deus*, God, the ruler of all: this deity was called God, or Goth, Goth the good; and it is matter of much surprise, that barbarians should give the deity a title so worthy of him. Daniel should not therefore have put such an absurdity into the mouth of a whole army; a folly which suits only a christian pedagogue. But pray in what language did Remi preach to these Brueteri and Sicambri? He spoke either Latin or Welsh; and the Sicambri spoke the antient Teutonic. Remi, in all appearance, renewed the miracle of the Pentecost: *Et unusquisque intendebat linguam suam*, And each understood his own language. If you examine Mezerai carefully, what a heap of fables, what confusion, and what a stile do you meet with! Deserve Livies, and you will have them.

I am inclined to think, that, amongst you, the eloquence of the bar and the pulpit have had all the improvement they are capable of. The division of your sermons into three heads, when there is no occasion for such division; an address to the virgin Mary, which precedes this
Di-

vision; a long Welsh discourse upon a Latin text, which is suited, the best it can, to that discourse; and, finally, scraps of common place, repeated a thousand times over, are master-pieces of composition, no doubt; the pleadings of your lawyers upon the customs of Hurepoix or Gatinois, will pass to the latest posterity; but I doubt much whether they will cause the Greek and Roman eloquence to be forgotten.

I am far from denying that Pascal, Bossuet, and Fenelon, were extremely eloquent. It was upon the appearing of these geniuses, that you ceased to be Welsh, and that you became French. But don't compare the Provincial Letters to the Philippics. First, consider that the importance of the subject is something: the names of Philip and Mark Anthony are somewhat above the names of father Annat, Escobar, and Tambourini. The interests of Greece, and the civil wars of Rome, are objects more considerable than sufficient grace which is insufficient; co-operating grace which does not operate; and efficacious grace which is without efficaciousness. The great attractive of these Provincial Letters is lost with the Jesuits; but the Orations of Demosthenes and Cicero still instruct Europe, whilst the objects of these harangues exist no longer; whilst the Greeks are only slaves, and the Romans only monks.

I am very sensible, that the funeral orations of Bossuet are exceeding fine, that they do not even want sublimity; but what is a funeral oration? a discourse of meer ostentation, a declamatory piece, a collection of common-place, and often a violation of the truth. Should these poetical harangues be placed in the same class

with

with the solid orations of Cicero and Demosthenes?

Your Fenelon, an admirer of the antients, whose genius was formed by reading their works, lighted his waxen taper by their immortal flames: you will not be so presumptuous as to maintain, that his Calypso abandoned by Telemachus, comes near the Dido of Virgil: the cold and unaffecting passion of Telemachus, whom Mentor pushes into the sea with his fist, in order to cure him of his love, does not seem to be one of the most sublime of inventions. And will you presume that the prose of that work is comparable to the poetry of Homer and Virgil? Oh my Welsh countrymen, what is a poem in prose, but an acknowledgment of its author's deficiency in point of genius? Do you not know, that it is easier to compose ten volumes of tolerable prose in your language, than ten good lines in verse, in this language overladen with articles, deprived of inversions, poor in poetical terms, sterile in bold turns of expression, subjected to an eternal monotony of rhyme, and void of rhymes in the most noble subjects.

Do not you recollect, that when Lewis XIV. whom readers were resolved to take for Idomeneus, was dead; when Louvois was forgotten; whose character they discovered in Protefilaus; when the marchioness Scarron de Maintenon, whom they compared to the old Afterbe, was no longer envied; that then Telemachus lost much of its esteem. But the *tu Marcellus eris* of Virgil will always live in the memory of men; these lines, and those which precede them, will be always cited with admiration:

Ter

*Ter sese attollens cubitoque innixa levavit,
Ter revoluta toro est, oculisque errantibus alto
Quæsit cælo lucem, ingemuitque reperta.*

In a prose translation of Virgil (for it is impossible for you to translate him in verse, and you have not yet had any success in rendering the sense of the Latin authors in prose) an imitation of the admirable speech of Dido, which follows, has been cited :

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
Qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos.
Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis, pugnent ipsique nepotes.*

This is the pretended imitation of Virgil, which is represented as a faithful copy of this grand picture.

*Puisse après mon trépas s'élever de mon cendre
Un feu qui sur la terre aille au loin se repandre :
Excites par mes vœux puissent mes successeurs,
Furer des le Berceau qu'ils seront mes vengeurs,
Et du nom de Troiens ennemis implacables,
Attaquer en tous lieux ces rivaux redoutables.
Que l'univers en proie à ces deux nations
Soit le theatre affreux de leurs dissensions,
Que tout serve à nourrir cette haine invincible ;
Qu'elle croisse toujours jusques au moment terrible
Que l'un ou l'autre cede aux armes du vainqueur,
Que ses derniers efforts signalent sa fureur !*

When I am dead, may from my fatal urn
Arise a fire which half the earth may burn :
Rous'd by my vows, may my successors swear
In child-hood to make my revenge their care,
And of the Trojan name eternal foes,
May they my rivals in each clime oppose.

Be earth a prey to these two nations rage,
 Let it to their contentions be a stage;
 May all things serve to feed this direful hate,
 May it grow till the moment mark'd by fate;
 Till one or t'other party yield of course,
 May its last efforts signalize its force!

Do but consider how weak, vitious, forced,
 and languishing, this pretended copy is;

*Puisse apres mon trepas s'élever de mors cendre
 Un feu qui sur la terre aille au loin se repandre!*

When I am dead, may from my fatal urn
 Arise a fire which half the earth may burn!

What means this fire which is to spread itself
 far and wide over the earth? Do we find in
 these verses fill'd with breaks, the least word
 which recalls the ideas of grief, of terror and
 of vengeance, which breathe in this striking
 line:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

The author has a revenger in view, and the
 bald imitator speaks of a fire which is to burn
 half the earth. How much do the rhyming
 epithets, *implacables, redoubtables, invincibles,*
terribles, weaken the painting of Virgil! how
 puerile is any epithet that adds nothing to the
 sense!

I do not know who is the author of these
 lines; but this I know, that when the rhyming
 of a Welsh poet comes in competition with the
 most beautiful passages of an antient author, it
 must suffer by the comparison.

Oh, ye French, I take pleasure to join with
 you in the admiration of your great poets; it is
 chiefly they who have spread your language to
 the

the polar circle, and who have forced even the Italians and Spaniards to learn it. I begin with your natural and pleasing La Fontaine: most of his fables are borrowed from Æsop the Phrygian, and Phœdrus the Roman: there are about fifty which are master-pieces for nature, for grace, and for diction. This species of writing is altogether unknown to the rest of the moderns. I must own, I could wish that this extraordinary man had been less negligent in his other fables; that he had wrote this language, which he has made so familiar to neighbouring nations, with greater purity; that his style had been more chaste and exact; that whilst he greatly surpassed Phœdrus in delicacy, he had equalled him in purity of elocution. I am sorry to see him begin by a short dedication to a prince, in which he says to him:

*Et si de l'agr  er je n'emporte le prix,
J'aurai du moins l'honneur de l'avoir entrepris.*

To please him shou'd the glory be deny'd,
'Twill be at least an honour to have try'd.

It is a comical sort of a glory to attempt to please a person; and what an absurd phrase is that of *le prix d'agr  er*, the prize of pleasing? Phœdrus does not express himself in this manner: Phœdrus does not make the ant say, *ni mon grenier ni mon armoire ne se remplit a babiller*; neither my barn nor my chest are fill'd by prate. The fox in Phœdrus says, "the grapes are too green," but he does not add, "they are good only for little brats."

It vexes me, when I meet with the expressions *la cigale ayant chant   tout   t  *, the grasshopper having sung the whole summer; to which the ant

ant answers, *Vous chantiez ! j'en suis bien aise,*
be bien dansez maintenant ; You sung ! I am glad
 to hear it ; well then, now dance.

The wolf might say to the dog with the
 chain, that he would not buy plenty with his
 liberty ; but this wolf makes me uneasy when
 he adds ;

Je ne voudrois pas même a ce prix un tresor ;
Cela dit maître loup s'enfuit & court encor.

Bought at this price, I'd not a treasure prize ;
 'This said, away he fled, and still he flies.

A wolf never desired gold or silver.

The man who blows his fingers because he's
 cold, and breathes upon his soup because it is too
 hot, is quite in the right : he does not at all
 deserve to have it said of him,

Arrière ceux dont la bouche
Souffle le chaud & le froid.

Avaunt the man, I like him not,
 Who blows what's cold as well as hot.

It is abusing a trivial proverb which is not here
 properly applied : but these little blemishes do
 not prevent the fables of La-Fontaine from being
 an immortal work.

His tales are, doubtless, the best we have ;
 this merit, if it be a merit, is unknown to
 Greek and Roman Antiquity. La Fontaine has,
 in this respect, surpassed Rabelais, and—often
 equalled the simplicity and precision which are
 to be met with in three or four works of Marot ;
 in his best tales, you meet with that pleasing
 vein, that nature of Passerat, who lived in the
 reign of Henry III. and has left us the meta-
 morphosis of the cuckow, a work too little

G known,

known, in which we discover nothing of the rusticity of the age in which it was wrote, and which one would be tempted to think a work of La Fontaine himself.

Thus Passerat ends the tale of this poor, jealous wretch ; who being metamorphosed into a cuckow,

*S'envole au bois, au bois se tient caché,
Honteux d'avoir sa femme tant cherché ;
Et nean moins quand le printems s'enflame
Nos cœurs d'amour, il cherche encor sa femme :
Parle au passants & ne peut dire qu'ou,
Rien que ce mot ne retint le coucou
D'humain parler : mais par œuvres il montre
Qu'onc en oubli ne mit sa malencontre,
Se souvenant qu'on vint pondre chez lui,
Venge ce tort & pond au nid d'autrui :
Voilà comment sa douleur il allège.
Heureux ceux-la qui ont ce privilege.*

Flies to the woods, there shuns the throng,
Vex'd to have sought his spouse so long ;
Yet when the spring revives Love's flame
In ev'ry heart, he seeks his dame :
To all that pass he speaks and mutters
Ou, for no other word he utters ;
But by his actions plainly shews,
He recollects his wrongs and woes ;
Remembers how birds on a day
Came in his nest their eggs to lay ;
For which he just revenge prepares,
Resolv'd in turn to lay in theirs.
Thus he alleviates his grief ;
Bless'd who can thus procure relief.

Upon this stile La Fontaine formed his : for
all your poets of Lewis IV's age began by imi-
tating

tating their predecessors; Corneille at first imitated the stile of Mairet and Rotrou; Boileau that of Reignier.

Perhaps the grand defect of La Fontaine's tales is, that they almost all turn upon the same subject; it is always the debauching of a daughter or a wife: the stile of them is not always correct and elegant; they are disfigured by negligencies, by prolixities, and by proverbial and trivial expressions. He seems to be inferior to Ariosto in the tales which he has borrowed from that author. Ariosto not only has the merit of being the inventor, but he has woven those little adventures into a long poem, wherein they are related as there occurs occasion. His stile is always pure; there is in him no prolixity, no defect of stile, no foreign ornaments; in a word, he is a painter, and a very great painter; that is the first merit of poetry; and it is what La Fontaine has neglected. Observe, in the Joconda of Ariosto, the young Greek who finds Fiammetta in her bed whilst she lies between king Astolpho and Joconda.

*Viene all'uscio & lo spinge, & quel li cede;
Entra pian piano, va a tenton col piede.
Fa lunghi i passi, e sempre in quel di dietro
Tutto si ferma, e l'altro par che mova,
A quisa che di dar tema nel vetro;
Non ch'el terreno abbia a calcar ma l'uova,
E tien la mano innanzi simil metro,
Va bran colando in fin che'l letto trova;
E di la dove gli altri avean le piante;
Tacito si caccia col capo inante.*

The door yields to her hand, she enters slow,
 And groping cautious, forward tries to go ;
 Her steps she lengthens, onward tries to pass,
 As if she fear'd to strike against a glass ;
 Her hand before resembling motions kept,
 Thus she approach'd the bed wherein they slept ;
 And then, from where the others legs were plac'd
 Advancing forward, pass'd with eager haste.

It is surprising that your Boileau, in the judgment he has pass'd upon the Joconda of Ariosto, and upon that of La Fontaine, should reproach the Italian author with certain liberties ; he does not recollect that it is an inn keeper that speaks ; every person should preserve his peculiar character. Ariosto, whilst he attends to this costume, as the painters call it, does not let a single word escape him that is not pure Tuscan ; an extraordinary merit in a work of such length, wrote entirely in redoubled stanzas.

I have spoken too long of this trivial species of writing, which, trivial as it is, contributes to the glory of literature ;

In tenui labor at tenuis non gloria.

The subject's trivial, but not so the praise.

I should enlarge upon the superior merit of your theatre, whose only defect is, that it is not sufficiently tragical, if this subject had not been so often treated of already.

It is my opinion, that Euripides would blush at his glory, that he would hide himself through shame, if he was to see the Phœdra and Iphigenia of Racine. The tragedies of Racine, and many of the scenes of Corneille, are some of the finest pieces in your language. Many of
 the

the scenes of Quinault are admirable, in a species of poetry no more known to the antients than that of La Fontaine's tales. Your Moliere surpasses both Terence and Plautus ; I will acknowledge likewise, that Boileau's Art of Poetry is more poetical than that of Horace ; that he set the example in giving the precept, and that his copy is superior to the original. This is your glory ; strive to preserve it : you excel in these two sorts of composition alone, you have rivals or masters in all others. You have been so affected by the charms of verse, that now-a-days your treatises upon physics and metaphysics unhappily breathe the spirit of poetry ; no longer able to write poems in the same taste in which they were wrote in the age of Lewis XIV. you have only discovered the secret how to spoil your prose.

You are threatened with another plague : I am informed that there rises amongst you, a set of rigid people who call themselves solid ; gloomy geniuses, who pretend to judgment because they are void of imagination ; men of learning, enemies to letters, who are for ever banishing polite antiquity and fable. Do not give ear to their insinuations, oh you French ! if you do, you will soon become Welsh again.

Imagination, daughter of heaven, built formerly in Greece a temple of transparent marble ; she, with her own hands, painted upon the walls of the temple all nature in allegorical pictures : there Jupiter, the sovereign of gods and men, was seen to bring forth the goddess of Wisdom by his brain ; the goddess of Beauty is likewise his daughter, but she did not spring from his head : this Beauty is the mother of Love :

that this Beauty may have the power of enchanting hearts, she should be never unattended by the three Graces: and who are these necessary companions of Beauty? One is Aglate, who burns all; another Euphrosine, who inspires hearts with tranquil joy; and the third Thalia, who strews flowers upon the footsteps of the goddess; this is the signification of their three names. The muses teach all the elegant arts; they are daughters of Memory, and their birth informs you, that without the assistance of Memory, man can neither invent nor combine two ideas.

This then is what barbarians would destroy; and what can they substitute in the place of these divine emblems? The pleadings of Mr. de Saci, with some other works of equal merit? The harangue of Mr. Stephen le Dain, pronounced in the secretary's office?

Oh ye Welsh, if Janus with a double forehead, representing the year which begins and ends, retains among you still the rude and unintelligible name of January; if your April, which signifies nothing, is with the antients the month consecrated to Aphrodite, to Venus, to the principle that makes nature young; if the barbarous names of *Vendredi* & *Mercredi*, Friday and Wednesday, recall the ideas of Venus and Mercury; if the whole heaven in its constellations is still filled with the fables of Greece; respect your masters, if you have not a mind to resemble that learned Welshman, who maintained that the twelve patriarchs, sons of Jacob, had invented the twelve signs of the zodiac; that the Ram was that of Isaac, the Twins that of Jacob and Esau, the Virgin that of Rebecca,
Aquarius

Aquarius the pitcher of Rebecca ; and that the other signs had been given wrong.

Believe me, my dear brethren, you would not do amiss to retain the beautiful profane inventions of your predecessors.



E S S A Y

UPON THE

ENGLISH THEATRE.

By JEROME CARRE.

TWO little English books informs us, that this nation, famous for so many excellent works, and so many famous enterprizes, is possessed of two excellent tragic poets : one is Shakespeare, who is said greatly to surpass Corneille ; the other, the tender Otway, much superior to the tender Racine.

This dispute turning entirely upon taste, there does not seem any answer to be made to the English. Who can hinder a whole nation from liking a poet of its own better than one of another country ? It is impossible to prove to a whole people that it is pleased in the wrong place ; but we may refer the matter in dispute between the stage of Paris and that of London to other nations. We therefore address ourselves to all readers from Petersburgh to Naples, and we entreat them to decide the controversy.

There is not a man of learning in Russia, in Italy, in Germany, in Spain, in Switzerland, or in Holland, who is not acquainted with Cinna and Phædra; and very few of them have any knowledge of the works of Shakespeare or Otway. This is a great prejudice in favour of the former; however, it is but a prejudice. The papers relative to the suit should be produced before the bar. Hamlet is one of the most admired pieces of Shakespeare, as well as one of those which are ofteneft represented. We shall faithfully lay it before the judges.

PLAN of the TRAGEDY of HAMLET.

The subject of Hamlet, prince of Denmark, is pretty nearly the same with that of *Electra*.

Hamlet king of Denmark, was poisoned by his brother Claudius and his queen Gertrude, who poured poison in his ear whilst he was asleep. Claudius succeeded the deceased; and a few days after the burying, the widow married the brother-in-law.

No body had ever entertained the least suspicion of the late king Hamlet's being poisoned in the manner above related. Claudius reigns in peace. Two soldiers being upon guard before the gate of Claudius's palace, one says to the other, How has your hour passed? The other answers, Very well, I have not heard a mouse stir. After some discourse of the same nature, the ghost appears, drest like the late king Hamlet; one of these soldiers says to his comrade, Speak to this ghost, you are a scholar; That I will, says the other: Stay and speak, phantom, I command you. The apparition disappears

appears without answering. The two soldiers, in astonishment, talk of this apparition. The learned soldier remembers that he had heard that "the same thing had happened at the time of the death of Cæsar; tombs were opened, the dead in their shrouds screamed and leaped about in the streets of Rome: it without doubt is a presage of some extraordinary event."

At these words the ghost appears a second time: then one of the guards cries out, Phantom, what would you have? Can I do any thing for you; Is your coming occasioned by any hidden treasures? Then the cock crows. The ghost walks off slowly; the centinels propose striking it with a halberd in order to stop it; but it flies; and the soldiers conclude that it is customary with ghosts to vanish at the crowing of the cock, "For, say they, at the time of Advent, (Christmas eve) the bird of dawning sings all night, and then spirits dare not wander any longer; the nights are wholesome, the planets shed no bad influence; fairies and sorcerers are without power at so holy and blessed a season."

Observe, by the bye, that this is one of the striking passages that Pope has marked with commas in his edition of Shakespeare, to make readers take notice of its excellence.

After the ghost has thus made his appearance, king Claudius, Gertrude his queen, and the courtiers, join in a conversation in the hall of the palace. Young Hamlet, son of the poisoned monarch, the hero of the piece, receives with sadness and melancholy the marks of friendship shewn him by Claudius and Gertrude: this prince was far from suspecting that his father had been poisoned by them; but he was

highly displeased that his mother had so soon married the brother of her first husband. Gertrude dissuades her son from continuing to wear mourning for his father to no purpose. "It is not, says he, my coat as black as ink, nor the appearances of grief, which constitute the real mourning; this mourning is at the bottom of the heart, the rest is only vain parade." He declares that he has an inclination to quit Denmark, and go to school to Wittenbergh. "Dear Hamlet, says the queen, do not go to school to Wittenbergh, stay with us." Hamlet answers, that he will endeavour to obey her. Claudius is charmed at the answer; and orders that all of his court should go and drink, whilst the cannons were fired off; though gun-powder was not then invented.

Hamlet, left alone a prey to his reflections, makes the following soliloquy. "What, my mother! whom my father loved to such a degree! my mother, for whom my father found his appetite increase the longer he eat! My mother marries another at the end of a month! another, no more to be compared to him, than a satyr's to be compared to the sun! the month being scarce elapsed! What do I say? before she had worn out the shoes with which she followed the body of my poor father! Ah, frailty is the name of woman! my heart bursts*, for I must hold my tongue." Here again Pope

* Here Mr. de Voltaire's translation of Shakspeare is evidently defective; the line in the original is,

But burst my heart, for I must hold my tongue.

gives notice to his readers, that this passage is worthy of their admiration.

In the mean time the two centinels come to inform prince Hamlet, that they had seen a ghost which bore a strong resemblance to the king his father: this gives the prince great uneasiness; he is impatient to see this apparition; he swears that he will speak to it, though hell should gape and bid him hold his peace; and he goes home to wait the close of the day with impatience.

Whilst he is in his apartment at the palace, a young person named Ophelia, daughter of lord Polonius, great chamberlain, appears in the house of her father, with her brother Laertes. This Ophelia has some inclination for prince Hamlet. Laertes gives her very good advice.

“ Do you see me, sister, a prince, the heir
 “ to a kingdom, should not carve for himself;
 “ his morsels should be chosen for him; take
 “ care how you lose your heart with him, and
 “ how you open your chaste treasure to his violent importunities. It is dangerous to pull
 “ off one’s mask, even by moon-light: putrefaction often destroys the children of the
 “ spring before their buds are blown; and in the
 “ morning, and the dew of youth, contagious
 “ winds are much to be feared.”

OPHELIA answers.

“ Ah, dear brother, don’t deal with me as
 “ some ungracious pastors do, who shew the
 “ steep and thorny road to heaven, whilst they
 “ themselves, like bold libertines, do the reverse of what they preach.”

The brother and sister having had this conversation, leave the stage to prince Hamlet, who returns with a friend and the same sentinels who had seen the ghost. The apparition again presents itself before them: the prince speaks to it with respect and resolution; the ghost answers only by making Hamlet a sign to follow him. Ah, do not follow him, said his friend; he that follows a ghost, is in danger of losing his senses; No matter, answers Hamlet, I will go with him. They endeavour to prevent him, but without success. "My destiny cries out to me" to go, says he, and makes the smallest of my "arteries as strong as the lyon of Nemea. Yes, "I'll follow him, and I'll make a ghost of who-
"ever opposes me."

Then he goes out with the ghost, and they both return soon after, quite familiar with each other. The ghost informs him, "That he is" in purgatory, and that he is going to relate "to him things that will make his hair stand" on end like quills upon a porcupine. 'Tis "thought, says he, that I died of the bite of a" serpent in my garden; but the serpent is the "man that wears my crown, it is my brother;" and what is most horrible is, that he put me "to death without my so much as receiving" extreme unction; revenge me: farewell my "son; glow-worms shew that the morning ap-
"proaches; farewell, remember me." The friends of prince Hamlet then return, and ask him what the ghost had said. "It is a very" honest ghost, answers the prince, but swear "that you will divulge nothing of what it has" entrusted me with." Immediately the voice of the ghost is heard, which cries out to Ham-
let's

let's friends, "Swear." "You must swear by
"my sword," says the prince to them. The
ghost cries under ground, "Swear by his sword."
They swear. Hamlet goes with them without
forming any resolution. You may remember
that this same prince Hamlet was in love with
the lady Ophelia, daughter of lord Polonius,
great chamberlain, and sister of young Laertes,
who travels to France for his improvement. The
good man, Polonius, recommends his son Laertes
to his governor, and tells him in plain terms,
that the young man sometimes goes to the baw-
dy-house, and that he should be narrowly
watched. Whilst he is giving directions to the
governor, his daughter Ophelia enters in a ter-
rible fright, "Ah, my lord! whilst I was at
"work in my closet, prince Hamlet entered
"with his waistcoat unbuttoned, without hat
"or garters, with his stockings upon his heels,
"with knees trembling and knocking against
"each other, pale as his shirt: he a long time
"examined my face, as if he was going to draw
"it, shook my arm, shook his head, heaved
"several deep sighs, and went off like a blind
"man who gropes his way." The chamber-
lain, Polonius, who does not know that Hamlet
has seen a ghost, and that he may possibly have
lost his senses, thinks that his excessive love for
Ophelia may have turned his head; and here
the matter rests. The king and queen talk a
long time of the madness of the prince. Am-
bassadors from Norway arrive at court, and hear
this accident. The good man, Polonius, who
is an old dotard, much more crazy than Hamlet,
assures the king that he will take care of this
disordered person; "'Tis my duty, says he,
"for

" for what is duty ? 'Tis duty just as day is
 " day, night night, and time time ; therefore
 " since brevity is the soul of wit, and loquacity
 " the body, I will be brief: Your noble son is
 " mad ; I call it mad : for what is madness but
 " being mad ? In fine, madam, he is mad ;
 " this is fact ; it is a great pity, it is a great
 " pity it should be true ; the only business now
 " is to find the cause of the effect. Now the
 " cause is, that I have a daughter." To prove
 that it was love that had deprived the prince of
 his senses, he reads to the king and queen the
 letters that Hamlet had written to Ophelia.

Whilst thus the king, the queen, and all the
 court, talk of the melancholy condition of the
 prince, he arrives in great disorder, and by his
 discourse confirms the opinion that had been
 conceived of his madness ; he however some-
 times makes answers that discover a soul deeply
 wounded, and which are replete with good sense.
 The chamberlains, who have orders to amuse
 him, propose to him to hear a company of co-
 medians, who were just arrived. Hamlet talks
 very rationally of plays ; the players act a scene
 before him, he gives his opinion of it with
 great good sense. Afterwards, when he is alone,
 he declares " that he is not so mad as he ap-
 " pears to be. What, says he, a player has
 " wept for Hecuba ! What's Hecuba to him ?
 " What would he then do if his uncle and his
 " mother had poisoned his father, as Claudius
 " and Gertrude have poisoned mine ? Ah, curst
 " poisoner, assassin, fornicator, debauchee, base
 " villain, and I now, what an ass am I ? is
 " not this fine conduct in me, the son of a
 " king who has been poisoned, me, from whom
 " heaven

“ heaven and hell demand vengeance, to content myself with evaporating my resentment in words like a common whore? I am satisfied with cursing like a slut, a beggar-woman, a scullion.”

He then forms a resolution to avail himself of the above-mentioned players, to discover whether his uncle and his mother had in fact poisoned his father; for after all, says he, the apparition may have deceived me; it is perhaps the devil that hath spoken to me; this matter must be cleared up. Hamlet then directs the players to play a pantomime, in which one is to sleep, and another to pour poison into his ear. It is very certain, that if king Claudius is guilty, he will be greatly surprized when he sees the pantomime; he will turn pale, his guilt will be seen upon his face; Hamlet will be sure of the crime, and will have a right to revenge.

Thus said, thus done. The company comes and represents this scene in dumb shew before the king, the queen, and the whole court; and the dumb shew is succeeded by a scene in verse. The king and queen look upon these two scenes as highly impertinent; they suspect Hamlet of having played them this trick, and of not being quite so great a madman as he appeared to be; this idea gave them great perplexity; they trembled with fear of having been detected. What course could they take? King Claudius resolves to send Hamlet to England, upon pretext of curing his madness; and writes to his good friend the king of England, to desire it as a favour of him, that he would hang the young traveller upon the receipt of his letter.

But

But the queen is desirous of questioning and sounding Hamlet before his departure; and for fear he should do some mischief in his madness, the old chamberlain, Polonius, hides himself behind a tapestry hanging, in order to come to the queen's assistance, if there should be occasion.

The prince, who was mad, or who pretended to be so, comes to confer with his mother Gertrude. In his way, he sees in a corner king Claudius, who was seized with a fit of remorse; he is afraid of being one day damned for having poisoned his brother, married his widow, and usurped his crown. He kneels down and makes a short prayer, not worth repeating. Hamlet, at first, has an inclination to take that time in order to kill him; but reflecting that Claudius is in a state of grace, because he is then offering up his prayers to God, he takes care not to kill him in such circumstances. "What a fool should I be, says he, I should send him directly to heaven, whereas he sent my father to purgatory. Come, my sword, wait for another time in order to stab him; wait till he is drunk, gaming, or swearing, or till he is in bed with some incestuous woman *, or till he is doing some other deed that is not likely to work out his salvation; then fall upon him, that he may kick at heaven, and that his soul may be damned, and black as hell to which he will descend." This like-

* A mistranslation. The verse in Hamlet is,
Or in the incestuous pleasures of his bed.
Meaning in the embraces of Gertrude, who had been his brother's wife.

wife is a passage which Pope's commas direct us to admire.

Hamlet then having deferred the murder of Claudius, in order to damn him, comes to confer with his mother; and notwithstanding his madness, overwhelms her with such bitter reproaches of her crime, as pierce her to the very heart. The old chamberlain, Polonius, is apprehensive of his carrying matters too far; he cries out for help behind the hanging; Hamlet takes it for granted that it was the king who had hid himself there, to listen to their conversation; Ah mother, cries he, there is a great rat behind the hangings; he thereupon draws his sword, runs to the rat, and kills the good man Polonius. "Ah my son, what are you about?" cries the queen. "Mother, returns Hamlet, it is the king that I have slain! It is a wicked action to kill a king*; almost as wicked, my good mother, as to kill a king and lie with his brother." This conversation lasts a long time; and Hamlet, as he goes out, walks upon the dead body of the old chamberlain, and is ready to fall down †.

The good lord chamberlain was an old fool, and is represented as such, as has already been seen: his daughter Ophelia, who, no doubt, resembled him in this respect, becomes raving mad when she is informed of her father's death: she runs upon the stage with flowers and straw upon

* This passage is manifestly translated wrong.

† This circumstance is entirely of the invention of Monf. de Voltaire; not contented with depreciating Shakespeare, he even misrepresents him.

her head, sings ballads, and then goes and drowns herself. Thus there are three mad people in the play, the chamberlain, and Hamlet, without reckoning the other buffoons who play their parts.

The corps of Ophelia is taken out of the river, and her funeral is prepared. In the mean time king Claudius had made the prince embark for England; Hamlet, whilst upon his passage, had conceived a suspicion that he had been sent to London with some treacherous design: he finds in the pocket of one of the chamberlains his conductor, the letter of king Claudius to his friend the king of England, sealed with the great seal; in it he finds it earnestly recommended to the king of England to dispatch him the moment of his arrival. What does he do? He happened luckily to have the great seal of his father in his purse; he throws the letter into the sea, and writes another which he signs with the name of Claudius, and requests the king of England to hang the bearers upon their arrival; then he folds up the whole packet, and seals it with the seal of the kingdom.

This done, he finds a pretext for returning to court. The first thing he sees is two grave-diggers digging Ophelia's grave; these two labourers are likewise buffoons in the tragedy. They discuss the question, whether Ophelia should be buried in consecrated ground after having drowned herself? and they conclude that she should be buried in christian burial because she was a young lady of quality. Then they maintain that labourers are the most antient gentlemen upon earth, because they are of the same trade with Adam; but was Adam a gentleman? says one of the grave-diggers. Yes, answers the other,

other, for he was the first that ever bore arms. What, did he bear arms? says the grave-digger. Without doubt, says t'other, can a man till the ground without spades and pickaxes? He therefore bore arms, he was a gentleman.

In the midst of these fine harangues, and the songs sung by these gentlemen in the parish-church of the palace, arrives prince Hamlet with one of his friends, and they contemplate the skulls found by the grave-diggers. Hamlet thinks he has discovered the skull of a statesman able to cheat God, then that of a courtier, then the skull of a court lady, and of a knavish lawyer, and he is very liberal of his raileries upon the owners of those skulls. At last the skull of the king's jester is found, and it is concluded that there is not any great difference between the brain of Cæsar or Alexander and that of this jester; in fine, the grave is made whilst they thus dispute and sing. Holy-water is brought by the priests. The body of Ophelia is brought upon the stage. The king and queen follow the bier; Laertes in mourning accompanies the corps of his sister Ophelia; and when the body is laid in the ground, Laertes, frantic with grief, leaps into the grave. Hamlet, who remembers that he had once loved Ophelia, leaps in likewise. Laertes, enraged at seeing in the same grave with him the person who had killed the chamberlain Polonius, taking him for a rat, flies in his face; they wrestle in the grave, and the king causes them to be parted, in order to preserve decency in the funeral ceremonies.

In the mean time, king Claudius, who is a great politician, perceives that it is absolutely necessary to dispatch such a dangerous mad-man

as prince Hamlet; and since that young prince had not been hanged at London, it is thought highly proper that he should be dispatched in Denmark.

The artful Claudius has recourse to the following stratagem. He was used to poisoning: Hark ye, says he to young Laertes, prince Hamlet has killed your father, my great chamberlain; that you may have it in your power to revenge yourself, I shall propose to you a little piece of chivalry: I will lay a wager with you that in twelve passes you will not hit Hamlet three times; you shall fence with him before the whole court. You shall have a sharp foil, the point of which I have dipped in a poison exceeding subtle. If you unluckily should not be able to hit the prince, I will take care to have a bottle of poisoned wine ready for him upon the table. People that fence must drink: Hamlet will drink, and one way or other must lose his life. Laertes thinks the expedient, for amusement and revenge, admirably devised.

Hamlet accepts the challenge; bottles are placed upon the table; two champions appear with foils in their hands in the presence of king Claudius, queen Gertrude, and the whole Danish court; they fence; Laertes wounds Hamlet with his poisoned foil. Hamlet, finding himself wounded, cries out, Treachery; and, in a rage, tears the poisoned foil from Laertes, stabs him, and stabs the king: queen Gertrude, in a fright, drinks, in order to recover herself; thus she is poisoned likewise; and all four, that is, king Claudius, Gertrude, Laertes, and Hamlet, die upon the stage.

It is remarkable that an express just then arrives that the two chamberlains, who had sailed for England with the packet sealed with the great seal of England, had been dispatched upon their landing. Thus there does not remain one person of the drama alive: but, to supply the place of the deceased, there is one Fort-en-bras, a relation of the family, who had conquered Poland during the representation of the piece, and who comes at the conclusion of it to offer himself as a candidate for the throne of Denmark.

This is the whole plan of the celebrated tragedy of Hamlet, the master-piece of the London theatre. Such is the work that is preferred to Cinna!

Here there are two important questions to be solved: the first is, how so many wonderful things could be generated in one head alone? For it must be acknowledged that all the plays of the divine Shakespear are in the very same taste. The second is, how audiences have been able to work themselves up to see these pieces with transport, and how they can still be attended to in an age which has produced the Cato of Addison?

The astonishment occasioned by the first wonder, will cease entirely when it is known that Shakespear has taken the subjects of all his tragedies from history or romances; and that he has done nothing more than turn into dialogues the romances of Claudius, Gertrude and Hamlet, written entirely by Saxo the grammarian, to whom the whole glory of the performance is due.

The second part of the question, that is, the pleasure taken in seeing these tragedies, is somewhat

what more difficult to be accounted for ; but this seems to be the reason of it, according to the profound reflexions of certain philosophers :

Chairmen, sailors, hackney-coachmen, prentice boys, butchers and clerks, are passionately fond of fights ; give them cock-fights, bull-fights, or prize-fighters, buryings, duels, executions, witchcraft and ghosts, and they crowd to the theatre ; many a nobleman is as curious as the populace. The citizens of London found in the tragedies of Shakespeare every thing that can please the curious. Those at court were obliged to conform to the current taste : how could they avoid admiring what the most rational of the citizens admired ? There was nothing better to be seen during a hundred and fifty years ; admiration gathered strength, and was converted into idolatry. A few strokes of genius, a few happy lines replete with nature and force, which spectators got by heart whether they would or no, procured indulgence for the rest ; and soon the whole piece succeeded by means of a few detached beauties.

Certain it is, that such beauties are to be met with in Shakespeare. Mr. de Voltaire is the first that caused them to be known in France ; it is he who taught us, about thirty years ago, the names of Milton and Shakespeare : but the translations which he has given us of some passages of these authors, are they faithful ? He apprizes us himself that they are not ; he has rather copied than translated. In this manner he has rendered in verse the soliloquy of Hamlet at the beginning of the second scene of the third act :

De-

*Demeure, il faut choisir & passer à l'instant
De la vie à la mort, & de l'être au néant,
Dieux justes, s'il en est, éclairez mon courage.
Faut-il vieillir courbé sous la main qui m'outrage,
Supporter ou finir mon malheur & mon sort ?
Qui suis je ? Qui m'arrête ? Et qu'est-ce que la
mort ?*

*C'est la fin de nos meaux, c'est mon unique azyle ;
Après des longs transports c'est un sommeil tranquille.
On s'endort & tout meurt : mais un affreux reveil
Doit succéder peut-être au douceurs du sommeil.
On nous menace, on dit que cette courte vie
De tourmens éternels est aussitôt suivie.
O mort ! moment fatal ! affreuse éternité !
Tout cœur a ton seul nom se glace épouventé.
Eh ! qui pourroit sans ton supporter cette vie ?
De nos fourbes puissants benir l'hypocrisie ?
D'une indigne maîtresse encenser les erreurs ?
Ramper sous une ministre, adorer ses hauteurs ?
Et montrer les langueurs de son ame abbatue
A des amis ingrats qui détournent la vue ?
La mort seroit trop douce en ces extremitez ;
Mais le scrupule parle & nous crie, arrêtez.
Il defend a nos mains cet heureux homicide,
Ee d'un heros guerrier fait un chretien timide, &c.*

Let's make a choice, and in a moment pass
From life to death, from being to the grave.
Just gods, if gods there be, instruct my soul.
Must I grow grey beneath oppression's weight ;
Support or end at once my life and woe ?
What holds my hand, what is it then to die ?
Death is the end of all our ills, 'tis rest ;
After much tossing, 'tis a sleep profound.
But we are menac'd, we are told that death
Is follow'd by eternal punishments.

Oh death! dire moment! oh eternity!
 Each heart with horror shrinks to hear thee
 nam'd.

Wer't not for thee, who could this life endure?
 Who'd bear to cringe and fawn on knaves in
 pow'r?

Who would a mistress' follies idolize;
 Adore the caprice of a minister;
 And shew the sorrows of his wounded soul
 To those who see his grief with scornful eyes?
 Death were a good in these extremities;
 But conscience speaks, it cries, Rash mortal, hold.
 Conscience forbids this happy homicide,
 And of the brave it timid christians makes.

After this piece of poetry, the reader is requested to cast his eye upon the literal translation*.

Through all the obscurity of this literal translation, which can only render each word of the English by the word which answers to it in French, it is easy to discover the genius of the English language; its natural turn, which is neither afraid of the lowest or of the most gigantic ideas; its energy, which other nations would look upon as harshness; its boldnesses, which minds not accustomed to foreign turns of expression would look upon as bombast: but under these veils may be discovered profoundness, something that engages and that affects much more than eloquence could. Hence it is that almost all the

* Here follows a literal translation in French, which it was thought entirely unnecessary to translate, as it renders Shakespeare's meaning word for word, and would have laid us under a necessity of almost transcribing him.

English have this soliloquy by heart. It is an unpolished diamond that has spots; but if it was polished it would lose part of its weight.

There, perhaps, is not a more striking example of the diversity of tastes in different nations. After this let critics talk of the laws of Aristotle, the three unities, decency, and the necessity of never leaving the stage empty as well as of never making any person of the drama enter or go out without an obvious reason; of connecting an intrigue with art, and unravelling it naturally; of expressing one's self in terms at once noble and simple; of making princes speak in such a manner as becomes their quality, and as they would chuse to do; of never deviating from the rules of language: It is evident that there is a way of charming a whole nation without taking all this trouble.

If Shakespeare, for these reasons, bears the palm from Corneille, we will acknowledge that Racine is contemptible, in comparison of the tender and elegant Otway. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an eye upon the following abstract of the tragedy intitled the Orphan.

PLAN of the ORPHAN.

AN old gentleman of Bohemia, named Acasto, had retired to his castle with his two sons, Castalio and Polydore: it is true, these are no more Bohemian names, than that of Claudius is Danish. Serina his daughter lives with him; he has also at his house a Monimia, who is very different from the Monimia of Racine. This young lady was intrusted to his care by her deceased father. In the castle of lord Acasto there is a chaplain, a page, and two

H

valets-

valets-de-chambre: this is the retinue of the good man, at least all of it that is seen upon the stage. Add to these, Serina's maid, and a brother of Monimia's, a passionate man, just come from Hungary, and you have all the persons of the drama.

If the tragedy of Hamlet is opened by two centinels, that of the Orphan is opened by two domestics; for great men should by all means be imitated. These domestics talk of their good master Acasto, and his two sons, Castalio and Polydore, whose only amusement is hunting. Not to keep the reader any longer in suspense, it is proper to inform him, that if he suspects that the two brothers are both in love with Monimia, as in Racine, he is not mistaken; but he will, in all likelihood, be somewhat surprized at being told that Castalio, one of the brothers, who is loved by Monimia, gives his dear Polydore leave to lie with her if he can; he is satisfied, provided he himself may have the same liberty; for he swears that he has no desire to marry her, and "that he will marry when he is old, in order to mortify the flesh."

However, immediately after having thus declared against marriage, he privately marries Monimia; and Acasto's chaplain gives them the nuptial benediction. During these transactions, Mr. Chamont, brother of Monimia, arrives from Hungary; this Mr. Chamont is a very odd man, and very hard to be pleased; he immediately asks his sister whether she has her maidenhead*? Monimia swears to him that her

* This passage sufficiently shews how unfairly Mr. de Voltaire plays the critic upon English Authors; there is no such low expression in the tragedy refer'd to.

honour is unviolated. "Ah, wherefore have
 "you any doubt concerning my maidenhead,
 "brother?" says she.—"Hear me, my sister,
 "says Chamont, I not long since had a dream
 "in Hungary; my bed shook, I saw you be-
 "tween two young fellows, who caressed you,
 "turn about. I took my great sword, I ran to
 "them; and upon waking, I found that I had
 "pierced the figured tapestry, just at a place
 "that represented the *Theban brothers, Poli-
 "nices and Etheocles, killing one another."

"Well, brother, says Monimia, since you
 "have been tormented in your sleep, you must
 "torment me waking." "Oh, this is not all,
 "sister, do not justify yourself too fast. As I
 "walked along, thinking of my dream, I met
 "a toothless old hag, bent double with age,
 "her vaulted back was clothed with a piece of
 "an old hanging, her thighs were hardly co-
 "vered by rags of all sorts of colours (variety of
 "wretchedness) she gathered a few sticks, she
 "asked me where I was going, and bid me make
 "haste, if I desired to preserve my sister: in fine,
 "she spoke to me of Castalio and Polydore."

Monimia is greatly surprized at this adven-
 ture: she immediately confesses that she was en-
 gaged to Castalio; but she swears to her bro-
 ther, that she had never lain with him.

Mr. Chamont is by no means satisfied with
 this confession; he is a rough man, as has been

* It seems probable that Mr. de Voltaire had not Otway's
 piece by him when he wrote this, otherwise it is hardly
 possible to conceive how he could give such a translation of
 the following passage of Otway:

I found my weapon had the arras pierc'd,
 Just where the fatal tale was interwoven,
 How the unhappy Theban slew his father,

already hinted ; he goes in quest of the chaplain. " Come, says he, Mr. Gravity, tell me, " are not you chaplain to the family ? " And " you, Sir, are you not an officer ? " returns the chaplain. " Yes, friend," says Chamont. " I * was once an officer myself, says the chaplain, but my friends consigned me to the " church ; yet I am an honest man, though I " wear black ; I am tolerably respected in the " family ; I do not pretend to know more than " other people, I concern myself about no- " body's affairs but my own ; I rise early, study " little, eat and drink merrily ; and for this my " behaviour am held in esteem by every body. " Did you know old Chamont, my father ? " says the officer. " Yes, says the chaplain, I " was greatly concerned for his death. " What, " you loved him ? says Chamont, I could em- " brace you for that : tell me, do you think " Castalio loves my sister ? " " Do I think he " loves her ? " says the chaplain. " Aye, do " you think he loves her ? " replies Chamont. " Faith I never asked him," answers the chap- " lain, and I am surprised you should ask me " such a question, " Ah hypocrite, cries Cha- " mont, you are like all those of your profession, " a good for nothing fellow ; you have not cou- " rage to speak the truth, and you pretend to " teach it : are you a party concerned in this af- " fair ? What do you do in it ? Curse upon the " villain's serious face ; you goggle your eyes " just as bawds do ; they talk of heaven, they " look devoutly, and tell lies ; they preach like " a priest, and thou art a bawd †."

* Wrong translated.

† It is a question in O'way : " Art thou a bawd ? "

What is pleasant enough is, that the chaplain, won by these obliging expressions, owns that he had that morning married Castalio and Monimia in a garret*.

The brother is well enough satisfied, and goes with the chaplain. The married couple arrive; nothing remains but to consummate the marriage. Those that are not let into the secret might think, from what had passed before, that this ceremony was to be performed on the stage; but the modest Monimia only bids her husband come and knock three times at her chamber door, when all the family should be asleep. Polydore, the brother, hears what was said from between the side scenes; and not knowing that his brother Castalio is Monimia's husband, he resolves to be beforehand with him, and to go without delay and make sure of Monimia's first favours. He addresses himself to the little rogue of a page, promises him sweetmeats and money, if he would amuse his brother Castalio during part of the night: the page plays his part admirably; he talks to Castalio of Monimia's love, of her garters, and her breasts; he is for singing him a song; and thus he makes him lose time.

Polydore did not lose his; he went to Monimia's door, he struck three times gently, the maid opened to him; and thus he contrived to lie with his brother's wife.

At last Castalio comes to the door, and gives three gentle raps; the servant, who ought to know both him and his brother by their voices, does not so much as apprehend a mistake; she

* In the original, it is in a grove.

thinks that Polydore is the pretended husband who desires admittance, and that it is the true husband Castalio who is in bed; she bids him go about his business, tells him he is a madman; it is to no purpose for him to tell his name, she shuts the door in his face; he is treated by the maid just as Amphitruon is by Sofia.

Polydore having reaped the fruits of his stratagem, probably without uttering a single word, leaves his conquest, and returns to his own bed. Castalio, who was refused admittance, is seized with despair, becomes frantic, rolls himself upon the floor, inveighs against the whole sex; and concludes, that from the time of Eve, who fell in love with the devil, and damned the human species, women have always given rise to ills of every kind.

Monimia, who rose in haste to meet her dear Castalio, in whose company she hoped to enjoy some rapturous moments, meets him, and is going to embrace him; he treats her with the utmost cruelty, and pulls her by the hair off the stage.

Mr. Chamont, who still remembers his dream, and the old witch he had met, comes with great gravity to ask his sister an account of the consummation of her marriage. The poor woman owns that her husband, after having past the night with her in raptures, had dragged her about by the hair upon the floor.

This Chamont, who is not to be trifled with, goes in quest of the father (who by the bye had been taken ill during the representation of the tragedy, through his great age) he speaks to him in the same tone that he had before spoken to the chaplain; "Do you know, says he,
" that

“that your son Castalio has married my sister?”
 “I am sorry for it,” answers the good man.
 “How! sorry for it! says Chamont; by God
 “there’s not a nobleman that might not be
 “proud to marry my sister: but damn me he
 “has used her ill; either teach him manners, or
 “I’ll set your house on fire.” “Well, well,
 “I’ll do you justice, farewell, my dear boy.”
 says Acasto.

The poor father goes in quest of his son Castalio, in order to examine him with regard to what had passed; whilst he is in conversation with him, Polydore is desirous of knowing how Monimia was, after having passed the night with him; he thinks he had only enjoyed his brother’s mistress in virtue of the permission he had received from him: this discourse makes Monimia begin to suspect her mistake; in fine, Polydore owns that he had enjoyed her; Monimia faints away, and recovers her senses only to abandon herself to the transports of despair.

If such a subject, such language, and such manners, disgust persons of taste all over Europe, they ought to excuse the author: he never so much as suspected that there was any thing extravagant in his piece: he dedicates it to the duchess of Cleveland with the same simplicity and want of art with which he wrote it; he congratulates that lady upon having had two children by Charles the Second.

SHORT REFLEXIONS.

We are fully sensible how much the Monimia of Racine in Mithridates, is inferior to the Monimia of Mr. Thomas Otway; it is the same author who wrote Venice Preserved: it is

a pity this Venice Preserved has not been translated with exactness ; we are deprived of a senator who bites the legs of his mistress, who plays the dog, who barks, and is whipt out of doors ; we should likewise have had the pleasure of seeing a scaffold, a wheel, a priest who comes to exhort captain Pierre at his execution, and who is abused and bid to go about his business by the latter ; there are many other strokes of this nature, which the translator has omitted in compliance with our false delicacy.

We cannot sufficiently lament that the translator has, with the same cruelty, deprived us of the finest scenes of Shakespeare's Othello. With what pleasure should we have seen the first scene at Venice, and the last at Cyprus ! First of all, a Moor runs away with the daughter of a senator : Iago, the Moor's officer, runs to the window of the father's house ; the father appears in his shirt at the window. " Zounds, says he, " put on your cloaths ; a black ram has got " upon your white ewe ; come, come, rise and " come down, or the devil will make you a " grandfire.

SENATOR.

" What's the matter, what would you be at ?
Are you a mad man ?

IAGO.

" Zounds, Sir, are you one of those who
" would not serve God if the devil forbid them ?
" We are come to do you a service, and you
" take us for ruffians ; I tell you your daughter
" will be cover'd by a Barbary horse ; your
" grand-children will neigh after you, and Afri-
" can nags will be your cousin Germans.

SENA-

SENATOR.

"What profane rogue talks to me at this
"rate?"

IAGO.

"Know that your daughter Desdemona and
"the Moor Othello now make the beast with
"two backs."

This same Iago accompanies to Cyprus the Moor Othello and the lady Desdemona, whom the senate of Venice kindly grants, in † spite of the father, for a wife to the Moor, whom they appoint governor of Cyprus.

Scarce are they arrived in that island, when Iago undertakes to make the Moor jealous of his wife, and to inspire him with a suspicion of her fidelity. The Moor begins to feel some inquietude, he makes the following reflexions. "After all, says he, what sense had I of the
"pleasure that others had given her, and of her
"debauchery? I did not see it, it did not hurt
"me, I slept as well as usual. When a thing has
"been stolen from us of which we had no oc-
"casion, if we are ignorant of the theft, we
"have lost nothing. I had been happy if the
"whole army, and even the pioneers, had en-
"joyed her, so as I had known nothing of the
"matter.—Oh no — farewell all content—
"farewell the plumed troops, farewell the proud
"war that makes a virtue of ambition, farewell
"the neighing steeds and the shrill trumpets,
"the fife that pierces the ear, and the drum
"that excites the courage, the royal banner,

† This is false, for Brabantio, in Shakespeare, consents to the match as soon as his daughter declares in favour of Othello.

“and all the ranks, pride, pomp, and various
 “circumstances of glorious war ; and you, you
 “mortal engines, whose rude throats imitate
 “those of the immortal Jupiter ; farewell,
 “Othello has now no occupation.”

This is another of the admirable passages distinguished by Pope's commas.

IAGO.

“Is it possible, my Lord ?”

OTHELLO, *taking him by the throat.*

“Villain, prove that my wife's a whore, give
 “me an ocular proof of it ; or by the worth of
 “the eternal soul of man, it would have been
 “better for you, you had been born a dog.”

IAGO.

“This office by no means pleases me ; but
 “since I have gone so far through pure honesty
 “and friendship for you, I will proceed. I lay
 “the other night with your lieutenant Cassio ;
 “and could not sleep for the tooth-ach. You
 “cannot but know that there are people so loose
 “of soul, that in their sleep they talk of their
 “affairs ; Cassio is one of these : he said in his
 “sleep, Dear Desdemona, let us be careful,
 “let us hide our loves. In speaking, he took
 “me by the hand, he patted me, he cried, Oh,
 “charming creature ! he kissed me with trans-
 “port, as if he had by the roots torn up kisses
 “planted upon my lips, he put his † thighs upon
 “my legs, he sighed, he breathed short, he
 “kissed me, he cried out, Curst fate which has
 “given you to the Moor !”

Upon these proofs, so very decently related,
 and the handkerchief of Othello, which Cassio

†. Wrong translated.

had found by accident, the Moorish general strangles his wife in her bed; but he kisses her before he puts her to death. "Come, says he, "die thou whore." "Ah, kill me to-morrow, "let me live to-night," says she. "Wretch, "if you stir"—cries he. "Give me but one "half hour," says she. "No"—answers he. "After that I will delay you no longer; let me "at least say me prayers," says she. "No, it "is too late" answers Othello. He strangles her; and Desdemona, after she is strangled, cries out that she is innocent.

When Desdemona is dead, the senate recalls Othello: he is seized in order to be carried to Venice to take his trial. "Hold, says he, a "word or two: Tell the senate, that one day "at Aleppo I found a turban'd Turk, who "beat a Venetian, and made a jest of the re- "public; I took by the beard the circumcised "dog, and smote him thus." At these words, he stabs himself.

A French translator, who has given us sketches of several English pieces, and amongst others, of the Moor of Venice, partly in verse, partly in prose, has not translated any of these important passages which we have laid before our readers; he makes Othello express himself thus:

*L'art n'est pas fait pour moi; c'est un fard que je
bais,*

*Dites leur qu'Othello plus amoureux que sage,
Quoique epou s'adoré, jaloux jusques a la rage,
Trompé par un esclave, aveuglé par l'erreur
Immola son epouse, & se perça le cœur.*

Art I detest, I all disguise abhor.
 Say that Othello, more in love than wife,
 Impos'd on by a slave, with error blind,
 Murder'd his wife, then pierc'd his guilty breast.

There is not a word of this in the original ;
l'art n'est pas fait pour moi, is taken from the
 tragedy of Zara, but the rest is not.

The reader now has it in his power to decide
 the dispute for pre-eminence between the tra-
 gedies of London and Paris.



O F

The several REVOLUTIONS.

Which have happened in the

T R A G I C A R T.

WHO would think it, that the tragic art
 is partly due to Minos ! if one of the
 infernal judges is the inventor of this species of
 poetry, it is no wonder it should be of a nature
 somewhat gloomy : a more gay origin is, gene-
 rally speaking, assigned to it. Thespis and other
 drunkards are thought to have introduced this
 shew amongst the Greeks at the time of vin-
 tage ; but if we may credit what Plato says in his
 dialogue, entitled Minos, there were dramatic
 pieces played during the reign of this prince.
 Thespis carried his actors about in a cart. But
 in Crete and other countries, long before the
 age

age of Thespis, actors performed only in the temples. Tragedy, at its first invention, was consecrated to the gods; hence the hymns of the chorus's almost always turn upon the praises of the gods in the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. A poet was not permitted to present the public with a piece till he was forty years of age; they were called *Tragedidaskaloi*; doctors in tragedy. Their works were represented only at the time of the great festivals; the money spent by the public upon these spectacles was a sacred treasure.

Eubulus, or Eubolis, or Ebylys, made a law to punish with death whoever should propose applying this money to prophane purposes. For this reason Demosthenes, in his second Olynthian, uses so much caution and address in order to engage the Athenians to spend this money in the war against Philip; it is much the same thing as if an attempt should be made in Italy to pay soldiers with the treasure of our lady of Loretto.

These public diversions were, amongst the Greeks, connected with their religious ceremonies. It is well known that amongst the Egyptians, songs, dances and representations made an essential part of the ceremonies reputed sacred. The Jews borrowed these customs of the Egyptians, as every ignorant and barbarous nation endeavours to imitate its learned and polite neighbours; hence those Jewish festivals, those dances of priests before the ark, those trumpets, those hymns, and so many other ceremonies entirely Egyptian.

This is not all; the truly great tragedies, the awful and terrible representations were sacred mysteries which were celebrated in the greatest temples

temples of the earth in the presence of the initiated alone; there the habits, the decorations, and the machines, were adapted to the subject, and the subject related to the present life as well as to that which is to come.

At first it was a great chorus, at the head of which was the Hierophantes: "Prepare, cried he, to see with the eyes of the soul, the governor of the universe. He is single, he is alone self-existent, and all other beings owe their existence to him; he extends his power and his works every where; he sees all things; he cannot be seen by mortals."

This strophe was repeated by the chorus; silence was kept for some time after; this was a true prologue. The piece began by darkness spread over the theatre; actors appeared by the feeble glimmering of a lamp; they wandered upon mountains, and descended into caves; they hit one another; they marched like wild people; their discourse and their gestures expressed the uncertainty of human conduct and all the errors of our lives. The scene changed; hell appeared in all its horror; criminals confessed their crimes, and acknowledged the justice of divine vengeance. Of this Virgil gives an admirable detail, in the sixth book of his *Æneid*, which is nothing else but a description of the mysteries; and this proves that he is not in the wrong in putting these words in the mouth of Phlegias:

Be just ye mortals, and the gods revere.

The fool in Scarron makes a mistake when he says:

This was indeed said very well,
But what's advice, when giv'n in hell?

It

It was of use to the spectators. At last the Elysian fields, inhabited by the just, were seen: they sung the goodness of God, of one only God the architect of the universe; they instructed the spectators in all their duties. In this manner, Stobeus speaks of these sublime exhibitions, of which some faint traces are to be found in the scattered fragments of antiquity.

Amongst the Romans, comedy was admitted after the first Punic war, in order to accomplish a vow which was made in order to avert a plague, and to appease the gods, as Livy informs us in his seventh book. It was a very solemn act of religion. The pieces of Livius Andronicus made a part of the holy ceremony of the secular games. There never was a theatre without images of the gods and altars.

The Christians held the Pagan ceremonies in the same horror with the Jews, though they retained some of them. The first fathers of the church were desirous of separating the Christians from the Gentiles in every respect; they declaimed loudly against exhibitions. The theatre, which was the place of residence of the inferior divinities of the antients, appeared to them the devil's empire. Tertullian the African, says, in his book concerning theatrical exhibitions, that "The devil raises actors upon buskins to give the lye to Jesus Christ, who has declared that no man can add a cubit to his stature." St. Gregory of Nazianzen opened a Christian theatre, as we are told by Sozomenes; one St. Apollinarius did as much; it is Sozomenes likewise who informs us of this in his ecclesiastical history. The subjects of these pieces were taken from the Old and New Testament; it seems highly probable

bable that a tradition concerning these theatrical performances gave rise to the mysteries which were for some time represented almost all over Europe.

Castelvetro assures us, in his Treatise upon Poetry, that the passion of Jesus Christ was played from time immemorial throughout all Italy. We imitated these representations of the Italians, from whom we derive every art; and we began to imitate them very late; as we have done in all the liberal as well as mechanical arts.

We did not begin these exercises till about the fourteenth century: the citizens of Paris made their first essays at St. Maur. The mysteries were represented at Paris upon the entry of Charles VI. in the year 1380.

It is generally thought that these pieces were scandalous exhibitions, indecent pleasantries upon the mysteries of our holy religion, upon a God's being born in a stable, upon the ox and the ass, upon the star that guided the three kings, upon those kings themselves, upon the jealousy of Joseph, &c. We may form a judgment of this from our Christmas gambols, which are pleasantries as comic as blameable, and improper upon all these ineffable events. Almost every body has heard of the verses with which one of these tragedies concerning the Passion begins:

*Matthieu ? Plait-il Dieu ?
Prends ton épéu,
Prendrai-je aussi mon épée ?
Oui & suis moi en Galilé.*

Mât-

Matthew? thy will God let me know,

Take up your staff without delay.

Shall I not take my sword also?

Do, and to Galilee take thy way.

It is said, that in the tragedy of the Resurrection, an angel speaks to God the Father in terms that are absolutely blasphemous.

There is not a word of this in the mysterious pieces which have reached our times; these works were, for the most part, extremely serious; there was nothing worthy of censure in them, but the uncouth language spoken in those days: they consisted of the holy scripture reduced to dialogues, and represented in actions; in them, choruses sung the praises of God: there was more pomp and magnificence of decoration upon the stage than was ever seen by us; the city company consisted of above a hundred actors, exclusive of attendants, servants, and scene-drawers: accordingly the house was crowded, and a single box, for the time of Lent, was hired for twenty crowns, even before the establishment of the Hotel de Bourgogne. This appears from the register of the parliament of Paris for the year 1541.

Preachers complained that their sermons were no longer frequented, for the monologue was always jealous of the dialogue: the sermons were very far from being as decent as the dramatic pieces of those ages: those who desire to be convinced of this, need only read the sermons of Menot, and of all his contemporaries.

In

In 1541, however, the attorney-general, by his requisition of the 9th of November, maintains, in article the 2d, that "Sermons are much more decent than mysteries, as they are preached by divines, of learning and knowledge; whereas the acts are exhibited by illiterate persons."

Without entering into any longer detail upon the mysteries, and the moral pieces that succeeded them, it will be sufficient to say, that the Italians, who first exhibited these plays, were the first who relinquished them: cardinal Bibiena, pope Leo X. and the archbishop Trifino, restored the theatre of the Greeks as far as they were able; there was not then an insolent pedant to be found, who had the impudence to think he could brand the art of Sophocles, which the popes themselves had undertook to revive in Rome.

The city of Vicenza, in 1514, was at a vast expence to represent the first tragedy that had been seen in Rome since the downfall of the empire: it was played in the town-house, and spectators repaired to it from the extremities of Italy. The piece is the work of the archbishop Trifino; it is noble, regular, and wrote with purity of language: it has chorusses; the spirit of antiquity breathes through it: the author may, however, be reproached for his prolix declamation, his want of intrigue, and languor; these were the faults of the Greeks; he copied them too much in their faults, but he attained to some of their excellencies. Two years after, the pope, Leo X. caused the *Rosamonda* of Ruccelai to be represented at Florence, with a mag-

nificence greatly surpassing that of Vicenza. Italy was divided between Ruccelai and Trifino.

Comedy rose long before by the genius of cardinal Bibiena, who gave the Calandra in 1482. After him came the comedies of the immortal Ariosto, then the famous Mandragora of Machiavel; in fine, the taste for pastoral prevailed. The Aminta of Tasso had the success it deserved, and the Pastor fido had still greater. An hundred passages of the Pastor fido both formerly were, and still are known by heart all over Europe; they will pass to the latest posterity; nothing is really excellent but what all nations acknowledge to be so: that people is to be pitied that is single in admiring its music, its painting, its eloquence, or its poetry.

Whilst the Pastor fido charmed all Europe, whilst whole scenes of it were repeated every where, whilst it was translated into all the languages of Europe, in what a state were polite literature and the theatres in other countries? They were in the same state in which we were all, that is, in a state of barbarism. The Spaniards had their *autos sacramentales*, that is, their sacramental acts. Lopez de Vega, a genius worthy to be the reformer of that age, was subdued by his age: he says, that, in order to please, he is under a necessity of locking up ancient authors of merit, lest they should reproach him with his absurdities: in one of his best pieces, entitled Don Raymond, this Don Raymond, son to the king of Navarre, is disguised like a clown; the Infanta of Leon, his mistress, is disguised like a faggot-maker; a prince of Leon
like

like a pilgrim. The scene is partly laid at a public house.

With regard to the French, what were their favourite books and theatrical exhibitions? Garagantua's Chapter upon Bum-fodder, the Oracle of the Bottle, and the pieces of Christian and Hardy. Seventy two years passed from the time of Jodelle, who in the reign of Henry II. had made a vain attempt to revive the art of the Greeks, without anything supportable being once produced by the French: at last, Mairët, gentleman to the duke of Montmorenci, after having long struggled with the depraved taste of his age, composed his tragedy of Sophonisba, which has not the least resemblance to that of the archbishop of Triffino. It is somewhat singular, that the revival of the theatre, and of the rules of dramatic poetry, should begin both in Italy and France by a piece entitled Sophonisba. This piece of Mairët's is the first we have in which the three unities are not violated; it served as a model to most of the tragedies which were wrote afterwards: it was played in 1629, a little before Corneille began to cultivate tragedy; and it was so well liked, notwithstanding its faults, that the piece which Corneille afterwards wrote upon the same subject, had no success; therefore that of Mairët opened the true carriere of tragedy, into which Rotrou entered, and this poet surpassed his master: his tragedy of Winceslaus is still played; it is indeed a very faulty piece, but the first scene of it, and almost all the fourth act, are master-pieces.

Corneille afterwards made his appearance; his Medea, which is meerly declamatory, had some success; but the Cid, an imitation of a Spanis

Spanish tragedy, was the first piece whose reputation was extended beyond France, and that obtained all suffrages, except those of cardinal de Richelieu and Scuderi. Every body knows to what pitch of sublimity Corneille soared in the fine scenes of the *Horatii* and *Cinna*, in the characters of *Cornelia* and *Severus*, and in the fifth act of *Rodogune*. If *Medea*, *Partharite*, *Theodore*, *Œdipus*, *Berenice*, *Surena*, *Otho*, *Sophonisba*, *Pulcheria*, *Agésilas*, *Attila*, *Don Sancho*, and the *Golden Fleece*, were altogether unworthy of him; his fine pieces, and the admirable passages scattered up and down in the indifferent ones, will cause him to be always justly considered as the father of tragedy.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the poet who rivaled and even surpassed this great man, when his genius began to decline. Authors were then no longer allowed to neglect language and the art of versification in their tragedies; and whatever was not written with the elegance of *Racine* was despised.

It is true, we have been reproached, and not without reason, that our theatre was an eternal school of gallantry, and of a sort of coquetry which has in it nothing of a tragic nature. *Corneille* has been justly censured for having made *Theseus* and *Dirce* talk of love during the time of the plague; for having put little ridiculous pieces of coquetry in the mouth of *Cleopatra*; and finally, for having almost always treated love in an unaffecting manner in his works, without ever making it a strong passion, except in the phrenzy of *Camilla*, and the tender scenes of the *Cid*, which he borrowed from the *Guilen de Castro*, and embellished. The elegant Ra-
cine

cine was not reproached with insipid courtship and low expressions; but it was soon perceived that almost all his pieces, as well as those of succeeding authors, contained a declaration of love, a quarrel, a reconciliation, and a scene of jealousy. It has been asserted, that this uniformity of little unaffecting intrigues would have greatly debased the tragedies of this amiable poet, if he had not known how to conceal this defect by all the charms of poetry, the graces of diction, the sweetness of a soft eloquence, and all the resources of art.

Amongst the striking beauties of our theatre, there was another concealed defect which was not perceived, because the public could not of itself have ideas superior to those of these great masters. This defect was first taken notice of by St. Evremont: he says that "our pieces do not make an impression sufficiently strong; that what should excite compassion, causes at most only tenderness; that emotion holds the place of agitation, astonishment of horror; and that our sentiments are almost always defective in the profound."

It must be acknowledged that St. Evremont has laid his finger upon the secret wound of the French theatre: critics may talk ever so much of St. Evremont's being the author of the wretched comedy of *Sir Politic Wou'd-be*, and of that of the opera; that his little poems, wrote for the amusement of company, are the most insipid of any extant in our language, that he only piddled with phrases; notwithstanding all this, an author entirely destitute of genius, may have a considerable share of penetration and taste. He, doubtless, shewed a very just taste when he thus

discovered the cause why most of our pieces are so languishing.

We have almost always wanted a degree of warmth; every other quality we possess. The source of this languor, of this weak monotony was partly that little spirit of gallantry then so dear to the courtiers, and to women which converted tragedy into conversations in the spirit of those of Clelia. Other tragedies were sometimes long political debates; these have spoiled Sertorius, rendered Otho altogether insipid, and have made Surena and Attila quite insupportable. But another reason prevented authors from employing much of the pathetic upon the stage, and made it impossible for an action represented to be compleatly tragic; this was the construction of the theatre, and the narrowness of the place of exhibition. Our theatres were in comparison of those of the Greeks and Romans, what our market places, our Greve, and our little village fountains, to which water-carriers repair to fill their pails, are in comparison of the aqueducts, the fountains of Agrippa, the Forum Trajani, the Coliseum and the Capitol.

Our theatres deserved excommunication, no doubt, when buffoons hired a tennis-court to play Cinna upon boards, and when these ignorant creatures, dressed like mountebanks, personated Cæsar and Augustus in full-bottomed wigs and laced hats.

The stage was then altogether low and despicable. Comedians had a patent, they bought a tennis court, they formed a company as merchants form a society. This was not the theatre of Pericles. What could they perform upon about a score of boards loaden with spectators?

What

What pomp or magnificence could entertain the eye? What grand theatrical action could be carried into execution? What liberty could the imagination of the poet enjoy? There was a necessity for pieces to consist of long narratives; a dramatic piece was rather a concatenation of conversations than an action. Every performer was desirous of shining in a long soliloquy; they rejected a piece that was without such: Corneille was obliged to open his tragedy of Cinna with Emilia's unnecessary soliloquy, which is now omitted.

This form excluded all theatrical action, all emphatical expressions of the passions, those striking pictures of human misery, those terrible and affecting strokes which tear the heart; it was only touched by the poet, it should have been torn. Declamation, which, till the time of mademoiselle La Couvereur was a measured recitative, a noted song in a manner obstructed still farther those sallies of nature which are represented by a word, by an attitude, by silence, by a cry which escapes in the anguish of grief. These strokes were first made known to us by mademoiselle Dumefnil, when in Merope, with distracted eyes and a broken voice, she, raising her trembling hand, prepared to sacrifice her own son; when Narbas stopped her; when, letting her dagger fall, she was seen to faint away in the arms of her women; when she started from this momentary death with the transports of a mother, and when afterwards, darting forward to Polifontes and crossing the stage in an instant, she, with tears in her eyes, a face as pale as death, thick sobs, and arms extended, cried out, "*Barbare, il est mon fils*;" "Wretch, he

" is

"is my son." We have seen Baron, his deportment was noble and becoming; but that was his whole excellence. Mademoiselle La Couvreur had grace, just expression, simplicity, truth and dignity, combined with ease; but for the grand pathetic of action, we saw the first instance of it in mademoiselle Dumefnil.

Something still superior, if possible, we have seen in mademoiselle Clairon, and the player who acts Tancred in the third act of the piece of that name, and at the end of the fifth; souls were never agitated by such violent emotions, never were tears shed in greater abundance. The perfection of the player's art shewed itself upon those two occasions with a force, of which, till then, we had no idea; and mademoiselle Clairon must be allowed to have surpassed all the painters in the kingdom.

If in the fourth act of Mahomet there had been young players who could form themselves upon this great model, a Seid who could be at once enthusiast and tender, fierce through fanaticism, humane by nature, who knew how to shudder and to weep; a Palmira animated, compassionate, terrified, trembling at the crime she is going to commit; who could feel horror, repentance, and despair, at the moment the crime is committed; a father, truly so, who should appear to have the bowels, the voice, and the deportment of a father; a father, who should acknowledge his two children in his two murderers, who should embrace them shedding tears with his blood; who should mix his tears with those of his children, who should rise to clasp them in his arms, who should fall back and throw himself upon them; in fine, if there was

I

every

every thing that the natural horror of death can furnish a picture with, this situation would even surpass those already mentioned.

It is but a few years since players have ventured to be what they should be, that is, living pictures; before they declaimed. We know, and the public knows it better than we do, that poets should not be too lavish of those terrible and shocking actions which make the greatest impression when they are well introduced and properly managed, but are quite impertinent when they have no relation to the subject. A piece badly wrote, whose plot is badly unravelled, obscure, loaden with incredible incidents, which has no other merit but that which pantomime and decorations bestow upon it, is a disgusting monster.

Place a tomb in Semiramis, dare to make the ghost of Ninus appear, let Ninias come out of that tomb with his arms stained with his mother's blood; all that will be allowed you. Respect, for antiquity, mythology, the majesty of the subject, the heinousness of the crime, something gloomy and terrible, which breathes thro' that tragedy from its very opening, carry the spectator, in imagination, far from his age and country; but do not often take such liberties, let them be rare and let them be indispensable; if they are idly lavished, they will make spectators laugh.

The abuse of theatrical action may make tragedy become barbarous. What is then to be done? We should cautiously avoid all rocks; but as it is easier to make a fine decoration than a fine scene, and to direct performers what attitudes to assume than to write well, it is probable

bable that authors will spoil tragedy whilst they think they are bringing it to perfection.

Parallel between HORACE, BOILEAU, and POPE.

The Encyclopédic Journal, one of the most curious and instructive of Europe, gives us an account of a parallel between Horace, Boileau, and Pope, wrote in England: it mentions the verses addressed to the king of Prussia, in which Pope is preferred to the French as well as the Roman poet.

*Quelques traits échappéz d'une utile morale
Dans leurs picquans écrits brillent par intervalle;
Mais Pope approfondit ce qu'ils ont effleuré:
D'un esprit plus hardi, d'un pas plus assuré
Il porta le flambeau dans l'abîme de l'être;
Et l'homme avec lui seul apprit à se connoître.*

Oft with instructive and with moral lines,
Brightly each finish'd composition shines;
But Pope, possess'd of genius more profound,
What lightly they skim'd over knew to sound.
Light in th' abyss of being first he brought;
And man by him to know himself was taught.

These lines are to be found at the beginning of the Poem upon the Law of Nature; a work at once philosophical and moral, in which poetry reassumes its first intention, namely, that of teaching virtue, the love of our neighbour, and indulgence; and in which the author explains the principles of that universal law which God has implanted in all our hearts. We agree with the author, that the Essay on Man of the celebrated

brated Pope is an excellent work, and that neither Horace, Boileau, nor any other poet, have produced any thing of the kind. Rousseau is the first that made an attempt somewhat similar, in a poem entitled, "No body knows why, an allegory:" he does his best to explain the system of Plato: but how weak and languishing is that work! it is neither poetry nor philosophy; there is neither proof nor painting in it.

*L'homme & les dieux de ton souffle animez,
Du même esprit diversément formez,
Furent douez par ta bonté fertile,
D'un chaleur plus vive ou moins fertile,
Selon les corps ou plus vifs ou plus lents,
Qui de leurs feu retardent les elans;
Par ces degres de lumiere iregale,
Tu sus remplir le vuide & l'inter-vale
Qui se trouvait oh magnifique roi
De l'homme au dieux & de dieux jusque a toi;
Et dans ton oeuvre eclatante, immortelle,
Ayant comblé ton idu eternelle,
Tu fis du ciel la demeure de dieux
Et tu mis l'homme dans ce terrestre lieu,
Comme le terme & l'equateur sensible
De l'univers invisible & visible.*

Gods and immortals by thy fire inflam'd,
By the same spirit differently fram'd;
Thy power endu'd them, whom it could create
With a more lively or less subtile heat,
Just as the bodies are more quick or slow,
Plac'd to retard the fires that from them flow;
Thus by light plac'd in a gradation due,
Great king, to fill the mighty void you knew,
That

That mighty void which Reason's eye can see
 'Twixt men and gods, betwixt the gods and thee;
 When in that work with ev'ry wonder fraught,
 Complete was made the image of thy thought;
 Heaven with the presence of the gods was grac'd,
 And man on this terrestrial ball was plac'd;
 Who, like th' equator's circle, stands between
 The world that's visible and that unseen.

It is no wonder such a poem should have lain in oblivion; it is, as appears by this quotation, a heap of fustian, consisting of improper terms, a concatenation of unmeaning epithets in dry and rugged prose, which the author has turned into rhyme.

Very different from this is the Essay of Pope; poetry never presented so many great ideas in so few words: 'tis the plan of the lords Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, carried into execution by the most consummate artist: accordingly it is translated into almost all the languages of Europe. We do not enter into the question, whether this complete performance is orthodox; whether even its boldness has not in some measure contributed to its extraordinary sale; whether it does not sap the foundation of the christian religion, by endeavouring to prove, that things are exactly in the state in which they should be; and whether this system does not overturn the dogma of the fall, and the holy scriptures. We do not profess theology, we leave it to those that do to refute Pope, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Leibnitz, and other great men; we confine ourselves entirely to philosophy and poetry. We presume, with a view of

being instructed, to ask how we are to understand this line,

“ All partial evil universal good.”

It is a strange universal good that is composed of the sufferings of each individual ! Let him that is able understand this. Did Bolingbroke well understand himself when he digested this system ? What is the meaning of this maxim ? “ Whatever is, is right.” Is it true with regard to us ? Doubtless it is not. Is it true with regard to God ? It is certain that God does not suffer by our ills. What then is at the bottom of this Platonic reverie ? It is a chaos, like all other systems, but it has been adorned with diamonds.

With regard to the other epistles of Pope, which admit of a comparison with those of Horace and Boileau, I would gladly ask, if these two authors, in their satires, ever had recourse to the weapons of which Pope has made use. His polite treatment of lord Harvey, one of the most amiable men in England, is somewhat extraordinary ; this is the passage word for word :

*Que Harvey tremble ! quoy ? cette chose de soye !
Harvey, ce fromage mon fait de lait d'anesse ?
Helas ! il ne peut sentir ni satire ni raison,
Qui voudrait faire mourir un papillon sur la roue !
Pourtant je veux fraper cette punaise volantes a ailles
dorees,
Cet enfant de la boue qui se peint & qui put,
Dont le bourdonnement fatigue les beaux esprits &
les belles,
Qui ne peut tater ni de l'esprit ni de la beaute :*
Ainsi

Ainsi l'Espagneul bien élevé se plait civilement
 A mordre le gibier qu'il n'ose entamer.
 Son sourire eternal trahit son vuide---
 Comme les petits ruisseaux se rient dans leurs cours,
 Soit qu'il parle avec son impuissance fourie,
 Soit que cette marionette barbouille les mots que le
 compere lui souffle,
 Soit que crapaud familier a l'oreille d'Eve,
 Moitié ecume, moitié venin, il se crache lui-même
 en compagnie,
 En quolibets, en politiques, contes, en mensonges;
 Son esprit roule sur des oui-dires, entre ceci & cela;
 Tantot haut, tantot bas, petit maître ou petite maî-
 tresse;
 Et lui-même n'est qu'une vile antithese;
 Etre amphibie qui en joue les deux roles,
 La tête frivole & le cœur gâté
 Est à la toilette, flateur chez le roi,
 Tantot trotte en lady, tantot marche en milord.
 Ainsi les rabbins ont peint le tentateur,
 Avec face de cherubin & queue de serpent.
 Sa beauté vous choque, vous vous desiez de son
 esprit;
 Son esprit rampe & sa vanite leche la poussiere.

Let Sporus tremble! what, that thing of silk?
 Sporus, that mere white curd of asses milk?
 Satire or sense, alas! can Sporus feel?
 Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?
 Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
 This painted child of dirt that stinks and stings;
 Whose buzz the witty and the fair annoys,
 Yet wit ne'er tastes, and beauty ne'er enjoys:
 So well-bred Spaniards civilly delight
 In mumbling of the game they dare not bite.

Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,
 As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.
 Whether in florid impotence he speaks,
 And as the prompter breathes, the puppet squeaks;
 Or at the ear of Eve familiar toad,
 Half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad,
 In puns or politics, or tales or lies,
 In spite or smut, or rhymes or blasphemies :
 His wit all see-saw between *that* and *this*,
 Now high, now low, now master up, now mis, }
 And he himself one vile antithesis :
 Amphibious thing, not acting either part,
 The trifling head or the corrupted heart ;
 Fop at the toilet, flatt'rer at the board,
 Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord.
 Eve's tempter thus the rabbins have express'd,
 A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest ;
 Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will
 trust,
 Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.

It is true, Pope is discreet enough not to name the lord that he characterizes; he good-naturedly calls him *Sporus*, which was the name of an infamous prostitute of Nero's: take notice too, that most of these invectives are levelled at the person of lord Harvey, and that Pope goes so far as to reproach him with its gracefulness. When we take it into consideration, that he was a little ill-shaped man, deformed both before and behind, who spoke thus, we have a striking instance of the blindness of anger and self-love.

Readers may very likely ask, whether it was Pope or one of the chairmen who carried him that wrote these lines. This bears no resemblance

blance to the stile of Boileau. May we not justly conclude, that politeness and decency vary in different countries?

To render this difference, which nature and art has made between two neighbouring nations, still more evident, if possible, let us cast our eyes upon a literal translation of a passage in the *Dunciad*; it is in the second book. Dulness had offered a prize for which ever of her favourites should conquer the rest at a race. Two London booksellers are competitors for the prize; one is Lintot, who is somewhat corpulent in person; the other was Curl, a man rather lighter than his antagonist: they run, and this was the consequence:

*Au milieu du chemin on trouve un borbier
Que * madame Curl avait produit le matin;
C'étoit sa coutume de se defaire au leuer de l'aurore
Du mare de son souper devant la porte de sa voisine.
Le malheureux Curl glisse; la troupe pousse un
grand eri;
Le nom de Lintot resonance dans toute la rue;
Le mécreant Curl est couché dans la vilenie,
Couvert de l'ordure qu'il a lui-même fourni, &c.*

Full in the middle way there stood a lake,
Which Curl's Corinna chanc'd that morn to
make:

(Such was her wont at early dawn to drop
Her ev'ning cates before his neighbour's shop)

* Wrong translated: Curl's Corinna, spoken of in the original, was not his wife, but one Mrs. Thomas, who wrote for him, and who first gave occasion to the publication of Pope's literary correspondence.

Here fortun'd Curl to slide ; loud shout the
band,
And Bernard, Bernard, rings thro' all the Strand.
Obscene with filth the miscreant lies bewray'd,
Fall'n in the plash his wickedness had laid.

The picture of Indolence, in the *Lutrin*, is of another kind ; but we are told that tastes are not to be disputed.

Another conclusion which we will venture to draw from the comparison of little detached poems with great poems, such as the epic and tragedy, is, that they should have their proper rank assigned them. I cannot conceive how an epistle or an ode can be compared to a dramatic piece of merit. Let an epistle, or what is still more easy to composed, a satire, or what is often insipid enough, an ode, be as well written as a tragedy, there is a hundred times more merit in the composition of the latter, and more pleasure in seeing it, than in transcribing or reading common-place morality : I say common-place morality ; for all that can be said upon moral subjects has been said already. A good moral epistle teaches us nothing ; a well wrote ode still less ; it may at best amuse those who have a taste for poetry about a quarter of an hour ; but to create a subject, to invent an intricate intrigue, and unravel it ; to give each person of the drama his proper character, and to support it ; to contrive that none of them should enter or make their exits without a reason visible to all the spectators ; never to leave the stage empty ; to make every one say what he should say, with elevation but without bombast, with simplicity free from meanness ; to compose fine
verse

verse which does not discover the poet, but is such as the person who speaks might make if he spoke in verse; this is part of the duty which every author of a tragedy must discharge, upon pain of not succeeding amongst us. And when he has accomplished all this, he has hitherto done nothing. Either is a piece in which all these conditions are fulfilled; but when it was acted upon the stage, the audience could not endure the representation. A poet should, as it were, hold the hearts of spectators in his hand; he should force tears from the most insensible; he should wring the most obdurate hearts: without terror and pity, tragedy has no existence; and even though you should excite both pity and terror, if with these advantages you fail in the observance of other laws, if your verse is not excellent, you are only a middling writer who have treated a well chosen subject.

How difficult is a tragedy, and how easy is an epistle or a satire! Who then could presume to place in the same class a Racine and a Boileau? Who can esteem a portrait painter as much as a Raphael? Can a head by Rimbran be compared to the picture of the Transfiguration, or that of the Wedding of Cana?

We are well aware that most of the epistles of Boileau are fine, and that they have truth for their foundation, without which nothing is supportable; but with regard to the epistles of Rousseau, what falsehoods are there in the subjects, what contorsions in the stile! how frequently do they excite disgust and indignation! What is the meaning of his epistle to Marot, in which he attempts to prove that fools only are wicked? How ridiculous is this paradox!

Were Sylla, Cataline, Cæsar, Tiberius, and even Nero, fools? Was the famous duke of Borgia a fool? Need we seek for examples in antient history? Besides, who can bear the harsh and constrained manner in which this false notion is expressed?

*Et si par fois on vous dit qu'un vaunien
A de l'esprit, examinez le bien,
Vous trouverez qu'il n'en a que le casque,
Et qu'en effet c'est un sot sous le masque.*

Tho' sometimes that a knave has wit men say,
The matter with attention duly weigh,
You'll find he has its covering alone,
And that a mask his folly keeps unknown.

The covering of wit! Good God! was it thus Boileau wrote? Who can endure the epistle to the duke de Noailles, which he has in his latter editions christened, An Epistle to the Count of C——?

*Façoit qu'en vous gloire et haute naissance
Soient alliez a titres et puissance,
Que de splendeurs et d'honneurs meritez
Votre maison luisse de tous cotez,
Si toutefois ne sont-ce ces bluettes
Qui vous ont mis en l'estime ou vous etez.*

Tho' birth and fame in you combine,
With titles and with power to shine,
Altho' your house on every side
Is with high honours dignify'd,
You are not by those trifles rais'd,
'Tis not for these that you are prais'd.

This

This wretched burlesque, this impertinent mixture of the jargon of the sixteenth century and of the language spoken at present, a mixture held in such contempt by persons of taste, cannot procure the prize for a subject which of itself teaches nothing, means nothing, and is neither useful nor entertaining.

The grand defect which we meet with in all the works of this author, is, that we never meet with our own resemblance in his paintings; we in them see nothing which *renders man dear to himself*, to use the expression of Horace: nothing pleasing, nothing agreeable. This gloomy writer never once spoke to the heart. Most of his epistles turn upon himself, upon his quarrels with his enemies; the public is no way interested in his pitiful concerns; they mind his verses against La Motte no more than his Rocks of Salisbury: what is it to them that amongst those rugged rocks,

*Qui par magic en ces lieux sont venus
S'en trouvent sept, trois de chacune part,
Une au dessus; le tout fait par tel art,
Qu'il représente une porte effective,
Porte vraiment bien faite et bien naïve;
Mais c'est le tout; car qui voudroit y voir
Tours ou châtel; doit ailleurs se pourvoir.*

Rocks to that place by magic brought,
There seven were with such art wrought,
That they a gate most perfect made,
Where nature force of art display'd;
But this was all, for vain it were
To look for towers or castle there.

Can these shocking lines, and this wretched subject, come in competition with the worst tragedy extant ? We are overstocked with poetry : a commodity too common is become a drug. The rule of *ne quid nimis*, *not too much*, takes place here. The poetry of the theatre, where the nation assembles, is almost the only sort that interests us now a-days ; yet new dramatic poems should not be exhibited too often :

Namque voluptates commendat ravior usus.

For moderate use gives relish to delight.

O F
H I S T O R Y.

AS we have already twenty thousand works, most of them consisting of several volumes upon the history of France alone, and as the most studious man, though his life were to last an hundred years, could not find time to read them, we should know how to set proper bounds to our desire of knowledge. We are obliged to join to the knowledge of our own country that of the history of our neighbours. It is required of us still more to be acquainted with the illustrious actions of the Greeks and Romans, and their laws, which are still our laws. But if we were desirous of adding to this study that of a more remote antiquity, we should then resemble a man who should lay by Tacitus and Livy to make a serious study of the Arabian Tales. The accounts we have of the origin of all nations are evidently fabulous; the reason of this is, that men must have lived a long time embodied as a people, and have learned to make bread and cloaths (which was a difficult matter) before they could learn to transmit their thoughts to posterity, which was a thing still more difficult. The art of writing is certainly not above six thousand years old amongst the Chinese; and let the Chaldeans and Egyptians say what they will, it is not at all probable that they could write and read earlier.

The

The history of ages prior to these could therefore be transmitted by tradition alone ; and it is well known how much the remembrance of past events is altered from generation to generation. The first histories were dictated by imagination alone. Every nation not only invented the account of its own origin, but it likewise invented that of the origin of the whole world.

If we may credit Sanchoniathon things began by a thick air, which was rarefied by the wind ; desire and love sprung from thence, and by the union of desire and love were formed the several animals. The stars did not come till afterwards ; but it was only to adorn the heavens, and to delight the eyes of the animals who were upon earth.

The Kneph of the Egyptians, their Oshiret and their Isstet, whom we call Osiris and Isis, are no less ingenious and ridiculous. The Greeks embellished all their fictions ; Ovid collected and adorned them with all the charms of the most beautiful poetry. What he says of a god who reduced chaos to order, and of the formation of man, is sublime.

*Sanctius his animal mentisque capacius attā
Deerat adhuc & qui dominari in cætera posset
Natus homo est——*

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

Hesiod and other authors who wrote long before Ovid, are far from expressing themselves with this elegant sublimity. But from the important moment in which man was formed, to

the time of the Olympiads, we meet with nothing but profound obscurity.

Herodotus repairs to the Olympic games, and tells stories to the assembled Greeks as an old woman tells stories to children. He begins by saying that the Phœnicians sailed from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, whereby he takes it for granted that these Phœnicians had doubled our Cape of Good Hope, and sailed round Africa.

Then follows the rape of Io, then the fable of Giges and Candaules, then fine stories of robbers, and of a daughter of an Egyptian king, named Cheops, who, having required a piece of free-stone from each of her lovers, had enough to build one of the finest of the pyramids.

To this add oracles, prodigies, and the tricks of priests, and you have the whole history of the human species.

The early periods of the Roman history seem to have been wrote by Herodotus's; our conquerors and legislators had no other way of reckoning their years but by causing their high priest to drive a nail into a wall.

The great Romulus, king of a village, was the son of the god Mars and of a vestal who went to fill her pitcher with water. He had a god for his father, a prostitute for his mother, and a she-wolf for his nurse. A buckler fell from heaven for Numa. Wonderful books of the Sybils were found. An augur cut a thick flint with a razor by the permission of the gods. A vestal drew a large stranded vessel into the sea with her girdle. Castor and Pollux came to fight for the Romans, and left the tracks of their horses feet imprinted upon the stones. The Gauls who dwelt beyond
the

the mountains came to sack Rome; some say they were driven away by geese, others that they carried off with them great quantities of gold and silver: but it seems probable that geese were at that time much more plentiful in Italy than gold or silver. We have imitated the ancient Roman historians, at least in their taste for fables. We have our standard brought from heaven by an angel, the sacred ampulla, or phial, brought by a pidgeon; and if we add to these the cloak of St Martin, there will be enough of the wonderful.

What sort of history would be of real utility? One that should instruct us in our duties and our rights, without seeming to pretend to teach them.

It has often been asked whether the fable of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is taken from the history of Jephthah? Whether the deluge of Deucalion is an imitation of that of Noah? Whether the adventure of Baucis and Philemon is taken from that of Lot and his wife? The Jews declare that they had no communication with strangers; that their books were not known to the Greeks, till after a translation had been made by order of one of the Ptolomies; but the Jews had been long before brokers and usurers among the Greeks of Alexandria. The Greeks never went to Jerusalem to sell old cast cloaths. It appears that no people ever imitated the Jews; and that the latter borrowed many things from the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks.

We consider all the Jewish antiquities as sacred, notwithstanding our hatred and contempt for this people. Our reason does not indeed allow us to believe them, but we yield to the Jews
by

by faith. There are about fourscore systems relative to their chronology, and the different ways of explaining the events of their history are still more numerous; we do not know which is the right one; but we are ready to believe it whenever it shall be discovered. We have so many things to believe with regard to this learned and brave people, that our whole stock of faith is exhausted, and we have none left for the prodigies with which the history of other nations abounds. 'Tis to no purpose for Rollin to repeat to us the oracles of Apollo, and the wonders of Semiramis; it is to no purpose for him to transcribe all that has been said of the justice of those antient Scythians, who so often plundered Asia, and eat men upon certain occasions; he finds some incredulity amongst people of education. What I admire most in our modern compilers is the wisdom and ingenuousness with which they prove to us that all the events that formerly came to pass in the greatest empires of the world happened only for the instruction of the inhabitants of Palestine. If the kings of Babylon, amongst their other enterprises, sometimes fall occasionally upon the Hebrew nation, it is merely to punish that people for their sins. If a king named Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon, it is in order to give the same Jews permission to return home. If Alexander conquers Darius, it is to settle the Jewish pawn-brokers in Alexandria. When the Romans join Syria to their extensive empire, and unite the little country of the Jews to their other dominions, 'tis also for the instruction of the Jews; the Arabians and Turks came for nothing but to correct this amiable people. It must be owned they have been admirably educated; no nation
had

had ever so many tutors : such is the utility of history.

But what is most instructive of all is the impartial justice which the clergy have done to all the princes with whom they were dissatisfied. Observe with what candour St. Gregory of Nazianza passes a judgment upon the philosophical emperor Julian ; he declares that this prince, who did not believe in the devil, had a secret commerce with the devil ; and that, upon a day when the demons appeared to him all in flames, and under the most shocking figures, he drove them away by inadvertently making the sign of the cross.

He calls him a frantic wretch ; he declares that Julian sacrificed young boys and girls every night in caves. Thus he revenged himself upon the mildest of mankind, who constantly forgave the invectives which this very Gregory poured out against him during his reign.

One of the most successful methods of justifying the calumnies with which an innocent person is loaded is to apologize for one that is criminal. Thus a compensation is made ; and this is the method made use of by the same Saint of Nazianza. The emperor Constantius, uncle and predecessor of Julian, had, at his accession to the empire, massacred Julius, brother to his mother, and his two sons, who all had received the name of Augustus ; in this he copied the great Constantine his father. He then caused Gallus, the brother of Julian, to be assassinated. He shewed the same cruelty to the empire that he treated his family with ; but he was devout ; and even in a decisive battle with Magnantius, he said his prayers at church during the whole time the armies were engaged. This is the man whom
Gregory

Gregory celebrates. If saints in this manner make us acquainted with the truth, what must we expect from the prophane, especially when they are ignorant, superstitious, and passionate?

Men now a-days sometimes make an use of history, which is somewhat odd. Charters of the age of Dagobert are brought to light, most of them of doubtful authority, and ill understood; and it is from them inferred, that customs, duties, and prerogatives, which subsisted in those days, should be now revived. I would advise those who study and reason in this manner, to address the sea in these terms: Sea, thou wert formerly at Aiguesmortes, at Frejus, at Ravenna, at Ferrara; go to those places again without delay.

CON-

CONVERSATION

BETWEEN THE

INTENDANT DES MENUS,

AND THE

ABBÉ BRIZEL.

NOT long ago, a counsellor of the order of advocates being consulted by a person of the comedians order, who desired to know what degree of censure they incur who have a fine voice, noble gesture, feeling, taste, and all the talents requisite for speaking in public; the counsellor examined the affair * according to the order of law. The order of the Convulsionaries having laid this work before the order of the grand chamber which sits at Paris, this latter issued an order to the hangman to burn the consultation, as if it had been a bishop's mandate, or a book composed by a Jesuit. I flatter myself that it will do the same honour to the conversation of the intendant des Menus and the

* The work of this counsellor, which turned very much upon Order, was complained of by Mr. le Dain, and burnt at the bottom of the stairs,

abbé

abbé Brizel : I was present at that conversation ; I have collected it with the utmost exactness ; I here present the public with an abstract of it, which every reader of the order of those that have common sense may extend as he thinks proper.

“ I put the case, said the intendant des Menus to the abbé Brizel, that we had never heard of plays before the age of Lewis XIV. I put the case that that prince had been the first that caused dramatic pieces to be exhibited ; that he had caused Cinna, Athaliah, and the Misanthrope, to be composed and represented by noblemen and ladies, before all the ambassadors of Europe ; I ask, if it would ever have entered into the head of the curate la Chetardie, or the curate Fantin, both known in the world by the same adventures, or into that of any other curate or monk, to excommunicate these noblemen, these ladies, and Lewis XIV. himself, to refuse them the sacraments of marriage and burial ? ” “ No, doubtless, answered the abbé Brizel, such an absurdity could never have entered into the head of any man living. ” “ I will go still farther, said the intendant des Menus ; when Lewis XIV. and his whole court danced upon the stage, when Lewis XV. danced with so many young noblemen of the same age with himself, do you think they would have been excommunicated ? ” “ You jest, said the abbé Brizel, we are great fools, I own, but not enough so to imagine such an absurdity. ”

“ But, said the intendant, you have excommunicated the pious abbé d’Aubignac, father Bossu,

Bossu, the superior of St. Genevieve, father Rapin, the abbé Gravina, father Brumoy, father Porce, madam Dacier, and all who have taught the arts of tragedy and epic poetry according to the laws of Aristotle." "We are not yet fallen into such an excess of barbarism, answered Brizel; it is true, the abbé de la Coste, monf. de la Solle, and the author of the Ecclesiastical Gazette, maintain, that theatrical declamation, music, and dancing, are mortal sins; that David was permitted to dance no where but before the ark, and that neither David, Lewis XIV. nor Lewis XV. ever danced for money; that the empress of Germany never sung but in the presence of a few grandes of her court; and that there is no pleasure in excommunicating any but those who are gainers by speaking, singing, and dancing in public."

"It is then evident, said the intendant, that if there was a tax called that of the king's recreations, and if the expences of them were to be paid by that tax, the king would incur the penalty of excommunication, at the pleasure of any priest who should think proper to launch his thunder at the head of his most christian majesty."

"You puzzle me, excessively," said Brizel.

"I will push the matter home, said Menus; not only Lewis XIV. but cardinal Mazarin, cardinal de Richlieu, the archbishop Trissino, and pope Leo X. were at a considerable expence in causing tragedies, comedies, and operas to be represented. The people contributed towards these expences: yet I cannot find in the history of the church, that any vicar of St. Sulpitius

pitius has for this excommunicated pope Leo X. and these cardinals."

"Why then was mademoiselle La Couvreur carried in a hackney coach to the corner of Burgundy street? Why was Romagnesi, a player belonging to our Italian company, buried upon the high road, like an ancient Roman? Why was an actress belonging to the dissonant chorusses of the royal academy of music, kept three days in her own cellar? Why are all these persons to be burned by a slow fire till the great day of judgment, without having bodies; and why are they, after that day, to be burned to all eternity when they have found their bodies again? It is for no other reason, you will say, but because a pit ticket costs twenty sols?"

Yet these twenty sols do not change the nature of things: they are neither better nor worse in themselves whether the twenty sols are paid or not. A *de profundis* has equal power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, whether it be skilfully sung for ten crowns, harshly chanted for twelve livres, or sung as the Psalms are, *gratis*. It follows then, that there is nothing more diabolical in Cinna or Athaliah when they are represented for twenty sols, than when the king causes them to be played for the amusement of his court. Now if Lewis XIV. was not excommunicated when he danced for his diversion, nor the empress when she played in an opera, it does not appear to be just that those should be excommunicated who give us these entertainments for money by the permission of the king of France, or the empress."

The abbé Brizel felt the force of this argument ; he made this answer : There are ways of compromising matters : it is wisely ordered, that all should depend upon the arbitrary will of a curate or a vicar. We are so happy and so wise as to have no fixed rule in France. No body would venture to bury the illustrious and inimitable Moliere in the parish of St. Eustachius ; but he had the happiness to be carried to St. Joseph's chapel, according to our excellent and healthy custom of making charnel-houses of our churches. It is true, St. Eustachius is so great a saint, that it would have been improper to have caused the body of the infamous author of the Misanthrope to be carried thither : but St. Joseph afforded some consolation ; it was consecrated ground even there. There is an immense difference between consecrated ground and profane ; the first is, without comparison, the most light ; and then the value of the ground is increased in proportion to that of the man. That in which Moliere was interred has acquired reputation. Now as this man was buried in a chapel, he cannot be damned, like mademoiselle la Couvreur and Romagnesi, who were buried upon the highway. Perhaps he is punished in purgatory for having wrote Tartuff ; I would not venture to swear to the contrary ; but I have no doubt of the salvation of John Baptist Lulli, fidler to the king's sister, king's musician, superintendant of the king's music, who played in Cariselli and Pourceaugnac, and was, moreover, a Florentine ; he is gone to heaven as sure as I shall go thither myself : that

is evident, for he has a fine marble monument at St. Eustachius's church: he was not thrown upon a dung-hill: fortune rules the globe. Thus reasoned the abbé Brizel, and his reasoning must be allowed to be strong.

The intendent des Menus, who is well versed in history, replied as follows: You have, doubtless, heard of the reverend father Girard; he was a forcerer; nothing can be more certain. It is well attested that he bewitched his penitent by flogging her. Nay more, he breathed upon her as all forcerers do. Sixteen judges declared Girard to be a magician; yet he was buried in consecrated ground. Tell me, now, why should a man that was both a Jesuit and a forcerer have all the honours of sepulture notwithstanding? and why should mademoiselle Clairon be deprived of them, if she should happen to die immediately after playing Paulina, who makes her exit in order to be baptized?

I have already told you, answered the Abbe Brizel, that that is arbitrary. I should be very ready to bury mademoiselle Clairon if there was any thing considerable to be got by it; but some curates might possibly make a scruple to do so; in such a case, no one would think of making a disturbance in her favour, and of making a sort of appeal to parliament as though on account of an abuse. His majesty's comedians are, generally speaking, citizens descended of poor families: their relations have neither money nor credit sufficient to succeed in a law-suit; the public does not concern itself about them; it enjoyed the talents of mademoiselle La-Couvreur, during

her life; suffered her to be treated like a dog after her death, and looked upon all this as a meer jest.

The example of forcerers is a great deal more serious. It was, formerly, certain that there were forcerers; it is now certain that there are none, in spite of sixteen judges of Provence, who thought Girard so extraordinary a personage. Excommunication still subsists notwithstanding. If you have no forcerers, it is so much the worse for you; we shall not change our rituals because the world has changed; we resemble Pourceaugnac's physician, we must have a patient, and we take the first that offers.

Excommunication extends even to grass-hoppers; grass-hoppers they are; it is a sad case, I own, that the church should continue to stigmatize them, for they make a jest of excommunication. I have seen clouds of them in Picardy; it is very dangerous to offend great companies, and to expose the thunders of the church to the contempt of persons in power; but as to three or four hundred poor comedians scattered up and down through the kingdom of France, there is nothing to fear from treating them like grass-hoppers, and those who play tricks of legerdemain.

I shall now tell you something still more to the purpose; Mr. Intendant, are you not the son of a farmer general? No, Sir, said the Intendant, that was my uncle's place; my father was receiver general of the finances, and both were secretaries to his majesty, as well as my grandfather. Well then, replied Brizel, your uncle, your

Your father, and your grandfather, are excommunicated, anathematized, damned to all eternity; and whoever has the least doubt of this, is an impious wretch, a monster, in a word, a philosopher.

Des Menus hearing this, did not know whether he should laugh at the abbé or beat him; he however chose rather to laugh; I wish, Sir, said he to Brizel, you would be so good as to shew me the bull or decree of council, that damns the receivers of the king's finances, and those who are concerned in the king's five great farms. I will produce twenty councils, said Brizel; I will do more, I will shew you a passage in the gospel, which declares that every receiver of king's money is placed in the class of Pagans; and you will find by the antient constitutions, that they were not suffered to enter the church in its early centuries. *Sicut Ethnicus & Publicanus*, as a Gentile and a publican, is a passage well known; the ecclesiastical law has admitted of no charge upon this head; the anathema thrown out against tax-gatherers, against receivers of the public money, was never revoked. Would you then have that revoked which was launched, in the earliest centuries, against actors who played the *Œdipus* of Sophocles; an anathema which is still in force against those who no longer play the *Œdipus* of Corneille. Begin with bringing your father, your grandfather, and your uncle out of hell; and then we will do what we can for his majesty's comedians.

"You talk madly, Mr. Brizel, said the intendant; my father was the chief person in his

parish, he is buried in his own chapel; my uncle erected to his memory a marble mausoleum, as fine as Lulli's; and if his curate had ever talked to him of *Ethnicus* and *Publicanus*, he would have had him thrown into a ditch. I do not doubt but St. Matthew might have damned tax-gatherers, though he had been one himself, or that they stood at the church doors in ancient days: but you must own, that in the present times no body would venture to tell us so to our faces; and that if we are excommunicated, it is only *incognito*.

"You have hit it, said Brizel: we leave the *Ethnicus* and *Publicanus* in the gospel; we no longer open the antient rituals, and we live in peace with the farmers-general, provided they pay well for receiving the sacrament.

Mr. Intendant was somewhat appeased, but he could not digest the *Ethnicus* and *Publicanus*. I intreat you, my dear Brizel, said he, to tell me why that satirical stroke was inserted in your books, and why we were so ill treated in the early ages. That is no difficult matter, said Brizel: those who pronounced this excommunication were poor people, and most of them Jews; about a quarter of the number consisted of Greeks; the Romans were their masters; the receivers of tribute were either Romans, or elected by the Romans; there could not be a more infallible method of drawing in the populace, than by anathematizing the officers of the revenue: conquerors, masters, and tax-gatherers are always hated. The populace run after folks who preach up equality of conditions,

and damn the farmers of the revenue: exclaim in the name of the most high against powers and taxes; the mob will certainly declare for you, if you are not stopped in your career; and when a sufficient number of those of the lower sort is devoted to you, then men of abilities will not be wanting to put saddles upon their backs, bits in their mouths, and to ride them till they have subverted states and thrones: then they will erect a new building, but they will preserve the old stones, though rude and unformed, because they were of service before, and are dear to the people; they will be added to the new marble, the gold and the precious stones will be afterwards lavished; and there will be always bearded antiquaries who will prefer the old rubbish to the new marble.

This, Sir, is the succinct history of what has passed amongst us. France was a long time immersed in barbarism; and even now that it begins to be civilized, there are still amongst us persons attached to the antient barbarism. We have, for example, a small number of virtuous people, who would willingly deprive the farmers general of all their wealth condemned by the gospel, and deprive the world of an art as noble as innocent, which the gospel never forbid, and which none of the apostles have spoken of. But the sensible part of the clergy leaves the financiers to jog on to the devil in peace, and only suffers the comedians to be damned for meer matter of form. I understand, said the intendant des Menus; you take care not to offend the financiers, because they invite you to dinner; you fall upon

the comedians because they never invite you. Do you forget, Sir, that the comedians receive the king's pay, and that you cannot excommunicate an officer of the king's for doing his duty? You are not therefore to excommunicate a comedian of the king's, who plays Cinna or Polixenes by his special command.

"And where did you learn, said Brizel, that we have not power to damn one of the king's officers? I suppose from the rights of your Gallican church. But are you ignorant that we excommunicate even kings themselves? We proscribed the great Henry IV. Henry III. and Lewis XII. the father of his people, whilst he called a council at Pisa; Philip the Fair, Philip Augustus, Lewis VIII. Philip I. and the pious king Robert, though he had burnt so many heretics: know that we have it in our power to anathematise all princes, and to cause them to die suddenly; consider that, and then complain, if you will, that we fall upon a few theatrical princes.

The intendant des Menus, somewhat nettled, interrupted him, and said: You may excommunicate my masters as you please, but they will know how to punish you; but reflect that it is I that go to his majesty's comedians with his orders to come and damn themselves before him: if they are out of the pale of the church, I am out of it also; if they are guilty of a mortal sin, in drawing tears from virtuous men by acting in virtuous pieces, it is I who give occasion to that sin: if they go to the devil, it is I that conduct them to hell. I receive the order
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from the first gentlemen of the chamber, they are more guilty than I; the king and queen, who command them to act for their instruction and delight, are yet a hundred times more guilty. If you cut off soldiers from the body of the church, you must inevitably at the same time cut off the officers and the generals; you will never extricate yourself out of this difficulty. Do but reflect in what an absurdity you involve yourself; you suffer citizens in his majesty's service to be thrown to the dogs, whilst at Rome, and in all other countries, they are treated honourably during their lives and after their deaths.

Brizel answered, Do you not see that it is because we are a grave, serious, consistent people, in every respect superior to the inhabitants of other countries. One half of Paris has embraced the sect of Convulsionaries; people of this stamp should check those libertines who are satisfied with obeying the king, who do not controul his actions, who love his person, who chearfully supply him wherewithal to support the dignity of his throne, who, after having discharged their duty, pass their lives with tranquility in cultivating the arts; who respect Sophocles and Euripides, and who damn themselves by living like people of virtue and sense.

This world, I must acknowledge, is composed of knaves, fanatics, and ideots, amongst whom there is a little separate society called Good Company; this little society being rich, well bred, knowing, and polite, is, as it were, the flower of human kind; for this society elegant pleasures are intended; the greatest men have exerted
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their talents for their pleasure ; 'tis they that give reputation, and, to tell you all, 'tis this society that despises us, whilst it behaves politely to us whenever we fall in its way. We all endeavour to gain admittance to this small number of select persons, and, from the Jesuits to the Capuchins, from father Quesnel to the scoundrel who composes the Ecclesiastical Gazette, we assume a thousand forms, in order to acquire some credit with this small number, of which it is impossible for us ever to be. If we find any lady weak enough to listen to us, we persuade her that it is absolutely necessary to have white cheeks in order to go to heaven, and that red is highly displeasing to the saints in Paradise. The lady leaves off painting, and we squeeze money out of her.

We love to preach because chairs are hired at church ; but how can it be expected that people of taste should listen to a tedious discourse, divided into three articles, whilst they have their minds full of the beautiful passages of Cinna, Polieuctes, the Horatii, Pompey, Phædra, and Athaliah ! This exasperates us.

We enter the house of a lady of quality ; we ask the company's opinion of the last sermon of the preacher at St. Roc ; the lady's son answers us by repeating some lines of Racine. We then ask them whether they have read the theological tract intitled, *The Work of Six Days* ? We are told in return, that a new tragedy has just appeared. In fine, the time is approaching, that we shall have no longer any influence except over the rabble. This piques us ; and when we are in an ill humour, we excommunicate as many as we are able.

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The case is not the same at Rome, and in the other states of Europe. When a fine mass has been sung at St. John of Lateran, or St. Peter's church, with grand chorusses in four parts, and when twenty castrati have sung a hymn with quavering voices, all is ours: those who composed the congregation go in the evening to drink chocolate at the opera of St. Ambrose, and nobody takes umbrage at this. Churchmen take care not to excommunicate la Signora Cuzzoni, la Signora Faustina, la Signora Barbarini, and above all Signor Farinelli, knight of Calatrava, and actor of the opera, who is possessed of diamonds as big as my thumb.

In that country persons in power never persecute; this is the reason why a king who is never opposed always proves a good king, if he does not want common sense. All the mischief is done by low wretches who endeavour to domineer. These alone persecute with a view of acquiring importance. The pope is so powerful in Italy, that he has no occasion to excommunicate persons of worth, possessed of talents which challenge esteem; but there are creatures in Paris with flat hair and mean understandings, who find it necessary to make themselves considerable by such means. If they do not form cabals, if they do not preach up rigid tenets, if they do not declaim against the elegant arts, they are overlooked in the crowd. Passengers take no notice of dogs except when they bark, and it is the desire of all to be taken notice of. The jealousy and rivalry of professions have great influence over this world. I have divulged our secrets;
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don't discover what I have said, and do me the favour to procure me a box in the lettice at the first tragedy of Mr. Collardeau.

That you shall have, said the intendant de Menus ; but make a complete discovery of your mysteries. Why is there not one of those with whom I have conversed upon this subject, who will agree with me that the excommunication of a society paid by the king is the highest insolence and absurdity ? And at the same time why does nobody make an effort to put an end to this scandalous abuse ?

I think I have already answered you, said Brizel, by owning, that we swarm with contradictions. France, to speak seriously, is the region of wit and folly, of industry and sloth, of philosophy and fanaticism, of gaiety and pedantry, of laws and abuses, of just taste and impertinence. The ridiculous contrast between the renown of the tragedy of Cinna, and the infamy of those that represent it ; the right possessed by the bishops of having a box to themselves at the representation of Cinna, and their right of anathematizing the actors, the author and the spectators, must be allowed to form an inconsistency worthy of the folly of this people ; but produce me an instance of one human establishment that is not contradictory.

Tell me why, since the apostles were all circumcised, and the first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem circumcised, you are not circumcised likewise ? Why you can with impunity eat puddings, though the prohibition to eat them was never cancelled ? Why the successors of the apostle,

apostles, who earned their bread by their labour, should wallow in riches and honours? Why, though St. Joseph was a carpenter, and though his divine son stooped to learn that trade, has his vicar driven out the emperors, and without ceremony taken their place? Why have those who asserted that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, been excommunicated and anathematized during a succession of ages? And why are those now damned who think the contrary? Why is a second marriage expressly forbid in the Gospel to those whose first marriage has been annulled, and why do we permit second marriages in this case? Tell me, how comes it to pass, that the same marriage that is declared null and void at Paris, is still in force at Avignon?

To turn our conversation to the theatre, of which you are so fond, explain to me the reason why you applaud the brutal and factious insolence of Joad, who causes Athaliah to be beheaded because she was desirous of having her grandson Joas educated at her own court, at the same time that if a priest amongst us was to make any such attempt upon those of the royal family, there is not a soul that would not condemn the delinquent to capital punishment?

Custom regulates all things: dancing, for example, has been, in almost all nations, a religious ceremony; the very Jews danced through devotion. If the archbishop of Paris was to take it into his head to dance a minuet at high mass, people would laugh at it as much as at his certificates of confession; sacramental acts are still

represented at Madrid upon holy-days. A comedian plays Jesus Christ; another plays Satan; an actress represents the Holy Virgin; another, Mary Magdalen at her toilet; harlequin repeats the Ave-Maria; Judas says his Pater-noster.

During these representations, they sometimes, with great ceremony, burn the descendants of our good father Abraham; and whilst the poor wretches roast, they gravely sing to them pious ballads, composed by one of their kings, and translated into bad Latin. Notwithstanding all this, there is as much good sense, politeness, and wit, at Madrid, as at any court in Europe.

Horses at Rome receive a benediction; were we to cause our stables at St. Genevieve to be blessed, half Paris would exclaim against the scandal.

F I N I S.

